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BRITISH BIOGRAPHY;

OR,

An ACCURATE and IMPARTIAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIVES and WRITINGS

OF

Eminent Perſons,

IN

GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND;

From WICKLIFF, who began the REFORMATION by his WRITINGS, to the PRESENT TIME:

WHETHER,

STATESMEN,	PHILOSOPHERS,
PATRIOTS,	POETS,
GENERALS,	LAWYERS, or
ADMIRALS,	DIVINES.

IN WHICH,

The ſeveral Incidents and remarkable Actions of their LIVES, and the Particularities of their Deaths, that can be collected from HISTORY, FAMILY MEMOIRS, and RECORDS, will be related; a Catalogue and Specimen of their Writings given, with occaſional Remarks; and their Characters delineated with Freedom and Impartiality. By Joseph Towers

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CONTENTS

OF THE

SECOND VOLUME.

XXII. THE Life of CARDINAL WOLSEY. His birth, 3. his education, 4. elected Fellow of his College, *ibid.* appointed tutor to the children of the Marquis of Dorſet, *ibid.* who gives him the Rectorſhip of Lymington, *ibid.* is ſet in the ſtocks by Sir Amias Pawlet, 5. enters into the ſervice of John Nephant, *ibid.* made Chaplain to King Henry VII. *ibid.* ſent on an Embaſſy to the Emperor Maximilian, 6. his extraordinary expedition, *ibid.* made Dean of Lincoln, 7. appointed Almoner to Henry VIII. *ibid.* his methods of ingratiating himſelf with that Prince, 8. made Biſhop of Lincoln, 11. and Archbiſhop of York, *ibid.* created a Cardinal, 15. engroſſes the ſole adminiſtration of public affairs, 16. his pride and oſtentation, 17. the number of his ſervants, *ibid.* elects a legantine court, 19. founds public lectures at Oxford, 21. careſſed by the Emperor and King of France, 23. intrigues for the Papacy, 28. his inſolent behaviour to the citizens of London, 32. lays the foundation of his College at Oxford, 34. makes the King a preſent of his palace at Hampton Court, 35. ſets out on an Embaſſy to France, 37. his pompous manner of travelling, *ibid.* concludes three treaties with the French King, 40. returns to England, 41. made Biſhiop of Wincheſter, *ibid.* ſits as Legate with Campejus, in order to determine the King's divorce, 42. incurs the diſpleaſure of the King, 44, 45, 46. the Great Seal is taken from him, 47. the meanneſs of his behaviour under his misfortunes, 48. removes to Eſher, *ibid.* diſcharges many of his ſervants, 51. a bill of indictment preferred againſt him, to which he pleads guilty, *ibid.* his ſpeech to the Duke of Norfolk, 53. the King grants him a full pardon, 54. ſets out for his Dioceſe of York, 55. a remarkable change in his conduct, 56. is arreſted for high treaſon, 57. his death, 58. and character, 59.

XXIII. The Life of Sir THOMAS MORE. His birth, 63. his education, 64. applies himſelf to the ſtudy of the law, 65. the auſterities practiſed by him, *ibid.* elected a Member of Parliament, 66. his ſpirited and upright behaviour in this capacity, *ibid.* his integrity in the exerciſe of the profeſſion of the law, 67. his marriage, *ibid.* his firſt meeting with Eraſmus, 69. he is knighted, made Maſter of the Requeſts, Treaſurer of the Exchequer, and a Member of the Privy Council, 71. marries a ſecond wife, *ibid.* an account of his domeſtic life, 72. his piety, *ibid.* choſen Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, *ibid.* his remarkable motion there concerning Wolſey, 73. incurs the Cardinal's diſpleaſure, 74. the King's familiarity with him, 75. his many learned friends, *ibid.* employed to negociate

geciate the treaty of Cambray, 76. made Lord Chancellor, 77. his upright and diſintereſted diſcharge of that office, *ibid.* is concerned in the perſecution of the Proteſtants, 79. reſigns the Great Seal, 83. refuſes to concur in the affair of the divorce, 86. his declaration to the Committee of the Council, *ibid.* accuſations brought againſt him by his enemies, 88. which only tend to demonſtrate his integrity, 89. is committed to the Tower for refuſing to take the oath required by the act of Succeſſion, 90. his unconcerned behaviour under his misfortunes, *ibid.* his trial, 92. and condemnation, 93. his execution, 95. his character, 96. account of his family, 97. and of his works, *ibid.* inſtances of his wit and pleaſantry, 99.

XXIV. The Life of RICHARD PACE. His birth, and education, 101. his preferments, *ibid.* employed in ſundry Embaſſies, 102. his reputation among the Venetians, 103. is ill treated by Wolſey, 104. loſes his ſenſes, *ibid.* and dies, 105. his character, *ibid.* an account of his works, *ibid.*

XXV. The Life of THOMAS CROMWELL, Earl of Eſſex. His birth and education, 107. his travels, *ibid.* takes a journey to Rome, *ibid.* is preſent at the ſacking of Rome, 108. returns to England, and is taken into the ſervice of Cardinal Wolſey, *ibid* his grateful behaviour to his maſter under his misfortunes, *ibid.* obtains a ſeat in Parliament, and defends the Cardinal in the Houſe of Commons, *ibid.* is taken into the King's ſervice, 109. he is knighted, made maſter of the jewel-houſe, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and a Privy Counſellor, &c. 110. created Lord Cromwell of Okeham, and made Vicar-General, and Vice-Gerent over all the Spirituality, 111. exerts himſelf very much in promoting the Reformation, 112. his grateful diſpoſition, 113. is created Earl of Eſſex, and appointed Lord High Chamberlain, 117. promotes the King's marriage with Anne of Cleves, *ibid.* incurs the diſpleaſure of the King, *ibid.* is committed priſoner to the Tower, *ibid.* is attainted of high treaſon, 118. and executed, 119. his character, *ib.*

XXVI. The Life of Sir EDWARD HOWARD. He is ſent againſt Sir Andrew Barton, 121. is made Lord High Admiral, 122. invades France, *ibid.* attacks a ſquadron of French galleys, 124. and loſes his life in the action, *ibid.* his character, *ibid.*

XXVII. The Life of THOMAS HOWARD, Duke of Norfolk. His early bravery, 126. is made Lord High Admiral, *ibid.* ſcours the ſeas of French veſſels, *ibid.* lands in Brittany, and ravages the country, *ibid.* contributes greatly to the victory over the Scots at Flodden field, 127. appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, *ibid* commands both the Engliſh and the Imperial fleets, 128. his ſucceſſes againſt the French, *ibid.* made Lord Treaſurer, 130. commands an army in Scotland, *ibid.* conſtituted Earl Marſhal of England, *ibid.* falls into troubles, 131, is committed to the Tower, *ibid.* a bill of attainder paſſes againſt him, 132. his death, and character, *ibid.*

XXVIII. The Life of HENRY HOWARD, Earl of Surry. His birth, and education, 134. defends the beauty of his miſtreſs againſt all oppoſers, *ib.* made Field Marſhal of the Engliſh army in France, *ib.* where he diſtinguiſhes himſelf, *ib.* is repulſed, 135. is deprived of his command, *ib.* and charged with treaſonable deſigns, 136. is tried, *ib.* condemned, *ib.* and executed, 137. his character, *ib.* and account of his works, 138.

XXIX. The Life of HUGH LATIMER, Biſhop of Worceſter. His birth and education, 141. his zeal for Popery, *ib.* is converted to Proteſtantiſm by Thomas Bilney, 142. attacks many of the opinions and uſages of the Romiſh Church, 143. expoſes Prior Buckenham, 144. preaches before the Biſhop of Ely, 145. the converſation that paſſed between him and that Prelate, *ib.* he is ſilenced, 146. examined by Cardinal Wolſey, *ib.* who grants him a licence to preach throughout England, 147. writes to King Henry concerning the oppoſition made by the Popiſh Clergy to the publication of the Scriptures in Engliſh, 148. preſented to a Living by Lord Cromwell, 151. is cited to appear before the Biſhop of London, and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, 152.

152. the ill treatment he received, 154. the King interpoſes in his behalf, 155. is made Chaplain to Queen Anne Boleyn, *ib.* and Biſhop of Worceſter, *ib.* His conſcientious diſcharge of the epiſcopal office, 156. labours to promote the Reformation. 157. preaches before the Convocation, 158. is accuſed before the King, 162. vindicates himſelf, *ib.* reſigns his Biſhopric, 163. committed to the Tower, 164. releaſed, *ib.* reſides with Archbiſhop Cranmer at Lambeth, 165. is ſent again to the Tower, 167. his chearfulneſs under his misfortunes, 168. account of a conference between him and Ridley, 169. is examined before Commiſſioners at Oxford, 173. is again examined by virtue of a commiſſion from Cardinal Pole, 176. condemned, 177. and burnt at Oxford, 178. his character, *ib.* extracts from his ſermons, 180——183.

XXX. The Life of CUTHBERT TONSTAL, Biſhop of Durham. His birth and education, 184. his preferments and embaſſies, *ib.* made Bp. of London, *ibid* tranſlated to Durham, 189. committed to the Tower, *ibid.* is deprived of his Biſhopric, 190. reſtituted in it, *ibid.* deprived a ſecond time. 191. his death and character, *ibid.* account of his works, 192.

XXXI. The Life of SEBASTIAN CABOT. His birth and education, 193. his firſt voyages, *ibid.* ſails from Briſtol in company with his father, and diſcovers Newfoundland, 194. enters into the Spaniſh ſervice, 196. ſails to the river of Plate, 197. and and makes diſcoveries, *ibid.* returns to England, 198. and made Grand Pilot, *ibid.* his death, 200.

XXXII. The Life of STEPHEN GARDINER, Biſhop of Wincheſter. His birth and education, 202. taken into the ſervice of Cardinal Wolſey, *ibid.* ſent to Rome to negotiate the affair of King Henry's divorce, 203. returns to England, 205. and made archdeacon of Norfolk, *ibid.* and ſecretary of ſtate. *ib.* is made Biſhop of Wincheſter, 207. ſent ambaſſador to the French King, *ibid.* Bonner's character of him, 208. he writes in defence of the king's ſupremacy, 209. oppoſes the Reformation, 210. promotes perſecution, 211. and the act of the Six Articles, 213. lays a deſign to ruin Archbiſhop Cranmer, and others, 217. incurs the diſpleaſure of the king, 218. ſets on foot a proſecution of the Proteſtants, 219. endeavours to ruin Queen Catharine Parr, 220. writes to the Protector Somerſet, 223. is ſent to the Tower, 228. is deprived, 229. ſet at liberty on the acceſſion of Mary, 230. made Lord Chancellor, and becomes Prime Miniſter, 231. his cruel perſecution of the Proteſtants, 240. his death, 244. and character, 245, 246. account of his works, 247.

XXXIII. The Life of Archbiſhop CRANMER. His birth, and education, 249. his commendable manner of examining candidates for degrees in divinity, 250. is introduced to King Henry VIII. 251. is employed in the affair of the divorce, *ibid.* goes to Rome, 252. and to the Emperor's Court, *ibid.* marries Oſiander's neice, *ibid.* returns home, 253. is made Archbiſhop of Canterbury, *ibid.* pronounces the ſentence of divorce between King Henry and Queen Catharine, 254. exerts himſelf to promote the Reformation, 255. procures an Engliſh tranſlation of the Bible, 256. oppoſes the act of the Six Articles, 260. a ſcheme formed to ruin the Archbiſhop, 262. his mild and forgiving temper, 268. is committed to the Tower, 281. is attainted of high treaſon, *ibid.* is pardoned, 282. diſputes at Oxford, 283. condemned for hereſy, 285. is prevailed on to recant, 287. retracts his recantation, 289. is burnt at Oxford, 290. his character, *ibid.* account of his works, 291.

XXXIV. The Life of Cardinal BEATON. His birth and education, 293. enters into the ſervice of James Duke of Albany, *ibid.* is made Abbot of Arbroath, 294. promotes the perſecution of the Proteſtants, *ibid.* is made a Cardinal, 295. and Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, *ibid.* oppoſes the alliance with England, 298. cauſes Mr. Wiſhart to be put to death, 303. is aſſaſſinated in the caſtle of St. Andrew's, 305. his character, 306.

XXXV. The Life of Biſhop BONNER. His birth and education, 307. his firſt preferments, *ibid.* employed in ſeveral embaſſies, 308. his behaviour to the French king, *ibid.* made Biſhop of London, 309. his ingratitude, 310. and cruelty, 311. is deprived,

prived, 314. his inſolent behaviour, *ibid.* reſtored to his Biſhopric, 315. his outrageous behaviour at Hadham, 316. his barbarous and ſavage treatment of the Proteſtants, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 326, 327, 328. is deprived of his Biſhopric, and committed to the Marſhalſea, 329. his death, 330. and character, 331.

XXXVI. The Life of Cardinal POLE. His birth and education, 332. his preferments, *ibid.* travels into Italy, *ibid.* reſides at Padua, 332. returns to England, 334. refuſes the Archbiſhopric of York, 336. and incurs the diſpleaſure of the King, *ibid.* leaves England, *ibid.* writes againſt the King's proceedings, 337. repairs to Rome, 339. is created a Cardinal, 340. endeavours to excite the Princes of Europe againſt Henry, 341. is attainted of high treaſon, 343. is very near obtaining the Papacy, 350. arrives in England, and reconciles the kingdom to the Papal ſee, 353, 355. made Archbiſhop of Canterbury, 358. his death and character, 361.

XXXVII. The Life of Biſhop RIDLEY. His birth and education, 365. patronized by Archbiſhop Cranmer, 366. who gives him the Vicarage of Herne, *ibid.* made Biſhop of Rocheſter, 373. raiſed to the See of London, 376. committed to the Tower, 384. holds a diſputation at Oxford, 385, 386. is condemned, and degraded, 387. and burnt at Oxford, 388. his character, 390. account of his works, *ibid.*

XXXVIII. The Life of JOHN LELAND. His birth and education, 392. his travels throughout England, 393. his extreme aſſiduity in ſearching after Antiquities, *ibid.* his care to prevent the deſtruction of antient manuſcripts, 394. his preferments, *ibid.* loſes his ſenſes, *ibid.* his death, *ibid.* account of his works, 395.

XXXIX. The Life of JOHN DUDLEY, Duke of Northumberland. His birth, 397. and education, 398. his promotions, *ibid.* his exploits in the triumphant tournament at Weſtminſter, 399. appointed Lord High Admiral, *ibid.* his ſucceſs againſt the Scots, 400. and the French, *ibid.* eſcapes an imminent danger, 402. his bravery at the battle of Muſſelburgh, 403. ſuppreſſes Ket's rebellion, 406. plots againſt the Protector, 407. he is conſtituted Earl Marſhal of England, 409. created Duke of Northumberland, *ibid.* completes the ruin of the Duke of Somerſet, 410. marries his ſon to the Lady Jane Grey, 411. prevails on K. Edward to appoint her his ſucceſſor, *ibid.* his deſign miſcarries, 412. he is arreſted for high treaſon, 413. condemned, *ib.* and executed, 414. his character, *ib.* acount of his family, 415.

XL. The Life of the Lady JANE GREY. Her birth and education, 417. the interview between her and Roger Aſcham, 418. ſhe is married to the Lord Guilford Dudley, 420. appointed ſucceſſor to K. Edward, *ib.* is proclaimed Queen, 421. and reigns nine days, *ibid.* confined as a priſoner in the Tower, *ibid.* and condemned for high treaſon, *ibid.* ſhe is beheaded in the Tower, 429. her character, 430.

EMINENT PERSONS, of whom ſome Account is given in the NOTES.

1. Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, 12.
2. Polydore Virgil, 14.
3. Sir John Fineux, 16.
4. Cardinal Morton, 63.
5. Ed. Lee, Archbiſhop of York, 76.
6. Sir Thomas Pope, 95.
7. Cardinal Bainbridge, 101.
8. Thomas Lupſet, 103.
9. Fitzwilliams, Earl of Southampton, 128.
10. Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, 130.
11. Sir Thomas Wyat, 137.
12. Heath, Archbiſhop of York, 164.
13. Thomas Bilney, 155.
14. Shaxton, Bp. of Saliſbury, 171.
15. William Tyndal, 186.
16. Richard Fox, Biſhop of Wincheſter, 203.
17. Ed. Fox, Biſhop of Hereford, 259.
18. Thomas, Lord Audley, 311.
19. John Bradford, 318.
20. Hector Boethius, 376.
21. John Hooper, Biſhop of Gloucester, 378, 380.
22. Edmund Dudley, 397.
23. John de Feckenham, 423.

BRITISH BIOGRAPHY.

The Life of THOMAS WOLSEY, Cardinal, and Archbiſhop of York.

THOMAS WOLSEY was born at Ipſwich, in the county of Suffolk, in March, 1471. The general opinion has been, that his father was a butcher, and in mean circumſtances. But ſome modern writers have endeavoured to make it appear, that his father was a man poſſeſſed of ſome conſiderable property, and not a BUTCHER, but a GRAZIER: and the author of Wolſey's article in the BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA, intimates, that the matter may be compromiſed, by ſuppoſing him to have been both a grazier and butcher, as is common at this day. But whether Wolſey's father was a butcher, or grazier, or both, is not worth a diſpute (*d*). However, in whatever ſituation his father was, young Wolſey gave the earlieſt indications of his poſſeſſing an excellent capacity; and being firſt ſent to a grammar-ſchool, was afterwards ſent to the Univerſity of Oxford, and placed in Magdalen College (*e*). He here made ſo quick and conſiderable a progreſs in learning,

 that

(*d*) "A baſs relief of the Cardinal's head in profile is carved, with a butcher's knife by the ſide, on the central board of the arch of the gateway into the butchery at Ipſwich. There is a tradition that it was built by the Cardinal; and it appears now to be very old, and being a timber building, may undoubtedly have ſtood from the Cardinal's time,"—

(*e*) "By means of his parents, AND OTHER his good friends, he was maintained at the Univerſity of Oxford." So it ſtands in the common printed editions of the life of Cardinal Wolſey, by Sir William Cavendiſh, who was his Gentleman-Uſher. *See* P. 1. of the edition printed in 1708, and the copy in Grove's life of the Cardinal, P. 3. But in an antient

that at fifteen years of age he took the degree of Batchelor of Arts; and from thence was diſtinguiſhed by the title of the BOY-BATCHELOR. And he gained much reputation in the Univerſity by his ſkill in logic and philoſophy, as well as in divinity. As to his knowledge in the latter, we are told, that he principally acquired it by reading the works of Thomas Aquinas. He might have derived it, indeed, from a much better ſource; but we ought not to cenſure Wolſey, for not being, in his youth, wiſer than his cotemporaries.

Having thus ſucceſsfully proceeded in his ſtudies, he was elected Fellow of his College; and having commenced Maſter of Arts, was appointed maſter of the grammar-ſchool, belonging and adjoining to Magdalen College. It happened that at this time, the Marquis of Dorſet had three ſons in this ſchool; and his Lordſhip committed, not only their ordinary education, but the entire care of them, to the new maſter, Wolſey. And when they had been ſome time under his tuition, the Marquis ſending for his ſons to keep their Chriſtmas with him at his ſeat, gave their maſter alſo an invitation to accompany them, which he accordingly did. And his Lordſhip was ſo well pleaſed with the proficiency which his ſons had made in learning, during the time they had been under Wolſey's care, that at his departure he preſented him with a benefice which he had in his gift, and which then happened to be vacant. This was the Rectorſhip of Lymington, in Somerſetſhire; to which he was inſtituted on the 10th of October, 1500, being then in the twenty-ninth year of his age; and at which time he was Burſer of Magdalen College. He left the Univerſity to take poſſeſſion of his benefice; but during the time of his reſidence at Oxford, we are told, that he cultivated an acquaintance with Eraſmus, and did, in conjunction with him, promote and encourage the ſtudy of the Greek language and learning there.

Wolſey having taken poſſeſſion of his living at Lymington, repaired and beautified his parſonage-houſe there, and alſo the church; in which, it is ſaid, there are ſtill remains of his works, and in the windows particularly, the initial letters of his name. An incident, however, happened, which made his preſent ſituation very diſagreeable to him. Wolſey was, we are told, of a free and ſociable temper, and lived in a friendly and open communication with his neighbours and pariſhioners. He once

tient manuſcript copy of Cavendiſh's book, the paſſage juſt quoted, ſtands thus: "By the means of his parents, OR OF his good friends and maſters, he was conveyed to the Univerſity of Oxford." The manuſcript we allude to is in the Britiſh Muſeum, under the following title: "The Diſcourſe of the Lyffe and Deathe of Cardynalle Woolſey, &c." Harleian MSS. No. 428. This copy was bought of Mr. Strype, and is larger, and more correct, than the printed editions. We ſhall ſometimes, therefore, refer to it in the courſe of this life; and be guided by it in ſome particulars in which we may differ from the common accounts.

once went, therefore, with ſome of theſe to a fair in a neighbouring town, where it is ſaid he drank too much, and occaſioned ſome diſorder. Upon which Sir Amias Pawlet, a Juſtice of the peace in that part of the country, who had conceived ſome diſguſt againſt Wolſey, laid hold of this occaſion to ſet him in the ſtocks. This inſult, ſo diſhonourable to a man of his character, Wolſey's ſituation and circumſtances obliged him at that time to put up with; but he neither forgot, nor forgave, either the affront, or the author of it, but carefully treaſured up both in his remembrance.

Wolſey, however, began now to be deſirous of changing the place of his reſidence; and more particularly becauſe he had loſt his patron, the Marquis of Dorſet, who died about this time at his ſeat in Eſſex. But ſoon after Dr. Dean, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, appointed Wolſey to be one of his domeſtic Chaplains; and he ſo much ingratiated himſelf with the Archbiſhop, that he procured him a diſpenſation from the Pope to enable him to hold two benefices. But he did not long enjoy his new patron, Archbiſhop Dean dying in 1503. But ſoon after, Sir John Nephant, or Nanfant, who was Treaſurer of Calais, and very much in favour with Henry VII. appointed Wolſey to be his Chaplain, and took him with him in his retinue to Calais. And he had not been long in this gentleman's family, before he ſo much ingratiated himſelf with him, that he committed to his care the entire charge and management of his office. And this truſt Wolſey ſo well diſcharged, that he gave great ſatisfaction both to the Knight his maſter, and to thoſe who had occaſion to tranſact any buſineſs with him. But ſhortly after, King Henry diſcharged Sir John Nephant from his office, in conſideration of his great age; upon which he, together with his Chaplain Wolſey, returned again into England. But the old Knight, after his return, ſo warmly recommended Wolſey to the King's favour, that his Majeſty appointed him to be one of his own Chaplains.

This was what Wolſey had long wiſhed for. We are told, that he would frequently ſay, "If he could but ſet one foot in "the Court, he did not doubt but to obtain any thing he could "with for." Having now, therefore, got into the road of promotion, he made the beſt uſe of his favourable ſituation. He had occaſion to be daily in the ſight of the King, as he ſaid maſs before him in his cloſet. But when that ſervice was over, he was far from trifling away the remainder of his time; but would very diligently attend upon thoſe whom he thought to have moſt weight in the Council, and to be moſt in favour with the King. By theſe means he particularly ingratiated himſelf with Fox, Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Lord-Privy-Seal, and Sir Thomas Lovel, Maſter of the Wards, and Conſtable of the Tower; and they began to conſider him as a man of ability, and one who was well qualified to be employed in affairs of importance.

It happened about this time, that King Henry had reſolved to enter into a ſecret negociation with the Emperor Maximilian, who was then at Bruges in Flanders, in order to ſettle ſome points previous to a marriage which he had projected with Margaret, Dutcheſs Dowager of Savoy, the Emperor's only daughter, and ſiſter to Philip, King of Caſtile. And the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Sir Thomas Lovel, having been in conſultation upon the ſubject of the intended Embaſſy, thought this would be a favourable opportunity of ſerving their friend the Chaplain. They, therefore, recommended Wolſey to the King, as a perſon of excellent parts, and of great eloquence and learning, and well qualified for ſuch an employment. Henry, who was a very penetrating Prince, deſired the Chaplain might be introduced to him; which being done accordingly, he propoſed ſeveral queſtions to Wolſey, relative to affairs of State, which he anſwered in a manner ſo much to the King's ſatisfaction, that he determined to employ him in the intended negociation; and accordingly commanded him immediately to prepare for his journey.

During the time that his inſtructions were drawing up, Wolſey had frequent acceſs to the King and Council, to whom he gave freſh proofs of his capacity for political affairs. But having received his diſpatches on a Sunday, about four in the afternoon, he ſet out from Richmond, where the Court then was, and ſoon came to London, where he found a barge ready to carry him to Graveſend. He arrived there in leſs than three hours, and immediately took poſt-horſes, and reached Dover the next morning. And the paſſage-boat being juſt going off for Calais, he was ſo fortunate as to get thither before noon, and from thence he got to Bruges on Tueſday morning. The Emperor, having notice that a Miniſter was arrived, charged with a commiſſion from the King of England, inſtantly gave him audience; and Wolſey having opened his credentials, and delivered them in form, requeſted that his return might be expedited; to which requeſt the Emperor was ſo favourable, that the ſame night he received his anſwer, wherein every thing he had propoſed on the part of his maſter was agreed to. Upon this, early on Wedneſday morning, he took poſt for Calais, where he came at the opening of the gates; and found the paſſage-boat ready to put to ſea. Accordingly he embarked therein, and in a ſhort time landed at Dover; where taking poſt-horſes, he arrived ſafe that night at Richmond, where he repoſed himſelf after his journey. On Thurſday morning he attended at Court; and, as ſoon as he ſaw his Majeſty, threw himſelf at his feet. Henry not expecting to ſee him there, and ſuppoſing he had protracted his departure, began to reprove him for the dilatory execution of his orders. On which Wolſey, to the King's great ſurprize, addreſſed himſelf to his Majeſty in the following words: "May it pleaſe "your Highneſs, I have already been with the Emperor, and "diſpatched your affairs; and, I truſt, to your Grace's content-

"ment;"

"ment;" and then he preſented his letters of credence. The King, diſſembling for the preſent his admiration at his extraordinary diſpatch, and quick return, told him, that on ſecond thoughts, he had found that ſomewhat was omitted in his orders, and had therefore ſent a meſſenger after him with fuller inſtructions; and he aſked him, whether he had received thoſe orders. "I met the meſſenger (replied Wolſey) on the road in my re-"turn; but having reflected on that omiſſion, I ventured of my-"ſelf to execute what I knew muſt be abſolutely neceſſary to "your Majeſty's ſervice, preſuming to ſupply the defect of my "diſpatches in that particular, and I humbly aſk pardon for "having exceeded my commiſſion." Henry, who was well pleaſed with the expedient, and in general with the ſucceſs of the negociation, did not only readily excuſe Wolſey, but gave him his Royal thanks for the ſervice he had done; and afterwards diſmiſſed him for the preſent, but commanded him to attend again after dinner.

At the time appointed, Wolſey attended the King in Council, and related to him the ſeveral particulars of his Embaſſy in ſo graceful a manner, and with ſo much eloquence, that all who were preſent applauded his addreſs and abilities, and declared him a man fit to be intruſted with the management of affairs of importance. And on the 2d of February, 1508, the King gave him the Deanery of Lincoln; ſoon after which he reſigned the Rectorſhip of Lymington. The beginning of the following year he had alſo conferred upon him the Prebend of Walton Brinhold, and the Prebend of Stow. And he had alſo not only acquired a great degree of the King's favour, but alſo very much conciliated the regard of Henry, Prince of Wales; who was much pleaſed with his company; and Wolſey was extremely expert in all thoſe arts which are practiſed in Courts, and ſuch as were beſt calculated to procure the favour of a young Prince.

In 1509, King Henry VII. died, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Henry VIII. who was only eighteen years of age. Wolſey continued to pay his Court to young Henry with the utmoſt aſſiduity. And Fox, Biſhop of Wincheſter, did all he could to increaſe Wolſey's intereſt with the King, in hopes by that means to leſſen Henry's attachment to the Earl of Surry, who was very much in his favour; at which Fox was much chagrined, as he found, in conſequence of it, that the influence which he had maintained in the cabinet in the preceding reign, was very much diminiſhed in the preſent.

As a proof of Wolſey's advancement in the Royal favour, he was, ſoon after Henry's acceſſion, appointed his Majeſty's Almoner; and on the conviction of Sir Richard Empſon of high treaſon, he gave him that rapacious Miniſter's houſe, which was near his own palace of Bridewell, in Fleet-ſtreet, London. In November, 1510, he was admitted a Member of the King's Privy Council, and appointed Reporter of the proceedings in the Star-Chamber;

Chamber; and on the 29th of the ſame month, the King preſented him to the Rectory of Turrington, in the Dioceſe of Exeter; and on the 17th of February following, he was made Canon of Windſor, and Regiſter of the Order of the Garter. In November, 1512, he was collated to the Prebend of Bugthorp, in the Church of York; and upon the Death of the Dean ſoon after, he ſucceeded him in the Deanery of that church.

The young King, who had been kept under much reſtraint during the life of his father, was now greatly diſpoſed to give a looſe to pleaſure, and to *follow his princely appetite and deſire*, as Cavendiſh expreſſes it. His old and more faithful Counſellors would, however, ſometimes adviſe him to attend a little more to the public concerns of his kingdom, and to the duties of his regal character. But the artful Wolſey, on the contrary, in order to ingratiate himſelf ſtill more with the young King, gave him that advice which he knew would be the moſt agreeable to him. He perſuaded him to continue to indulge himſelf in his pleaſures; and exhorted him not to fatigue his Royal perſon with the public buſineſs, nor to give himſelf any concern or uneaſineſs about it; aſſuring him, that if he would but inveſt him with proper authority, every thing ſhould be managed in that manner which ſhould be moſt agreeable to his Majeſty's will and pleaſure; and he, at the ſame time, be at full liberty to follow the bent of his own inclinations (*f*). This behaviour of Wolſey greatly increaſed Henry's affection towards him; and "in eſpecial," ſays Cavendiſh, "for that he was moſt earneſt, "and readieſt in all the Council, to advance the King's only "will and pleaſure, *having no reſpect to the caſe*." Much has been ſaid by ſome writers concerning the virtue and probity of Wolſey; but what real virtue, or probity, could that man have, who, to anſwer his own ends, could perſuade and encourage his Prince to indulge himſelf in luxurious pleaſures, and to neglect the duties incumbent upon him as a Sovereign; and who, to gain and to preſerve that Prince's favour, made it a rule to concur implicitly in, and to be the inſtrument of, his will and pleaſure, without any regard to the nature of caſe?

In

(*f*) "The Almoner took upon him to diſcharge the King of the burthen of ſo weighty and troubleſome buſineſs, putting the King in comfort, that he ſhould not need to ſpare any time of his pleaſure, for any buſineſs that ſhould happen in the Council, ſo long as he ſhould be there; who having his Grace's authority, and by his commandment, doubted not to ſee all things well and ſufficiently perfected, making his Grace privy firſt of all ſuch matters, before he would proceed to the accompliſhing of the ſame, whoſe mind and pleaſure he would have and follow to the uttermoſt: wherewith the King was wonderfully pleaſed.

"And whereas the other antient Counſellors would, according to the office of good Counſellors, divers times perſuade the King to have recourſe ſometimes into the Council, there to hear what was done in weighty matters, therewith the King was pleaſed nothing at all. For he loved nothing worſe, than to be conſtrained to do any thing contrary to his

In 1513, King Henry having entered into a war with France, and come to a reſolution of invading it himſelf in perſon, committed to Wolſey the care of making the neceſſary preparations for his intended expedition. It has been conjectured, that Wolſey was the perſon who principally urged the King to this undertaking; "and the motives (ſays Fiddes) which induced him to adviſe it, are ſuppoſed to have been, a deſire of ſhewing his zeal for the Church, and the honour and intereſts of the Papal See, and by that means of recommending himſelf to the good graces of the Court at Rome (*g*), where he was already known, and looked upon as a perſon of great weight and authority. Beſides the ends of his ambition on that ſide, he might reaſonably hope, while he attended upon the King's perſon, and was entruſted with ſo conſiderable an employment, he ſhould, more ways than one, find his own account in the progreſs, but eſpecially in a ſucceſsful iſſue of this expedition." However, Wolſey exerted himſelf in ſuch a manner in ordering and preparing every thing neceſſary for Henry's intended expedition, that he gained his entire approbation; and the King conferred

his pleaſure. And that knew the Almoner very well, having a ſecret intelligence of the King's natural inclination. And as faſt as the other Counſellors counſelled the King to leave his pleaſure, and to attend to his affairs, ſo buſily did the Almoner perſuade him to the contrary: which delighted him much, and cauſed him to have the greater affection and love to the Almoner. Thus the Almoner ruled all them that before ruled him: ſuch did his policy and wit bring to paſs. Who was now in high favour, but Mr. Almoner? Who had all the ſuits, but Mr. Almoner? And who ruled all under the King, but Mr. Almoner?"

Vid. the manuſcript of Cavendiſh in the Britiſh Muſeum, as before referred to, Fol. 4.

(*g*) Henry was earneſtly ſolicited by Pope Julius II. to enter into a war with France. That quarrelſome Pontiff, who, as one of the Papal hiſtorians hath obſerved, was of a diſpoſition fitter for the ſword than the croſier, having himſelf declared war againſt the French King, (Lewis XII.) was deſirous of engaging the King of England in his quarrel, under the pretence of protecting the Church of Chriſt from oppreſſion. And in order to engage Henry to his intereſt, his Holineſs had, ſoon after his acceſſion, ſent him a golden roſe, anointed with the holy chriſm, ſprinkled with odoriferous muſk, and bleſſed with his ſacred hands, together with his apoſtolical benediction. And the Pope afterwards alſo promiſed Henry, to annex to his other titles that of *Moſt Chriſtian*, which he was to transfer from the King of France. But Henry was further induced to enter into this war, by a view to the old claim of the Kings of England upon the Crown of France.

In 1510, this pious Head of the Church, Julius II. beſieged the city of Mirandola in perſon, and made himſelf maſter of it. Upon which Monſtrelet makes the following remark: "Julius abandoned St. Peter's chair, to aſſume the title of Mars, the God of war, to diſplay his three Crowns in the field, and to ſleep in a watch-tower; and God knows what a charming figure theſe mitres, croſſes, and croſiers made, fluttering up and down the fields. The Devil was not ſilly as to be there, for benedictions were too cheap."

on him the Deanery of Hereford, and made him Chancellor of the Order of the Garter.

Wolſey having finiſhed his preparations for the King's expedition, his Majeſty ſet ſail from Dover, (leaving Queen Catherine Regent of the kingdom during his abſence), accompanied by the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Eſſex, Charles Brandon, Viſcount Liſle, Fox, Biſhop of Wincheſter, his Almoner Wolſey, and many other perſons of diſtinction, and arrived at Calais on the 30th of June, 1513. The beſt part of Henry's troops had landed in France before him; and were employed in beſieging the town of Terouenne. He ſtay'd a ſhort time at Calais, till his proviſions and another body of troops were landed, and then ſet out himſelf with them for Terouenna. And the day after he arrived before that city, he muſtered all his troops, which amounted in the whole to twenty-ſix thouſand; ſoon after which, news arrived at the Engliſh camp, that the French army was in full march to engage the Engliſh. During the ſiege, the Emperor Maximilian arrived in the Engliſh camp with a conſiderable reinforcement, and entered himſelf into Henry's ſervice, wearing the Croſs of St. George, and a parti-coloured roſe. He was lodged in a rich tent, and received one hundred crowns a day for his pay (*b*). Soon after, a council of war was held, at which the Emperor aſſiſted, in which the ſtorming of the town, and the preventing of the beſieged from receiving any ſupplies, were debated; and it was determined to prepare five bridges to be laid over the river Lys, for the Engliſh army to paſs over, that they might encamp on the other ſide of the river, next the town. The Engliſh paſſed over theſe bridges the next day, and part of them fell in with a large convoy of proviſions and ſuccours for the uſe of the beſieged, guarded by the whole French army. Henry immediately attacked the convoy, ſo that a fierce and general engagement enſued, in which the Emperor was preſent, and in which the French were totally defeated, and their General, the Duke of Longueville, taken priſoner. This engagement was called THE BATTLE OF THE SPURS, on account of the conſternation and diſorder which the French fled in, they making more uſe of their ſpurs than of their ſwords. In conſequence of this battle, the town ſurrendered to Henry, who entered it in triumph, accompanied by the Emperor. And Maximilian prevailed upon Henry to deliver the town into his hands; and he ordered the walls to be razed to the foundation, that the dominions of his grandſon, Charles of Auſtria, might not be expoſed to inſults from the garriſon of this fortreſs.

Henry

(*b*) Henry had, ſome time before, entered into a league with the Pope, the Emperor, Ferdinand, King of Spain, and the Archduke, Charles of Auſtria, to carry on a war againſt France.

Henry then marched to Tournay, which he laid ſiege to, and the city ſurrendered to him in ſeven or eight days. But inſtead of razing the fortifications, he ſecured the place with a good garriſon, though it lay at a greater diſtance from Calais than Terouenne, which he had demoliſhed. But he was on this occaſion, we are told, influenced by the counſel of Wolſey, who had caſt his eyes on the Biſhopric of Tournay. However, it is certain that Henry did confer the Biſhopric upon Wolſey, conſidering the See as a vacant one, under pretence that the Biſhop had refuſed to take the oath of allegiance to the King of England (*i*). But Wolſey met with great difficulties in holding this Biſhopric; the French Biſhop appointing officers to collect the revenues of it, as well as Wolſey; however, he held it about five years; at the end of which time, the city being delivered up to the French King, that Monarch's Ambaſſadors in England gave their maſter's letters patent, whereby he bound himſelf to pay Wolſey an annual penſion of twelve thouſand livres Tournoiſe, as a compenſation for the loſs of the Biſhopric.

Soon after the reduction of Tournay, Henry concluded a new treaty with the Emperor Maximilian, which was ratified at Liſle; after which he returned to England, where he arrived on the 24th of October, 1513, attended by Wolſey, who continued daily to advance in the King's favour. And accordingly, on the 26th of March, in the following year, he was conſecrated Biſhop of Lincoln; and did, indeed, in conſequence of the great influence which he had obtained over the King, engroſs the ſole adminiſtration of government. And on the death of Cardinal Bainbridge, which happened this year, he was, on the 5th of Auguſt, promoted to the See of York.

As ſoon as Wolſey was conſecrated Archbiſhop of York, he took poſſeſſion of York Place, the uſual reſidence of the Archbiſhops of that See, when in London. But as this epiſcopal palace was in a ruinous condition, he cauſed one part to be repaired,

(*i*) Dr. Fiddes himſelf cannot help condemning Wolſey for his acceptance of this Biſhopric. After having obſerved, that reaſons might be alledged for the preſervation of Tournay, he ſays, "It ſeems more difficult to juſtify the Almoner, either for ſoliciting or accepting that Biſhopric, which in right appears to have belonged to another perſon. For I do not ſee what power conqueſt could give the King of England to break in upon the rules of the Church, or to diſſolve the union between the other Biſhop and his flock. This ſpiritual relation might, ſaid, in my humble opinion, ought to have been preſerved, notwithſtanding the temporal government of the city was changed. There is no neceſſity that the antient and apoſtolical order of the Church ſhould be diſturbed, becauſe Princes think fit to diſſeize one another of their temporal domains." *Vid.* Fiddes's life of the Cardinal, P. 62, 63. If Wolſey had been only guilty of a breach of the laws of juſtice or humanity, the Doctor could have found ſomewhat to have ſaid in his excuſe, or, at leaſt, in extenuation of his fault. But a violation of the rights of *the Church* was too bad a thing to be defended.

paired, and the other to be pulled down, and rebuilt. And ſoon after, he ſet on foot another building at Hampton-Court, which was carried on in ſo elegant a taſte, that it drew perſons from all parts to view it.

This year the King of France made overtures of peace to Henry, by means of the Duke of Longueville, who had been taken priſoner in the battle of the Spurs. That Nobleman acted as a private Ambaſſador; and, in order to promote the ſucceſs of his negociation, laboured to convince Henry of the inſincerity of his former allies. And he alſo demanded Henry's ſiſter, the Princeſs Mary, in marriage for Lewis, that Prince having loſt his wife, Anne of Brittany, in the beginning of the preceding year. No Engliſhman was privy to this negociation, but the King himſelf, and Wolſey, who is ſaid to have been largely bribed by Lewis on this occaſion (*k*), till both parties had agreed to almoſt all the articles propoſed. Wolſey affected this great ſecreſy, we are told, not only becauſe it excluded any other Miniſter from receiving advantage from the event, but becauſe it flattered Henry with the high opinion of his own abilities, and thereby facilitated the progreſs of the accommodation. For though Wolſey guided every part of the negociation by his influence over Henry, yet he made Henry believe that he acted only in obedience to his will, and in conformity to his pleaſure.

Whilſt this negociation was upon the carpet, a ceſſation of arms took place; and the propoſed marriage, and a treaty of peace, was at length agreed upon. The marriage was conſummated the 9th of October the ſame year; but the young Queen did not long enjoy her new dignity, her huſband, Lewis XII. dying within three months. As he died without iſſue, he was ſucceeded by Francis, Duke of Valois; but the young Queen Dowager, Mary, did not long remain without a huſband. In the third month of her widowhood, ſhe married Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk (*l*), a Nobleman who had before captivated her heart. Henry at firſt expreſſed great indignation againſt his ſiſter

(*k*) *Vid.* Guthrie's Hiſtory of England, Vol. II. P. 889.

(*l*) This Nobleman was a great favourite of King Henry VIII. He was ſon to Sir William Brandon, ſtandard-bearer to King Henry VII. and who died in his ſervice at Boſworth-field. He was the companion of Henry VIII. in his pleaſures, when a youth; and "there was a ſympathy (ſays David Lloyd) between their active ſpirits, which improved the familiarity of their tender years to a firm friendſhip in their age." He was a very comely perſon, and of great courage, and ſo acceptable to the King, eſpecially in all his youthful exerciſes and recreations, that he ſoon attained great advancement, both in titles of honour, and otherwiſe. In the firſt year of Henry the VIIIth's reign, he was made one of the Eſquires of his body, and Chamberlain of the principality of Wales. He was preſent in the ſea-fight off Breſt in 1512; and the next year he attended King Henry in his expedition into France, being previouſly created Viſcount Liſle. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the

ſiſter and the Duke, on account of this marriage, but was ſoon reconciled to both, and re-admitted them into his favour.

The French King, Francis I. ſoon after his acceſſion entered Italy, and made himſelf maſter of the Dutchy of Milan; which acceſſion of power gave ſome umbrage to the King of England. And Henry was particularly inſtigated againſt Francis by Wolſey, who was much incenſed againſt the French King, on account of that Monarch having done him ill offices with the Pope concerning the Biſhopric of Tournay. Wolſey had deſired Francis to beſtow another Dioceſe upon Lewis Guillard, the former Biſhop of that See; and the French King had promiſed to gratify him in that particular; but, inſtead of fulfilling his promiſe, he ſolicited the Pope to re-eſtabliſh Guillard in the Biſhopric of Tournay, who accordingly obtained a Bull for that purpoſe. This Papal mandate gave great umbrage both to Henry and his favourite; but the French Monarch, in order to pacify Wolſey, promiſed to uſe his intereſt, in order to obtain for him a Cardinal's hat, which was now the chief object of his ambition. Wolſey had already employed Cardinal Adrian, Biſhop of Bath, and the Pope's Collector in England, to ſolicit that honour for him at the Court of Rome. But Adrian did not act with ſincerity in this negociation; and Wolſey, receiving intelligence that he had betrayed his cauſe, was greatly irritated

the ſiege of Tournay, and was ſoon after created Duke of Suffolk.

He attended in France at the Coronation of Queen Mary, whom he afterwards married; and he greatly ſignalized himſelf in a tournament there, which was appointed in honour of the occaſion. In theſe juſts, which continued three days, the Duke of Suffolk hurt one gentleman very dangerouſly, and overthrew another, both horſe and arms. Francis, Duke of Valois, afterwards King of France, being hurt, deſired the Duke of Suffolk, and the Marquis of Dorſet, to fight at barriers, who accordingly took the firſt place againſt all comers. In the mean while, Francis, intending, as it was thought, an affront to the Duke of Suffolk, cauſed a German, the ſtrongeſt perſon in all the Court, to be armed ſecretly, and preſent himſelf at barriers. They both, we are told, did well; yet the Duke of Suffolk at laſt, with the but-end of his ſpear, ſtruck the German till he ſtaggered, and ſo the rail was let fall. The Marquis of Dorſet alſo foiled another Frenchman; after which they took ſome breath, and returned to fight again; when the Duke of Suffolk ſo belaboured the German about the head, that the blood guſhed from his noſe; which being done, the German was conveyed away ſecretly.

Some time after his marriage with the Queen-Dowager of France, he returned into England. He was afterwards preſent at the interview between the Kings of England and France, near Ardres, in Picardy. He was one of the aiders on the Engliſh ſide in the tournaments there. And in 1523, joining with the Count de Bure, the Emperor's General, took Roye, Montdidier, and Bray, and advancing within eleven leagues of Paris, put that city into a terrible conſternation; but towards the end of December in that year, was recalled. Shortly after this, being made a Knight of the Order of St. Michael, he was conſtituted chief Juſtice in Eyre of all the King's foreſts. In the 28th of Henry VIII. upon the inſurrection in Lincolnſhire,

tated againſt him, and prevailed upon the King to write a letter with his own hand to the Pope, deſiring he would appoint another Collector in the room of Adrian. He alſo ſeized upon ſome pretext to cauſe Polydore Virgil, who was Cardinal Adrian's Deputy Collector in England, and who is ſaid to have written letters to Rome againſt Wolſey, to be committed to the Tower. The Pope complied with Henry's requeſt, with reſpect to removing Adrian from the Collectorſhip; but his Holineſs, together with Cardinal Julio de Medicis, warmly ſolicited the enlargement of Polydore Virgil (*m*); and this requeſt of the Pope's was at length complied with, and Polydore was ſet at liberty.

Wolſey's

ſhire, and that in Yorkſhire, called *The Pilgrimage of Grace*, he was impowered to ſuppreſs them. In 1544, as General of the Engliſh army, he beſieged Bulloigne, which he took, and was the firſt man that entered it. He was very active in the meaſures which were taken for the aboliſhing of the Pope's power in England. He died in 1545, and was buried in St. George's chapel at Windſor, at the King's expence. His two ſons, Henry and Charles, both died within twelve hours of each other, at Cambridge, of the ſweating ſickneſs, in 1550.

He was ſaid to be a better Courtier, than a Stateſman; yet he uſed his Prince's favours with ſuch moderation, that he diſobliged none. "He made (we are told) no pretenſions to oratory, or a florid way of diſcourſing; and yet always talked ſo much to the purpoſe, that his plain words, and unaffected dialect, left a deeper impreſſion upon men's minds, than the artificial and ſtudied harangues of others."—"He made (ſays Lloyd) provident, yet moderate uſe of his maſter's favours; thereby obliging others, and ſecuring himſelf; being above mercenary inclinations as much in his thoughts, as in his fortune. He was neither too near the King, leſt he were weary of him; nor too far off, leſt he forgot him, or thought himſelf neglected by him. His intermiſſions of attendance gave others no advantage, but rendered him more gracious: he neither engroſſed, nor confined, his maſter's affection.——His familiarity, and the eaſy acceſs to him, made him popular: his pliant temper kept him a favourite, until he died in the full favour of his Prince; though, as Cardinal Pole obſerved, they who were higheſt in the King's favour, had their heads neareſt danger." "He had a becoming bluntneſs, (ſays another writer), not unlike his maſter's, and likeneſs always creates and continues friendſhip. This ſimilitude poſſibly might beget affection in the Prince, but 'twas his bounty, humility, valour, and the height of all noble virtues, ſuch as a calm greatneſs, an honeſt heart, a clear virtue, and a brave ſoul in a well-proportioned body, that gave him the love and laſting eſteem of Prince and people."

(*m*) POLYDORE VIRGIL was born at Urbino in Italy in the fifteenth century. The firſt work he publiſhed was, a Collection of Proverbs, in 1498. He was the firſt among the moderns who publiſhed any book of that kind; and he appears to have been a little vain upon it; for when Eraſmus afterwards publiſhed his *Adagia*, and did not take notice of his work, he reproached him for it in an uncivil manner, in the preface to his book *De rerum inventoribus*. Their friendſhip, however, does not ſeem to have been much interrupted by it; and Virgil, at the inſtigation of Eraſmus, left the paſſage out in the later editions. Theſe Adages of Polydore Virgil were printed three or four times in a very ſhort ſpace; and this ſucceſs encouraged him to undertake a more difficult work. This was his book *De rerum inventoribus*, printed in 1499.

Wolſey's application for a Cardinal's hat had met with much oppoſition; however, he was at length honoured with the Purple, being created, on the 7th of September, 1515, Cardinal of St. Cecile beyond the Tiber. When he was informed that the meſſenger with the hat was arrived in England, and that he was a perſon of no character or diſtinction, and made but a deſpicable appearance, Wolſey thinking it a diminution of the honour done to him, that ſo rich and important a preſent ſhould be ſo meanly introduced, he ordered the meſſenger to be ſtopped, that he might be better arrayed and attended; and accordingly he was met upon Black Heath by a great number of Prelates and gentlemen, eſpecially thoſe of Kent, who conducted him in great pomp and triumph to London, and through Cheapſide to Weſtminſter; the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and the reſpective Companies of the city of London, attending in their ſtands during the proceſſion. At Weſtminſter-abbey eight Abbots, in their proper habits, received the ſacred hat with great ſolemnity, and conveyed it to the high altar, whereon it was ſet. And on the 18th of November, being Sunday, Wolſey repaired to Weſtminſter-abbey, accompanied by the principal Nobility and Gentry, and, kneeling before the high altar, with his hood over his face, whilſt the benediction and prayers concerning the creation of a Cardinal were read to him, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury placed the hat on his head. This ceremony being ended, the new-made Cardinal, with a moſt magnificent train, returned to his palace at Charing Croſs, where a ſumptuous entertainment was provided; and at which were preſent the King, the Queen, the Queen of Scotland, the Queen-Dowager of France, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Biſhops of Wincheſter, Durham, and Rocheſter, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, Sir John Fineux,

1499. After this, he was ſent into England by Pope Alexander VI. to collect the Papal tribute called *Peterpence*. He recommended himſelf ſo effectually to the people in power in this country, and was ſo well pleaſed with it, that having obtained the dignity of Archdeacon in the church of Wells, he reſolved to ſpend the remainder of his life in England. Here he undertook to write an Hiſtory of England, at the command of Henry VII. a work upon which he ſpent above twelve years. He dedicated it, in 1533, to Henry VIII. This work, however, is not much eſteemed. Polydore's hiſtory is like that of ſome modern Engliſh hiſtorians; worthy of approbation for the elegance of the ſtyle, but very deſerving of cenſure for the manifeſt want of regard to truth, and to impartiality.

"Polydore Virgil (ſays Biſhop Nicholſon) was the moſt accompliſhed writer for elegancy and clearneſs of ſtyle, that his age afforded. So much Leland, the ſevereſt enemy he had, has acknowledged of him; and, on this ſcore alone, ſome have unreaſonably extolled him. But there is ſo little of the other more neceſſary qualification of a good hiſtorian, truth and fair dealing, in all his twenty-ſix books, that he has been juſtly condemned by our critics; and it is no wonder, that ſome of them have expreſſed an indignation ſuitable to the abuſes put upon their country." And John Caius, in his book *De Antiquitatibus Cantabrigiæ*,

Fineux, Lord Chief Juſtice of England (*n*), the other Judges and Serjeants, and many other perſons of diſtinction.

Before Wolſey was dignified with the Purple, he had engroſſed the ſole adminiſtration of affairs. "He ſo abſolutely governed "the King, (ſays Rapin), that he turned him which way he "pleaſed; but he managed ſo artfully, that the King always "fancied he took his own courſe, when he only followed the "ſuggeſtions of his Miniſter." Rapin further obſerves, that Wolſey "no ſooner ſaw himſelf fixed in his maſter's favour, "but he ſought means to remove from Court all thoſe that could "give him any jealouſy, by the King's eſteem for them. Fox, "Biſhop of Wincheſter, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, "who had been moſt in favour, received ſo many mortifications "from this imperious Prelate, that at length they quitted the "Court, not to be expoſed to his inſults." It is ſaid that when Fox, who had greatly contributed towards Wolſey's riſe, retired from Court in diſguſt, he deſired of the King, "that he would "not ſuffer the ſervant to be greater than his maſter." To which the King replied, that "it ſhould be his care, that thoſe "who were his ſubjects ſhould obey, and not command."

Archbiſhop Warham, who now held the poſt of Chancellor, being a Prelate of a moderate and peaceable temper, choſe rather to retire from public buſineſs, than to maintain an unequal conteſt with Wolſey; accordingly he reſigned the Seals on the 22d day of December this year, 1515, and two days after Cardinal Wolſey was appointed Lord Chancellor. And theſe acceſſions of dignity, his being made Cardinal and Chancellor, conſiderably augmented Wolſey's pride and arrogance, which were before

brigiæ, mentions it as a thing, "not only reported, but even certainly known, that Polydore Virgil, to prevent the diſcovery of the faults in his hiſtory, moſt wickedly committed as many of our antient and manuſcript hiſtories to the flames, as a waggon could hold."

Polydore Virgil left England in 1550, his advanced age then requiring a warmer and more ſoutherly climate. He was permitted to enjoy the income of his benefices, which were the Archdeaconry of Wells, and Prebend of Nonnington, during his abſence. He died at Urbino, in the year 1555. He is very ſevere upon Cardinal Wolſey's memory in his hiſtory.

(*n*) Sir JOHN FINEUX was a Judge of great reputation in his own time. He was born at Swinkfield in the county of Kent. Lloyd remarks of him, that he was twenty-eight years of age when he firſt applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the law, and that he practiſed the law twenty-eight years before he was made a Judge, which office he held twenty-eight years more. He was indefatigably laborious in his profeſſion; and left behind him twenty-three folio volumes of notes. He vigorouſly oppoſed the proceedings of Empſon and Dudley. He was a very able and eloquent pleader; and a perſon of great piety, though of a very chearful temper and converſation. He was very hoſpitable, generous, and humane; but remarkably frugal of his time. He uſed to ſay, "That we ſhould not complain we have little time; but that we ſpend much either in doing nothing, or doing evil, or in doing nothing to the purpoſe." He died in 1526, aged eighty-four.

before ſufficiently exorbitant. He aſſumed a greater degree of pomp and magnificence, than any churchman in England had ever done before him. His train, we are told, conſiſted of eight hundred ſervants (*o*), many of whom were Knights and gentlemen. And Cavendiſh tells us, that he had nine or ten Lords among his attendants, one of whom was the Earl of Derby. His equipages, his furniture, the embroidery of his liveries, and his own apparel, were uncommonly ſplendid and ſuperb (*p*). He is ſaid to have been the firſt Clergyman in England who wore ſilk and gold, not only on his habit, but alſo on his ſaddles, and the trappings of his horſes and mules. Even the principal cook of his privy kitchen, we are informed by Cavendiſh, was daily clothed in ſattin or velvet, and wore alſo a gold chain.

When he appeared in public, he cauſed his Cardinal's hat to be borne aloft by a perſon of rank; and when he came to the King's chapel, he would permit it to be laid upon no place but the altar. Two Prieſts, the talleſt and comelieſt that could be met with, carried before him two croſſes, one as Cardinal, and the other as Archbiſhop of York. The people would ſometimes make merry with the Cardinal's two croſſes; and obſerve, that they were convinced one croſs alone was not ſufficient for the expiation of his ſins and offences. Beſides his croſſes, two gentlemen carried before him alſo two pillars of ſilver, as a kind of maces, and another carried the Great Seal before him. Four footmen alſo attended with gilt pole-axes in their hands, beſides a numerous train of other attendants. Moſt of his attendants rode on horſeback, but he himſelf rode upon a mule, the trappings of which were of crimſon velvet, with a ſaddle of the ſame, and gilt ſtirrups. Every Sunday he reſorted to the Court at Greenwich, from his houſe at Charing-Croſs, with all this pomp and parade, not forgetting either his croſſes, his ſilver pillars, his hat, or his Great Seal. As to his own houſe, it was reſorted to by Nobility, Gentry, and people of all ranks, like the palace of a Sovereign Prince.

Wolſey created himſelf many enemies by his pride and oſtentation. But he executed the office of Chancellor with great ability. He adminiſtered juſtice in that high and important poſt

(*o*) In the printed editions of Cavendiſh, after the ſeveral officers of Wolſey's houſhold are enumerated, it is ſaid, "Here is an end of his houſhold, the number of perſons in the cheyne were eight hundred perſons." But in the manuſcript we have before referred to, fol. 8. it is, "The number of the perſons in his check roll were one hundred and eighty." But this appears to be a miſtake; for Cavendiſh particularly enumerates near three hundred of his attendants, excluſive of the officers of his chapel.

(*p*) "That outward appearance that he delighted to ſhew himſelf to the world in, beſpeaks the intolerable loftineſs and vanity of his mind. For beſides all the ſtate and magnificence of his houſe and officers, which is related at large by Cavendiſh, his habit was moſt gorgeous. It was great; that his upper veſture

was

with the utmoſt impartiality; and he diſcovered in his deciſions the moſt penetrating judgment, and the moſt comprehenſive knowledge of law, and of equity. He very much protected the common people from the oppreſſions of the Great; and he was a great patron of literature, and was particularly liberal to ſeveral learned foreigners.

In 1516, Cardinal Wolſey received a commiſſion from the Pope, appointing him Legate A LATERE. And having received this new dignity, he made a new diſplay of that pomp and parade to which he was ſo much addicted. On ſolemn feaſt-days, he was not content without ſaying maſs after the manner of the Pope himſelf; and not only had Biſhops and Abbots to ſerve him, but even engaged the firſt Nobility to give him water and the towel. To ſupport his magnificent manner of living, beſides the profits of the office of Chancellor, and the revenues of the Archbiſhopric of York, and the Biſhopric of Tournay, he got poſſeſſion, at very low leaſes, of the revenues of Bath, Worceſter, and Hereford, Biſhoprics filled by Italians, who were allowed to reſide abroad, and who were glad to compound for this indulgence, by parting with a conſiderable ſhare of their profits. He had alſo about this time a penſion of three thouſand livres granted to him by Charles, King of Spain, having before obtained the conditional grant of a penſion of ten thouſand ducats out of the Dutchy of Milan. And it was computed that his whole revenues, with the penſions and numerous preſents that he received from abroad, annually exceeded the revenues of the Crown. But though Wolſey thus engroſſed ſuch prodigious revenues, eccleſiaſtical and civil, yet Anthony Wood tells us, that "he was the moſt *diſintereſted* Clergyman of that age!"

Surrounded as Wolſey was with pomp and dignity, he remembered the affront which he had received from Sir Amias Pawlet. The Cardinal and Chancellor could not forgive the inſult which had been offered to the Rector of Lymington. He ſent for Pawlet; and after a ſevere expoſtulation with him, concerning the treatment which he had formerly received at his hands, he ſtrictly enjoined him not to go out of town without ſpecial licence. And for five or ſix years the Knight was confined by the Cardinal's order in the Temple; where he ſought to

was all of ſcarlet, or elſe of fine crimſon taffata, or crimſon ſattin ingrained; that he wore red gloves, as well as a red hat. But greater ſtill; that he were ſhoes of ſilver gilt, ſet with pearls and precious ſtones, having two croſſes of ſilver, and two pole-axes, and pillars of ſilver and gilt, and golden cuſhions carried before him; which, however the Cardinal prided himſelf in, the people, it ſeems, had never the better opinion of him for. For I find one Richard Byfield (afterwards a martyr) about the year 1527, uſing theſe words to one Peerſon, a Prieſt: "My Lord "Cardinal is no perfect nor good "man; for CHRIST never taught "him to follow riches, nor to ſeek "for promotions. CHRIST never "taught him to wear ſhoes of ſil-"ver and gilt, &c." Strype's Mem. Vol. I. P. 120, 121.

to mitigate Wolſey's reſentment by adorning the gate-houſe next to the ſtreet with his arms, his hat, and other badges of diſtinction, proper to him as Cardinal. Sir Amias Pawlet was after ſome years confinement diſcharged; but it appears evidently that the Cardinal, in this affair, acted in an arbitrary and illegal manner.

The Cardinal, in conſequence of his being inveſted with legantine power, erected an office which he called the Legantine Court. And as he was now, by means of the Pope's commiſſion, and the favour of the King, inveſted with all power, both eccleſiaſtical and civil, no man knew what bounds were to be ſet to this new tribunal. He conferred on it a ſpecies of inquiſitorial and cenſorial powers even over the Laity; and directed it to enquire into all matters of conſcience, and into all conduct which had given ſcandal. Great offence was taken at this tribunal, the power of which was unbounded; and the people were the more diſguſted, when they ſaw a perſon, who indulged himſelf in luxury and pleaſure, and who was charged with private vices, ſo ſevere in puniſhing the leaſt appearance of immorality in others. Some writers are indeed of opinion, that Wolſey really intended to promote the reformation of manners, and eſpecially that of the Clergy. "He had certainly (ſays Biſhop Burnet) a vaſt mind; and he ſaw the corruptions of the Clergy gave ſo great ſcandal, and their ignorance was ſo profound, that unleſs ſome effectual ways were taken for correcting theſe, they muſt needs fall into great diſeſteem with the people: for though he took great liberties himſelf, and perhaps according to the maxims of the Canoniſts, he judged Cardinals, as Princes of the Church, were not comprehended within ordinary eccleſiaſtical laws; yet he ſeemed to have deſigned the reformation of the inferior Clergy, by all the means he could think of, except the giving them a good example (*q*)."

But the Cardinal made his legantine court the more obnoxious, by appointing one John Allen the Judge of it; a perſon who, it is ſaid, was of a ſcandalous life, and who had been himſelf condemned by Wolſey, as Chancellor, for perjury. And as this man exacted fines from every one whom he was pleaſed to find guilty, or took bribes to ſtop proſecution, many concluded that he ſhared with the Cardinal thoſe wages of iniquity. Lord Herbert, ſpeaking of Cardinal Wolſey's legantine court, ſays that "all manner of rapines and extortions were committed there. For making enquiry into the life of every body, no offence eſcaped cenſure and puniſhment, unleſs privately they gave money;" and "as the rules of conſcience are in many caſes of a greater extent than thoſe of the law, ſo he found means to ſearch into their ſecreteſt corners."

(*q*) *Vid.* Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. P. 20. Edit. 1679.

Wolſey alſo aſſumed the power of all the Biſhops courts, particularly that of judging of wills and teſtaments, and his deciſions in thoſe important points were ſometimes not a little arbitrary; as if he himſelf were Pope, and as if the Pope could diſpoſe abſolutely of every eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, he preſented to whatever Priories or benefices he pleaſed, without regard to the right of election in the Monks, or of patronage in the Nobility and Gentry.

Archbiſhop Warham took the liberty of complaining to the King of theſe tranſactions of Wolſey; upon which Henry directed Warham to tell Wolſey, that he ſhould amend what was amiſs (*r*). This, however, had little effect. "But ſhortly after (ſays Lord Herbert) his Agent John Allen being accuſed "by one John London, a Prieſt, it appeared ſufficiently that all "the former allegations againſt Wolſey were true; which "made the King rebuke the Cardinal ſo ſharply, that after that "time he became, if not better, yet more wary than before."

The French King, who had been ſome time extremely deſirous of recovering poſſeſſion of the city of Tournay, was now convinced that he ſhould not be able to carry his point, without gaining over Cardinal Wolſey to his intereſt. The Cardinal had hitherto detached Henry from the intereſt of Francis, and engaged him to enter into treaties with his enemies, in reſentment for the French Monarch's former behaviour with reſpect to the Biſhopric of Tournay. And though Francis had uſed great intereſt at the Court of Rome, to procure Wolſey his Cardinal's hat, yet that did not pacify the haughty Prelate, who wanted to ſhew that even Sovereigns ſhould not offend him with impunity. But, in 1518, Francis ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy to England, conſiſting of Bonnivet, Admiral of France, the Archbiſhop of Paris, and Villeroy, Secretary of State. Bonnivet was directed to employ all his inſinuation and addreſs, qualities which he poſſeſſed in an eminent degree, to procure himſelf a place in the good graces of the Cardinal. After the Ambaſſador had ſucceeded in his purpoſe, he took an opportunity of expreſſing the King his maſter's regret, that, by miſtakes and miſapprehenſions, he had been ſo unfortunate as to loſe a friendſhip, which he ſo much valued as that of his Eminence. Wolſey was not, we are told, deaf to theſe honourable advances from ſo great a Monarch; and he was from that time obſerved to expreſs himſelf, on all occaſions, in favour of the French alliance.

The more to engage him in his intereſts, Francis loſt no occaſion which preſented itſelf of offering incenſe to the Cardinal's vanity. He ſhewed the greateſt deference and regard to him, continually by letters, or ſpecial meſſengers, ſaluting him by the name of Father, or ſome other honorary, or moſt reſpectful appellation.

(*r*) *Vid.* Vol. I. of this Work, P. 320.

pellation. And he would aſk his advice, even in the moſt ſecret affairs; and in all difficult emergencies had recourſe to him, as to an oracle of wiſdom and profound policy. The Cardinal made no ſecret to the King of this private correſpondence; and Henry was ſo prepoſſeſſed in favour of the great capacity of his Miniſter, that, he ſaid, he verily believed he would govern Francis as well as himſelf. Matters appearing thus to be ſufficiently prepared, Bonnivet opened to the Cardinal his maſter's deſire of recovering Tournay; and Wolſey engaged to effectuate his purpoſe. He repreſented to Henry, that the poſſeſſion of Tournay was precarious, expenſive, and uſeleſs; and accordingly a treaty was entered into for the delivering up of that city, and which was ſoon concluded. It was agreed, that the Dauphin and the Princeſs Mary, both of them infants, ſhould be betrothed, and that this city ſhould be conſidered as the dowry of the Princeſs. But as Henry had been at a conſiderable expence in building a citadel at Tournay, Francis agreed to pay him ſix hundred thouſand crowns at twelve yearly payments. But that Wolſey might not think himſelf neglected in theſe ſtipulations, Francis's Ambaſſadors brought over letters patent, by which he obliged himſelf to pay to his dear friend the Cardinal of York, a penſion of twelve thouſand livres, in return for his giving up the Biſhopric of Tournay. It was alſo ſtipulated, that there ſhould be an interview between the two Monarchs, in the village of Sandenfelt, near Ardres, in Picardy; and the French King referred the regulation of this interview, as to the time and manner of it, entirely to Wolſey.

This year the Cardinal accompanied the King and Queen to Abingdon; where, the day after their arrival, a ſolemn deputation of the principal heads of the Univerſity of Oxford was ſent, to pay their duty to their Majeſties, when they were likewiſe introduced to the Cardinal. And the Queen took that opportunity to viſit Oxford, attended by the Cardinal, who was received at the Univerſity in the moſt honourable manner. And the Cardinal, after he had entered the convocation, and received the congratulatory addreſſes of the Univerſity, made a ſpeech in return, in which he declared, how much he had the intereſt of the Univerſity at heart, and how deſirous he was of doing it ſervice. He alſo acquainted them with his deſign of founding ſeveral public lectures, and which he ſoon afterwards carried into execution. Theſe lectures were ſeven in number, on Theology, Civil Law, Phyſic, Philoſophy, Mathematics, the Greek language, and Rhetoric. The Cardinal, however, though he paid ſalaries to the ſeveral lecturers in his own time, yet never ſettled any eſtate upon the lectureſhips by deed; and, therefore, there are now no remains of them. About this time, the Cardinal was alſo very inſtrumental in procuring the eſtabliſhment of the College of Phyſicians.

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This year alſo the Cardinal received two grants from the King of an extraordinary nature. Theſe were dated May the 6th. By the firſt he was impowered to grant letters patents of denizenation to be made out, under the Great Seal, to ſuch perſon or perſons as ſhould at any time ſue to him for the ſame, without any other warrant. By the other he was authorized to make out letters patents under the Great Seal, of all Conge D'Elires, Royal aſſents, and reſtitutions of Temporalities, as well of Archbiſhoprics, Monaſteries, Abbies, Priories, as of all other religious houſes, in England and Wales, to ſuch perſons as ſhould afterwards in due form ſue for the ſame. And the Cardinal was alſo authorized by the ſame powers, to cauſe from time to time to be made out commiſſions, and writs of DEDIMUS POTESTATEM, to ſuch as ſhould think convenient, to take the homages and fealty of all manner of perſons, as well Archbiſhops and Biſhops as other perſons, due unto the Crown for the ſaid Temporalities.

Pope Leo X. had now been for ſome time ſoliciting the Powers of Chriſtendom to join in a league againſt the Turks, and which had been already concluded between the Emperor, and the Kings of France and Spain. In this treaty a place was left for King Henry of England; and accordingly the Pope appointed Cardinal Campejus his Legate, with directions to ſolicit Henry to enter into the league. Wolſey being informed of this appointment, ſent one of his confidents to Rome, with a remonſtrance to his Holineſs, importing, that the nomination of another Legate, while he reſided Cardinal in England, was ſuch an affront as would deſtroy his credit and influence, and render him incapable of ſerving the Holy See effectually. Upon which the Pope, being unwilling to diſoblige ſo powerful a Miniſter, joined him in the legation with Campejus, whom Wolſey found means to detain at Boulogne, until he received Leo's anſwer. When Campejus arrived in England, it appeared that his whole commiſſion was to effectuate three points. The firſt was, to prevail upon Henry to enter into the league againſt the Turks; the ſecond, to procure an aid of money from the Clergy; and the third, to viſit the Monaſteries of England. Wolſey was the Pope's ſecret enemy in every one of theſe matters. He knew what great ſums his Holineſs would draw from England, if Campejus was ſuffered to have any ſway with the Clergy; beſides, he himſelf having been before appointed collector and manager of the tenths for the Pope, he looked upon the other Legate's commiſſion as an affront upon himſelf. Wolſey, therefore, managed it ſo, that the Clergy gave a flat denial to the Pope's demand. As to the project of the league, Wolſey repreſented it to Henry in its juſt light, that of a ſtale expedient, always practiſed upon Princes for ſqueezing from them ſubſidies to the See of Rome. Henry, therefore, declined all ſuch engagements. With reſpect to the third part of the

the Legate's buſineſs, Wolſey immediately diſpatched Dr. Clark to Rome, to ſolicit, or rather to demand, from the Pope, a revocation of Campejus's powers, and a commiſſion veſting the ſole right of viſiting Engliſh Monaſteries in the perſon of Wolſey. As to Campejus himſelf, Wolſey treated him with politeneſs, and even with generoſity. He furniſhed him with equipages, preſented him with money, introduced him in a very handſome manner to the King, and promiſed him his intereſt for the See of Saliſbury, as ſoon as it ſhould be vacant; and, at laſt, obligingly diſmiſſed him. And Clark, Wolſey's Agent at the Court of Rome, obtained a Bull from the Pope, impowering Wolſey not only to viſit Monaſteries, and all the Clergy of England, but to diſpenſe with the laws of the Church for the term of a year, from the date of his commiſſion.

At the beginning of the year 1519, the Emperor Maximilian died; upon which the Kings of France and Spain immediately declared themſelves competitors for the Imperial Throne. The King of England was inclined to have offered himſelf as a candidate, but he was too late in his application; and Charles, King of Spain, was elected Emperor. The new Emperor, and the King of France, had ſeveral other cauſes of contention and rivalſhip; and they were both very deſirous of bringing over the King of England to favour their reſpective intereſts. And, for this purpoſe, they both cultivated, with the utmoſt aſſiduity, the friendſhip of Wolſey. Beſides preſents and penſions, they vied with each other who ſhould careſs him moſt, ſtiling him in their letters, their friend, their patron, and their father; and extolling to the ſkies his virtue, prudence, and capacity. And Wolſey artfully made uſe of theſe teſtimonies, not only to flatter his maſter's vanity, by repreſenting to him how formidable he muſt be to thoſe two Potentates, when they thus earneſtly ſolicited the friendſhip of his Miniſter; but alſo to enhance his own merit in the opinion of Henry, who could not help obſerving, that Wolſey's abilities muſt be greatly ſuperior to thoſe of all other Miniſters, when they were thus acknowledged by the greateſt Princes of Europe.

The Cardinal having regulated the ceremonial of the intended interview between the Kings of England and France, Henry repaired to Canterbury in the latter end of May, 1520, in order to paſs his Whitſuntide in that city, and from thence proceed to Calais; but the next day he was informed that the Emperor of Germany had landed at Dover. The King was much ſurprized at the arrival of Charles, which had been pre-concerted between that Prince and Wolſey, to whom he had promiſed his influence with the Pope, towards procuring for him the Biſhopric of Bajadox. The Cardinal was ſent to compliment the Emperor at Dover, where the King met him next day, and conducted him to Canterbury. The Emperor's deſign in this voyage was to divert Henry from his intended interview with Francis; and accordingly,

ingly, with great earneſtneſs, he requeſted the Engliſh Monarch to put it off; but Henry told him, that he had gone too far to retract; but at the ſame time he aſſured the Emperor, that nothing ſhould paſs between him and Francis to his prejudice. His Imperial Majeſty renewed a treaty of commerce with England; and, during his ſtay, he paid great court to Wolſey; and engaged him in his intereſts, by promiſing to uſe his utmoſt endeavours towards raiſing him to the Papacy. And after having been magnificently entertained by Henry, the Emperor took his leave, and embarked at Sandwich for Flanders.

The ſame day King Henry ſailed from Dover to Calais, attended by Queen Catherine, the Queen-Dowager of France, Cardinal Wolſey, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Dukes of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Buckingham, the Marquis of Dorſet, and many other Noblemen, and Prelates, and Gentry of both ſexes, to the number in the whole of more than four thouſand perſons. Before the two Monarchs met, Cardinal Wolſey waited upon the French King with ſome propoſals concerning the late treaty of alliance between Henry and Francis. Several particulars were accordingly agreed to, after ſome conferences between Wolſey and Chancellor Du Pratt, who managed the affairs of France. Among other things, it was agreed, that the differences between England and Scotland ſhould be referred to the arbitration of Louiſa of Savoy, mother to the King of France, and Cardinal Wolſey. The interview between the two Kings, which was on the ſeventh of June, in the valley of Arden, was uncommonly magnificent. The whole ſolemnity was regulated by Wolſey. On the eleventh day of the month, the juſts and tournaments began in ſight of the Ladies, for whom ſcaffolds were erected. Both the Kings entered the liſts, and behaved with great dexterity; but Henry bore away the honour of the field. Theſe exerciſes being ended, the two Kings regaled each other with ſplendid entertainments, balls, and maſquerades. And ſo much pomp and magnificence attended this interview, that the place of it was ſtiled, THE FIELD OF CLOTH OF GOLD. At length, the two Kings parted on the twenty-fourth of June; and Henry, with his train, returned to Calais. He afterwards paid a viſit to the Emperor Charles and his aunt Margaret at Gravelines, who accompanied him back to Calais; after which he ſailed with his retinue for England.

About this time the Pope granted Wolſey a penſion of two thouſand ducats upon the Biſhopric of Placentia, and conſtituted him perpetual Adminiſtrator of the See of Bajadox. And this year an account was taken, by the Cardinal's order, of the ſeveral pariſhes in England; and by this account there appeared to be nine thouſand four hundred and ſeven churches at that time in the kingdom. The beginning of the following year, 1521, in an aſſembly of Prelates and Clergy, which was held at Wolſey's own houſe, the doctrines of Luther were condemned. Forty-two

of

of his errors were enumerated. The Cardinal alſo publiſhed the Pope's Bull againſt Luther, and ordered it to be every where publiſhed. He likewiſe required all perſons, under pain of excommunication, to bring in all the books of Luther that were in their hands. "This (ſays Biſhop Burnet) ſhews the apprehen-"ſions they were under of the ſpreading of Luther's books and "doctrine. All people were ſo ſenſible at this time of the cor-"ruptions, that every motion towards a reformation was readily "hearkened to every where. Corruption was the common ſub-"ject of complaint; and in the commiſſion given to thoſe "whom the King ſent to repreſent himſelf and his Church in the "Council of Lateran, *the reformation of the Head and Members* "is mentioned as that which was expected from that Council. "This was ſo much at that time in all men's mouths, that one of "the beſt men in that age, Colet, dean of St. Paul's, being to "open the convocation with a ſermon, made that the ſubject "of it all (*s*)." But though Wolſey was concerned in cauſing the doctrines of Luther to be condemned, yet we muſt, in juſtice to him, obſerve, that he was by no means eager in the proſecution of Heretics. And it is juſtly obſerved by the learned Dr. Jortin, that "one of the moſt favourable things that can be al-"ledged for Wolſey, is contained in an article of his impeach-"ment, namely, that he was remiſs in hunting and puniſhing "Heretics, and rather diſpoſed to ſcreen them, by means of "which connivance Lutheraniſm had got ground."

The great ſtudy of Wolſey was to preſerve his influence over Henry, and to find means to remove from Court all thoſe who might rival him in the King's favour. His great arrogance, and his affecting much contempt even for the Nobility, created him many enemies; but his great power prevented moſt of them from openly declaring themſelves to be ſuch. One, however, of his moſt open enemies, was Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham. This Nobleman was one of the greateſt ſubjects in England, both by birth and poſſeſſions; and being a man of warm paſſions, and ſomewhat imprudent, had very freely expreſſed his indignation at the Cardinal's pride, ſtatelineſs, and unbounded power (*t*). For ſome time this Nobleman and Wolſey had lived in a declared animoſity with one another; but before the Cardinal would directly attack him, he found means to deprive him of his two beſt friends; the Earl of Northumberland, his father-in-law, who was committed to the Tower, on the preſence of his claiming ſome wards to which he had no title; and

(*s*) *Vid.* our account of, and extracts from, this ſermon, Vol. I. P. 397-402.

(*t*) "He could by no means bear with the intolerable pride of the Cardinal, whoſe hatred not improbably proved fatal unto him, rather than did the King's diſpleaſure: for many times Princes are with leſs danger offended than their minions. There goes a tale, that the Duke once holding the baſon to the King, the Cardinal, when the King had done, preſently dipped his hands in the

his ſon-in-law, the Earl of Surrey, who was appointed Governor of Ireland, that he might be at a diſtance from London. Buckingham had been ſo unguarded as to ſay, in a private company, that ſhould the King die without iſſue, he would lay claim to the Crown as the deſcendant of Anne of Gloucester, granddaughter to Edward III. and that, ſhould he ever aſcend the Throne, he would puniſh Wolſey according to his demerit. This expreſſion being reported to the Cardinal, we are told, he forthwith devoted the Duke to deſtruction; and bribed ſome of his domeſtics to betray the private life and converſation of their maſter. From this information Wolſey learnt, that Buckingham correſponded with one Hopkins, a Monk, who pretended to the gift of Prophecy, and flattered the Duke with aſſurances of his ſucceeding to the Throne of England. Wolſey, having thus collected matter for an impeachment, and deprived Buckingham of his two principal ſupports, Northumberland and Surrey, he was arreſted, and accuſed of high-treaſon. And accordingly he was tried before the Duke of Norfolk, appointed High-Steward for the occaſion, by one Duke, one Marquis, ſeven Earls, and twelve Barons; and being by them found guilty, was beheaded on the 13th of May. This Nobleman was very popular; and his death was univerſally regretted, and brought a great odium upon Wolſey, who was conſidered as the author of it; and the people openly libelled him as the ſon of a butcher, who delighted in blood.

At this period a war had broken out between the Emperor Charles and the French King; and though theſe Princes were committing hoſtilities on each other in every part of Europe, they ſtill made profeſſions of the ſtrongeſt deſire of peace; and both of them appealed to the King of England, as to the umpire between them. Henry, who appeared neutral, engaged them to ſend their Plenipotentiaries to Calais, where he propoſed to ſend Cardinal Wolſey, veſted with full power to act in his name, as mediator. Accordingly the Cardinal being appointed,

the ſame water: the Duke, diſdaining to debaſe himſelf to the ſervice of a Prieſt, ſhed the water in his ſhoes. The Cardinal therewith incenſed, threatened him, *That he would ſit upon his ſkirts.* The Duke, to ſhew that he ſlighted his threats, and withal that the King might take notice of the Cardinal's malice, came the next day to Court, richly (as he uſually was) apparelled, but without ſkirts to his doublet. The King and many others demanding what he meant by that ſtrange faſhion, he anſwered readily, *That it was done by way of prevention, for the Cardinal ſhould not ever ſit upon his ſkirts.* He thought he had put a jeſt upon the Cardinal; to whoſe informations, as proceeding from envy and ſpleen, he hoped the King would hereafter give the leſs credit. But he miſſed his mark: for moſt men were of opinion, that the Cardinal's malice cruſhed him, rather than did the weight of his own offences. It was the ſaying of Charles the Emperor, upon the report of his death, *That the butcher's dog had killed the faireſt hart of England.*"——Bp. Godwin's Annals of Hen. VIII. P. 46, 47. Edit. 1630.

pointed, by ſpecial commiſſion, the King's Lieutenant, proceeded through London in great ſtate, attended by the Earl of Worceſter, the Lords St. John, Ferrers, and Herbert, the Biſhops of Durham and Ely, the Primate of Armagh, and many other perſons of diſtinction, and a numerous train of ſervants, and arrived at Calais on the 10th of July. The conferences were opened on the 4th of Auguſt, when the Cardinal appeared with all the pomp of a Sovereign. He was poſſeſſed of the Great Seal of England, and veſted with ample power to terminate the quarrel between the two parties, to renew the alliance between England and France, and to conclude any other league that ſhould be for his maſter's intereſt. Wolſey was now entirely in the intereſt of the Emperor, on account of the aſſurances which he had given him, that he would uſe his intereſt towards procuring him the Papacy; and as the Emperor was well acquainted with the Cardinal's partiality towards him, his demands in the conferences were very unreaſonable. On the French King's rejecting the Emperor's terms, the congreſs at Calais broke up, and Wolſey took a journey to Bruges, where he met with the Emperor (*u*). He was received with as much ſtate, reſpect, and magnificence, as if he had himſelf been King of England; and he concluded in his maſter's name an offenſive alliance with the Pope and Emperor againſt France. He engaged that England ſhould, in the following ſummer, invade that kingdom with forty thouſand men; and he betrothed to Charles the Princeſs Mary, the King's only child, who had now ſome proſpect of inheriting the Crown. "This extravagant alliance (ſays Mr. Hume), which was prejudicial to the intereſts, and might have proved fatal to the liberty and independence of the kingdom, was the reſult of the humours and prejudices of the King, and the private views and expectations of the Cardinal."

Wolſey returned to England in November; and he this year obtained the rich Abbey of St. Alban's *in commendam*. He alſo received a Bull from the Pope, which prolonged his Legateſhip for two years; and another which impowered him to create fifty Knights, as many Counts Palatine, the like number of Acolytes

(*u*) Before the Cardinal left Calais, he concluded a treaty with the Miniſters of the Emperor and the French King, importing, That the two contending Monarchs ſhould command their ſubjects not to purſue the ſhips or veſſels of either party into the ports of England, nor commit any hoſtilities within the territories of the King thereof, during the war: that the Miniſters of each party that compoſed the congreſs, ſhould freely retire with their train, without receiving any injury from the troops of the parties engaged in the war: and that the *King of England*, and the *Cardinal Legate*, his Lieutenant, ſhould be the *Conſervators* of theſe articles. Upon this treaty Rapin makes the following remark: "We have here (ſays he) a very ſenſible proof of the Cardinal's inſolence, who, in a treaty drawn by himſelf, preſumed thus to ſet himſelf on a level with his maſter, by being declared *Conſervator* with the King."

and Chaplains, and forty apoſtolical Notaries; and to legitimate baſtards, and grant the Doctor's degree in all the faculties, as well as all ſorts of diſpenſations. At the cloſe of the year Pope Leo X. died; upon which Wolſey diſpatched Pace to Rome to manage his intereſt there. But it appeared upon this occaſion, that the Emperor had been inſincere in his promiſes to the Cardinal; for he uſed his influence not in favour of Wolſey, but of Cardinal Adrian Florentius. However, Charles had taken his meaſures with ſo much art and addreſs, that Adrian was unanimouſly choſen Pope in the conclave, without the Emperor's appearing to intermeddle in the affair. And Wolſey did not ſhew any reſentment on account of his diſappointment, probably thinking it more eligible to conceal it, that he might ſtand the fairer for the next vacancy; which, as the new Pope was both old and infirm, ſeemed not to be at any great diſtance.

The French King having been informed of what had paſſed between the Emperor and Wolſey at Bruges, ſent letters to Henry, in which he inſerted the article of the treaty of London, obliging them to give each other mutual aſſiſtance. He then recapitulated the meaſures which the Emperor had taken againſt him, and ſummoned the King of England to execute the treaty. Henry affirmed, that the French King was the firſt aggreſſor, and immediately declared war againſt him, as a diſturber of the peace of Europe. The Emperor being at this time extremely deſirous of keeping up a friendly correſpondence with Wolſey, without which he knew he could not be upon amicable terms with Henry, paid a new viſit to England, and landed at Dover on the 26th of May, 1522. The Cardinal there received him with a magnificent retinue; and the King in perſon repairing to the ſame place, conducted him to Greenwich. From thence they went together to London, where they were entertained with great ſplendor; and on Whitſunday the Cardinal celebrated high maſs at St. Paul's, with all the pomp of a Sovereign Pontiff, Dukes and other Lords of the firſt diſtinction holding water to him, the Emperor and the King being preſent. Henry afterwards invited the Emperor to Windſor, where he was inſtalled in the Order of the Garter, after which they ratified the treaty of Bruges. And Charles engaged, by letters patent, to pay Wolſey a penſion of nine thouſand crowns of gold; and took every method to ſecure his friendſhip, repeating the promiſes which he had before made him, of uſing his intereſt towards procuring him the Papacy. The Emperor left England in July, being conveyed to Spain by a fleet commanded by the Earl of Surrey.

In order to maintain the war, which was entered into with France, the King, by the advice of Wolſey, iſſued warrants to all Sheriffs and Conſtables, to number the people, from the age of ſixteen upwards, and ſpecify the effects of each individual, that he might borrow a tenth of the Laity, and a fourth of the Clergy, beſides twenty thouſand pounds, which he exacted by

way

way of loan from the city of London. "This general loan "(ſays Rapin) made a great noiſe all over the kingdom, and "every one openly exclaimed againſt the Cardinal, who was "the author; but he little regarded the people's clamours, be- "cauſe he was ſupported by the King (*w*). However, though "at firſt he had given orders to exact loans with the ſame rigour "as if they had been a tax impoſed by the Parliament, he met "with ſo many obſtacles, that he was apprehenſive of raiſing "commotions in the kingdom, not to be appeaſed at his plea- "ſure; ſo the tax was levied much more gently than at firſt in- "tended."

In 1523, the Cardinal reſigned the Adminiſtration of Bath and Wells, upon being made Biſhop of Durham, on the death of Dr. Ruthal, Biſhop of that See. We are told, that this Prelate was deſired by Henry VIII. to write his opinion of the ſtate of the kingdom in general, and more eſpecially that part of it which more immediately concerned the Crown. And accordingly Biſhop Ruthal obeyed the King's command, writing his opinion in a fair hand, and having it bound up in a volume. As he was thus employed at the King's deſire to ſtate the condition of the kingdom, he bethought himſelf of looking into the ſtate of his own concerns, and got a ſecond volume bound up in the ſame manner as the firſt, wherein he wrote an exact inventory of all his eſtates, both real and perſonal; which, it is ſaid, amounted to no leſs a ſum than an hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. The King ſent to the Biſhop for his book, which his Majeſty was very impatient to ſee; but, by a fatal miſtake, Ruthal delivered the book containing the inventory of his own eſtate, inſtead of that he had written by the King's order. Cardinal Wolſey upon this carried the book to the King, and told his Majeſty, that though he would not meet with the account he expected, yet he would find the particulars of Biſhop Ruthal's eſtate, and where to apply for money in caſe he wanted. It does not appear whether the King took any advantage of this information; but Biſhop Godwin obſerves, that the miſtake fell ſo heavy on the Biſhop's ſpirits, that it haſtened his death. Upon this incident Dr. Jortin makes the following remark: "Whilſt "we deteſt (ſays he) the treachery of the Cardinal, we cannot "afford much pity to the Biſhop with his hundred thouſand "pounds. If he had made a wiſe uſe of them, like Arch- "biſhop

(*w*) It is no unuſual thing with the favourites of Princes to affect to deſpiſe and diſregard the complaints and murmurs of the people. The event, however, generally demonſtrates, that this conduct is at once iniquitous and weak. For a time a bad Miniſter, ſupported by Regal favour, may be able to ſtand againſt the indignation of an injured nation. But this, in a country where a ſenſe of liberty is predominant, cannot be of any long duration. The time muſt come, which will convince both the Prince and the favourite, that the people WILL be heard.

" biſhop Warham (*x*), who had the honour and the glory to " live and die poor, they would have been beyond the reach of " the King and Cardinal,

" *Extra fortunam eſt quicquid donatur amicis,*
" *Quas dederis ſolas ſemper habebis opes.*

" Even a Pagan could ſay this."

The Cardinal having met with much oppoſition to his late method of raiſing money, adviſed the King to convoke a Parliament. It accordingly aſſembled on the 15th of April, and a convocation met at the ſame time. And Wolſey having undertaken to manage the Clergy, determined to uſe all his high legantine and miniſterial powers, to prevail upon them to ſet a complying example to the Laity. And, therefore, he iſſued out a mandate to remove the convocation held at St. Paul's, at the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's call, and ſummoned the Archbiſhop and Clergy to meet at Weſtminſter, a proceeding which was altogether unprecedented. But this removal of the convocation by the Cardinal, was thought ſo irregular a ſtep, that it would render all the proceedings of the aſſembly invalid; and, therefore, they did not ſit many days before they returned to St. Paul's. However, Wolſey demanded of the Clergy a ſubſidy of half their revenues, payable in five years; though this demand was oppoſed, as exorbitant, by Fox, Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Fiſher, Biſhop of Rocheſter. " But the Cardinal (ſays Lord " Herbert) ſilencing ſome, and cauſing others to abſent them- " ſelves, prevailed at laſt." The Cardinal afterwards demanded a grant of eight hundred thouſand pounds of the Commons, divided into four yearly payments. This demand met with great oppoſition; and, after obſtinate debates, the Commons granted only a part of the ſum demanded. Wolſey, incenſed at their rejecting his propoſal, repaired to the Houſe, and deſired to hear their reaſons for refuſing his demands: but they gave him to underſtand, that they never argued in the preſence of ſtrangers; and he at length thought proper to retire, though extremely chagrined at his repulſe. The Commons, however,

(*x*) One of the writers of Wolſey's life, Grove, being full of zeal for the honour of the Cardinal's memory, and diſpleaſed with Warham for having oppoſed him, gives the Archbiſhop this character: " Warham (ſays he) was an old ſubtle Miniſter, and a great lover of money, which he collected together to enrich his private family only." But it happens a little unfortunately that this character is the very reverſe of the truth. For the fact is, that Archbiſhop Warham was one of the moſt generous men of his time, and remarkable for his liberality; and tho' he was for many years Archbiſhop of Canterbury and Lord-Chancellor, left no more behind him, than was ſufficient to pay his debts and funeral charges. And yet Mr. Grove informs us, that he was a great lover and hoarder of money!---*Vid.* Hiſt. of the Life and Times of Cardinal Wolſey, Vol. II. P. 94.

however, to manifeſt their zeal for the King's ſervice, voted a conſiderable addition to the ſubſidy (*y*). During theſe tranſactions, Pope Adrian died; but the Cardinal was again diſappointed in his expectations of the Papacy, Clement VII. being elected, and with the concurrence of the Emperor's adherents. Some of the reaſons which Wolſey's agents at Rome gave why he was not elected, were, that it was ſuppoſed that he would never go to Rome in perſon, and that he was conſidered as too young, and too powerful. Wolſey bore his diſappointment with a good grace, though he was now convinced of the Emperor's inſincerity; but he diſſembled his reſentment, and after congratulating the new Pope upon his promotion, obtained in 1524, a perpetual grant of the legantine power; which, it is ſaid, had never before been conferred for life upon any other perſon.

In the courſe of the war with France, the Earl of Surrey, who commanded the joint fleets of England and Flanders, made two deſcents upon the coaſt of France, from whence he carried off conſiderable booty. On his return from this expedition, the ſame Nobleman was ſent over to Calais with a body of forces, to join the Imperial General; and they having in conjunction ravaged part of Picardy, undertook the ſiege of Heſden, which, however, they could not reduce. They then attacked Dourlens, which they took and burned, together with Marquiſe, and ſome other places; but the winter approaching, and diſſenſions prevailing between the Generals, the Earl of Surrey withdrew his troops to Calais, and returned to England. The command of the Engliſh forces was afterwards given to the Duke of Suffolk, who, joining the Imperial General, made a conſiderable progreſs in France, taking ſeveral places, and advancing within eleven leagues of Paris, and threw that city into great conſternation, till the Duke of Vendome haſtened with ſome forces to its relief;

(*y*) A letter written at that time to a noble Lord, which is ſtill extant, gives a good idea of the ſenſe of the nation with reſpect to theſe ſubſidies. "I have heard no man in my life, (ſays the writer), that can remember, that ever there was given to any one of the King's anceſtors half ſo much at one grant: nor, I think, there was never ſuch a precedent ſeen before this time. I beſeech Almighty GOD it may be well and peaceably levied, and ſurely paſſed unto the King's Grace, without grudge; and eſpecially without loſing the good will and true hearts of his ſubjects; which I reckon is far greater treaſure for the King, than gold or ſilver. And the gentlemen that muſt take pains to levy this money among the King's ſubjects, I think, ſhall have no little buſineſs about the ſame. My Lord Cardinal hath promiſed, on his faith, that the two ſhillings of the pound of loan-money ſhall be paid with a good will, and with thanks, but no day is appointed thereof, *&c.*"

This writer alſo gives the following account of the Cardinal's proceedings with the convocation: "The convocation alſo (ſays he) among the Prieſts, the day of their appearance, as ſoon as maſs of the Holy Ghoſt at Paul's was done, my Lord Cardinal cited them to appear alſo before his convocation at Weſtminſter, which they ſo did; and there was another maſs of the Holy Ghoſt. And within ſix or ſeven days the Prieſts proved, that all the my

relief; upon which the confederated army thought proper to retire, and the Duke of Suffolk repaired to Calais.

At the opening of the year 1525, money being wanted for the purpoſes of Henry and his Miniſter, Wolſey, who was no friend to Parliaments, iſſued commiſſions in the King's name, to levy throughout the whole kingdom one ſixth part of every layman's goods, and one fourth of thoſe of the Clergy. This rigorous proceeding, after the great ſums which the people had lately advanced, and the payment of which had been anticipated by the Cardinal, almoſt threw the nation into a flame. The people were enraged, not only at the demand itſelf, but at the illegality of it; and juſtly conſidered it as a flagrant violation of Magna Charta, and the laws of the kingdom. And Commiſſioners being ſent down to the Clergy, in the different counties, and the Clergy called before them at fixed places, where a fourth part of their revenues and moveables was demanded, the Clergy anſwered the Commiſſioners, "That they would pay no-"thing, except it was granted by the convocation." And ſome of them did not ſcruple to ſay, "That the Cardinal, and "all the doers thereof, were enemies to the King and Common-"wealth." Nay, the Clergy even complained of it in their pulpits; and the Commiſſioners found the Laity as refractory as the Clergy. Grafton ſays, "The poor curſed, the rich re-"pugned, the light wits railed, and all curſed the Cardinal and "his adherents, as the ſubverters of the laws and liberties of "England." And the people alſo ſaid, "That if men ſhould "give their goods by a commiſſion, then were it worſe than the "taxes

my Lord Cardinal's convocation ſhould do would be void, becauſe that their ſummons was to appear before my Lord of Canterbury. Which thing ſo eſpied, my Lord Cardinal hath addreſſed a new citation into every country, commanding the Prieſts to appear before eight days after the aſcenſion. And then, I think, they ſhall have the third maſs of the Holy Ghoſt. I pray GOD, the Holy Ghoſt be among them, and us both. I do tremble to remember the end of all theſe high and new enterprizes. For oftentimes it hath been ſeen, that to a new enterprize there followeth a new manner, and ſtrange ſequel."—*Vid.* Fiddes's Collections, at the end of his life of Wolſey, P. 115.

It is ſaid, that when King Henry heard that the Commons made a great difficulty of granting the ſupply which was required of them, he was ſo provoked, that he ſent for Edward Montague, one of the Members, who had a conſiderable influence in the Houſe; and he being introduced to his Majeſty, had the mortification to hear him ſpeak in theſe words, *Ho! man! will they not ſuffer my bill to paſs?* And laying his hand on Montagu's head, who was then on his knees before him, ſaid, *Get my bill paſſed by to-morrow, or elſe to-morrow this head of your's ſhall be off.* And we are told by Hall, that Cardinal Wolſey endeavoured to terrify the citizens of London into the general loan, exacted in 1525, and told them plainly, that "it were better that ſome ſhould ſuffer indigence, than that the King at this time ſhould lack; and therefore beware and reſiſt not, nor ruffle not in this caſe: for it may fortune to coſt ſome people their heads." Such was the ſtile employed by the King and his Miniſter.—*Vid.* Hume's Hiſt. Vol. IV. P. 51.

" taxes in France, and ſo England ſhould be bond, and not " free."

King Henry being informed of the violent oppoſition which was made to this taxation, and the commotions which it occaſioned, publickly diſavowed the proceeding of his Miniſter, and declared by writs, throughout all the counties of England, that he would require nothing of his people but what they would voluntarily contribute by way of BENEVOLENCE. The Cardinal, on this occaſion, endeavoured to ſcreen himſelf from the public cenſure, by alledging, that he had done nothing in this affair, but what had been approved and aſſented to by the Council and the Judges. But his excuſe was by no means admitted among the people; who took it for granted, that the Council had been governed by him in giving their opinions, and that they were no other than his tools, to give a ſeeming ſanction to a manifeſt act of oppreſſion. It was, however, remarked, that the King ſhewed, on this occaſion, a greater indifference about vindicating the character of his favourite and Miniſter, Wolſey, than he had ever done before; and even ſeemed, by his behaviour, tacitly to condemn the Cardinal; which encouraged Wolſey's enemies to hope, that means might be found to diſpoſſeſs him of the King's favour.

The propoſal of collecting money from the people by way of BENEVOLENCE, was, however, very diſagreeable to the people, as well as the former method: for it was no other than an artifice to extort, under another name, what the ſubjects refuſed to give under that of a decree or commiſſion. And when it was agreed by the Common Council of the city of London, that each Alderman ſhould ſit in his ward, and ſummon the citizens before them, to acquaint them with the King's pleaſure in regard to the benevolence, and which was accordingly done, the citizens openly refuſed to give any thing, ſaying, " That they " had paid enough before." Upon this the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, with the city Counſel, waited upon Cardinal Wolſey, and acquainted him with the minds of the citizens. The Cardinal was himſelf Commiſſioner for the city of London, and therefore he took that opportunity of ſaying to them, " As I am " your Commiſſioner, I ſhall take the liberty to examine you, " one by one, and try how well you ſtand affected to your " Prince. And I now aſk of you a benevolence in his Ma- " jeſty's name." To which one of the city Counſel anſwered, " That it was contrary to the ſtatute made in the firſt year of " Richard III. for by that law no ſuch benevolence ſhould be " aſked, nor any man examined in relation to it." To this the Cardinal rejoined, " Sir, I marvel that you ſpeak of Richard " the IIId, who was an uſurper, and a murderer of his own ne- " phews. How can ſo evil a man's acts be good?"---" May it " pleaſe your Grace, (ſaid the Lawyer), although he did evil, " many good acts were made not by him only, but by the con-

" ſent of the body of the Realm, which is the PARLIAMENT." The Mayor then kneeled to the Cardinal, and deſired that he would permit them to try the citizens once more. " Well, " (ſaid Wolſey), I am content; however, as you are here, I " ſhall proceed thus far to aſk, What you will ſeverally give the " King?" " I pray you pardon me, (ſaid the Mayor), if I " ſhould grant any thing, it might coſt me my life." The Cardinal replied, " That was ſtrange, for the King would ſup- " port him; and if any of you (ſaid he) be grieved in this " matter, come to me, and I ſhall ſo treat you as to give you no " cauſe of complaint; and with this you may acquaint your " neighbours." The Mayor and Aldermen then returned into the city, when the Common-Council ſet aſide the order which had been made, for every Alderman to ſit in his ward to raiſe the BENEVOLENCE, declaring it to be contrary to law. The Commiſſioners in the country alſo, who were employed to raiſe the BENEVOLENCE, met with oppoſition wherever they came. The Duke of Suffolk by fair words prevailed upon the clothiers in Suffolk to grant a benevolence to the King, but they immediately diſcharged all their workmen; upon which an inſurrection enſued, and in a ſhort time above four thouſand men were aſſembled together, who declared that they would kill the Commiſſioners employed to collect the benevolence. Theſe people were, however, diſperſed by the Dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk; but ſuch a ſpirit was excited in the nation, and there appeared ſo much danger of a civil war, that the project of the benevolence was obliged to be entirely laid aſide.

This year, 1525, the Cardinal laid the firſt ſtone of a magnificent ſtructure at Oxford, which he intended to erect under the name of CARDINAL COLLEGE. He had procured the diſſolution of the Priory of St. Frideſwide at Oxford; which being accordingly ſurrendered into the King's hands, Henry immediately gave the ſame to the Cardinal, for the building of his intended College. And he ſoon obtained Bulls from the Pope, to ſupport and confirm what the King had granted; and he alſo procured the diſſolution of ſeveral ſmall Monaſteries, ſituated in different parts of England, in order to apply their reſpective revenues for the ſupport and maintenance of his College. But Wolſey's adminiſtration, and even his proceedings with reſpect to his College, were cenſured with ſo much freedom by the people, that it reached the ears of the King himſelf. In a letter to the Cardinal, ſtill extant, Henry writes thus: " As touching the " help of religious houſes to the building of your College, I " would it were more, ſo it be lawfully; for my intent is " none, but that it ſhould ſo appear to all the world, and the " occaſion of all their mumbling might be ſecluded and put " away; for, ſurely, there is great murmuring of it, through- " out all the realm, both good and bad. They ſay not that all " that is ill-gotten, is beſtowed upon the College; but that the

" College

"College is the cloak for covering all miſchiefs. This griev-
"eth me, I aſſure you, to hear it ſpoken by him, which I ſo
"entirely love. Wherefore, methought I could do no leſs than
"thus friendly to admoniſh you. One thing more I perceive by
"your one letter, which a little methinketh toucheth conſci-
"ence; and that is, that you have received money of the ex-
"empts for having of their old viſitors. Surely, this can
"hardly be with good conſcience. For, and they were good,
"why ſhould you take money? and if they were ill, it were a
"ſinful act. Howbeit your legacy herein might, peradventure,
"APUD HOMINES, be a cloak, but not APUD DEUM. Where-
"fore you, thus moniſhed by him who ſo entirely loveth you, I
"doubt not, will deſiſt, not only from this, (if conſcience will not
"bear it), but from all other things, which ſhould tangle the
"ſame; and, in ſo doing, we will ſing, TE LAUDANT ANGELI
"ATQUE ARCHANGELI, TE LAUDAT OMNIS SPIRITUS (z)."
About this time the Cardinal made the King a preſent of his magnificent palace at Hampton-Court; and Henry gave him in return Richmond palace to reſide in. And ſtill further to ingratiate himſelf with his Majeſty, and with a view of preventing any unfavourable repreſentations of his conduct from weakening Henry's attachment to him, he produced his will, in which he had made Henry his ſole heir.

At this period, Francis I. King of France, was taken priſoner by the troops of the Emperor at the battle of Pavia; ſome time before which it appears, that a perſon ſent by the Counteſs of Angouleſme, mother to the French King, had long and frequent conferences with Wolſey. The Cardinal, having been twice diſappointed by the Emperor, in the expectations of the Papacy, was now deſirous of engaging Henry to abandon his cauſe, and engage in a league with the French King. It is, indeed, alledged, in behalf of Wolſey, that the Emperor was now become ſo formidable, that it was the intereſt of the other Princes of Europe to endeavour to counterpoiſe his greatneſs; and that, therefore, we are not obliged in this affair to ſuppoſe the Cardinal actuated chiefly by his private reſentments. However, on the 30th of Auguſt, this year, Wolſey concluded five ſeparate treaties with the Ambaſſadors ſent over for that purpoſe from France. And the Regent of France obliged herſelf to pay the arrears of the penſion, which had been ſettled upon the Cardinal inſtead of the revenues of the Biſhopric of Tournay; and ſhe alſo promiſed to gratify him with one hundred thouſand crowns of gold. Shortly after the French King concluded alſo a treaty with the Emperor at Madrid, upon which he was ſet at liberty, and returned to his dominions. He immediately ratified the treaties which had been concluded with the King of Eng-

(z) *Vid.* Lord Herbert's Life and Reign of King Henry VIII. Edit. 1683. P. 164.

land; but he renounced that of Madrid, as the effect of compulſion.

In 1526, Cardinal Wolſey drew up ſome regulations with reſpect to the œconomy of the Royal Houſhold; and which, from the place where they were compoſed, were called the Statutes of Eltham, where Henry's Court was then held. And it being now obſerved, that conſiderable quantities of ſilver were carried out of the kingdom, the King granted to the Cardinal a diſcretional power to alter the valuation thereof from time to time, as he ſhould ſee fit. And the Cardinal erected two mints for coining of money, one at York, and the other at Durham. Dr. Fiddes has exhibited, at the end of the introduction to his life of the Cardinal, prints of certain coins from Wolſey's different preſſes, each of which bear the Cardinal's hat, with the initial letters of his name.

In 1527, King Henry began to revive his old ſcruples concerning the lawfulneſs of his marriage with Queen Catherine (*a*); and made ſome application to the Pope for a divorce from that Princeſs. It is ſaid that Wolſey endeavoured to increaſe Henry's inclination for a divorce, partly with a view of promoting a total breach with the Emperor, Catherine's nephew, and partly from a deſire of connecting the King more cloſely with the French Monarch, by marrying him to the Dutcheſs of Alencon, that Prince's ſiſter: and it is alſo intimated, that Wolſey was influenced by his averſion to Queen Catherine, who had expreſſed her diſapprobation of his looſe and irregular life (*b*). It was not long after Henry had begun to ſolicit his divorce at the Court of Rome, that he became enamoured with Anne Boleyn. This Lady was daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, who had been upon ſeveral Embaſſies in France, and was now created Viſcount Rochford, and afterwards, in his mother's right, Earl of Wiltſhire and Ormond. His daughter, the Lady Anne, had her education at the French Court, and was very agreeable in her perſon, and miſtreſs of all the accompliſhments of the Ladies of thoſe times. After her return from France, ſhe became one of the Maids of Honour to Queen Catherine; and in this ſituation was courted by Lord Piercy, ſon to the Earl of Northumberland, who lived in the Cardinal's family. This amour was, however, put a ſtop to by Wolſey, at the inſtance, as it is ſaid, of the King himſelf; and it was this incident, according to Cavendiſh, which firſt excited in Anne Boleyn an averſion to the Cardinal. However, ſhe now obtained a lover of a much higher rank; and Henry's paſſion for this Lady made him the more eager to haſten the buſineſs of the divorce.

On

(*a*) *Vid.* Vol. I. P. 320, 321.
(*b*) *Vid.* Hume's Hiſt. Vol. IV. 8vo. Ed. P. 86. Smollet's Hiſt. Vol. V. P. 445. Lord Herbert's Hiſt. of Henry VIII. P. 244.

On the 3d of July, this year, the Cardinal ſet out from London on an Embaſſy to France; it being agreed that he ſhould confer with the French King in perſon at Amiens. He was attended by Dr. Tonſtall, Biſhop of London, the Earl of Derby, Lord Sands, the Maſter of the Rolls, Sir Thomas More, Garter, King at Arms, and a moſt ſplendid train of other Knights and gentlemen, to the number of twelve hundred (*c*). When he arrived at Calais, he committed the cuſtody of the Great Seal, which he carried with him out of England, into the hands of Dr. John Taylor, Maſter of the Rolls, until he ſhould return to Calais (*d*). Before the Cardinal reached Boulogne, he was met by the Cardinal of Lorrain, ſix Prelates, and forty gentlemen, who complimented him in the French King's name. And Francis, to do honour to Wolſey, empowered him to releaſe the priſoners in every place through which he ſhould paſs. From Boulogne he proceeded to Abbeville; and there, as well as in every place he came to, was received with great magnificence and ſolemnity. He remained at Abbeville ſome days, until the King of France arrived at Amiens, where he was to meet him.

Cavendiſh

(*c*) Cavendiſh gives the following account of the Cardinal's pompous manner of travelling. After obſerving, that he had finiſhed the neceſſary preparations for his journey, he ſays "Then marched he forward from his own houſe at Weſtminſter through all London, over London-bridge, having with him of gentlemen a great number, three in a rank, with velvet coats, and the moſt part of them chains of gold about their necks. And all his yeomen followed him, with Noblemen's and gentlemen's ſervants, all in orange-tawny coats, with the Cardinal's hat, and a T. and C. for *Thomas, Cardinal*, embroidered upon all the coats, as well his own ſervants, as all the reſt of the gentlemen's ſervants; and his ſumpter mules, which were twenty or more in number: and all his carriage of carts, and other of his train, were paſſed before. He rode, like a Cardinal, very ſumptuouſly, on his mule, with his ſpare mule and ſpare horſe, trapped in crimſon velvet, and gilt ſtirrups, following him. And before him he had his two great croſſes of ſilver, his two great pillars of ſilver, the King's broad Seal of England, and his Cardinal's hat, and a gentleman carrying his valance, otherwiſe called his cloak bag, which was made of fine ſcarlet, altogether embroidered very richly with gold, having in it his cloak. Thus paſſed he forth through London; and all the way every day on his journey he was thus furniſhed, having his harbingers in every place before, which prepared lodging for his train."——*Vid.* the Manuſcript before referred to, Fol. 17.

(*d*) During the Cardinal's ſtay at Calais, he ſummoned his followers and attendants together, and gave them ſome inſtructions concerning their behaviour while they remained in France. And as to the degree of reſpect which they were to pay to him, he expreſſed himſelf thus: "You ſhall underſtand (ſaid he) that the King's Majeſty, for certain weighty affairs of his Grace, hath, for the advancement of his Royal dignity, aſſigned me to be in this journey his Lieutenant; and what reverence belongeth to the ſame, I will tell you. For my part, I muſt, by virtue of my commiſſion and Lieutenantſhip, aſſume and take upon me to be eſteemed in all honour and degrees of ſervice, as to his Highneſs's preſence is meet and due; and that by me nothing be neglected, that to his Royal eſtate is due and appertinent: and, for my part, you ſhall ſee that

Cavendiſh relates the particulars of their meeting, which was between Amiens and Abbeville. "By the time (ſays he) that "the Cardinal was mounted after a gorgeous ſort, the King "was come very near, within leſs than a quarter of an Engliſh "mile, muſtering upon an hill, his guards ſtanding in array "upon the top of the ſame hill, expecting my Lord's coming. "To whom my Lord made as much haſte as he conveniently "might, until he came within a pair of butt lengths, and there "he ſtayed. The King perceiving that, having two worthy "young gentlemen with him, the one called Monſieur Vada-"mount, and the other Monſieur de Gines, both brethren to "the Cardinal of Lorrain, and to the Duke of Lorrain;—the "King cauſed Monſieur Vadamount to iſſue from him, and to "ride to my Lord Cardinal, to know the cauſe of his tarrying. "And this Monſieur being mounted upon a fair white gennet, "took his race with his horſe until he came even unto my "Lord. And then he cauſed his horſe to come aloft, twice or "thrice, ſo nigh my Lord's mule, that he was in doubt of his "horſe; and with that he alighted, and doing humble reve-"rence, did his meſſage to my Lord. And that done, he "mounted again, and made his horſe to do the ſame at his de-"parting as he did before; and ſo repaired again unto the "King.

that I will not omit one jot thereof. Therefore, that you ſhould not be ignorant of your duties in this caſe, is one of the chief cauſes of your aſſembly: willing you, as you would have my favour, and alſo charging you all in the King's name, that you do not forget the ſame in time and place; but that every one of you do obſerve your duties to me, according as you will at your return avoid the King's indignation, or obtain and deſerve his Highneſs's thanks; the which I will ſet forth as each of you ſhall deſerve."

He then made ſome obſervations on the national character of the French, and on the manner in which they ſhould behave to them. "The nature of Frenchmen (ſaid he) is ſuch, that at their firſt meeting they will be as familiar with you, as if they had been acquainted with you long before: and will commune with you in the French tongue, as though you underſtood every word; therefore, uſe you them in like manner, and be as familiar with them as they ſhall be with you. And if they ſpeak to you in their natural tongue, ſpeak you to them again the Engliſh tongue; for if you underſtand not them, no more ſhall they you." The Cardinal then merrily addreſſed himſelf to a Welch gentleman who was preſent. "Rice, (ſaid he), ſpeak thou Welch to them; and I doubt not but thy ſpeech ſhall be more difficult to them, than their French ſhall be to thee." He then exhorted them all to behave with politeneſs and civility, that they might do honour to themſelves, their King, their maſter, and their country.

When the Cardinal proceeded out of Calais with his train, it was, Cavendiſh ſays, "with ſuch a number of black velvet coats, as hath been ſeldom ſeen with an Ambaſſador; for all the ſpears of Calais and Guynes, with other gentlemen, beſides his train, were garniſhed with black velvet coats, and chains of gold. Thus paſſed he forward with his train of gentlemen before him, three in a rank, which by ſuppoſal extended three quarters of a mile in length, having his croſſes, and all other his accuſtomed ornaments and glorious furniture, carried before him."—*Vid.* M.S. as before, Fol. 18, 19.

"King. And his anſwer ended unto the King, the King advanced forwards: that ſeeing, my Lord he did the like (*e*); and in the midway they met, embracing each other with amiable countenance and entertainment. Then drew into the place all Noblemen and gentlemen, on both parts, with wonderful cheer made one to another, as though they had been of an old acquaintance.---And the King, and my Lord Cardinal on his right hand, rode forth towards Amiens, every Engliſhman accompanied with one other of France. The train of theſe two Princes endured two long Engliſh miles; that is to ſay, from the place of the encounter unto Amiens; where they were very nobly received with ſhot of guns, and coſtly pageants, until the King had brought my Lord unto his lodging (*f*)."

The Cardinal continued with the French King fourteen days at Amiens, after which they removed to Compeigne, where they both lodged in the caſtle (*g*), and had frequent conferences together. And in the courſe of the Cardinal's negociations with the French Miniſters, Cavendiſh informs us, that he had a great miſunderſtanding with the Chancellor of France; with whom he repreſents Wolſey as being ſo much incenſed, as to be with difficulty appeaſed. "I heard (ſays he) and ſaw my Lord fall out with "the

(*e*) Cavendiſh does not inform us what was the cauſe of the Cardinal's ſtopping, nor with the purport of his anſwer to the King's meſſage; but from the circumſtances, and from this expreſſion, "that ſeeing, my Lord he did the like;" it appears as if the Cardinal had taken ſome umbrage at the King's ſtaying upon the hill, and not continuing to advance towards him; and, therefore, when he ſaw the King move towards him, he likewiſe went forward.

(*f*) *Vid.* M.S. as before, Fol. 20, 21.

(*g*) Cavendiſh attended the Cardinal in this Embaſſy; and he relates an adventure which happened to him, at the time the Cardinal was about to remove from Amiens, which ſhews with how much reſpect even Wolſey's attendants were treated in France. "I was ſent (ſays he) to prepare my Lord's lodging; and as I rode on my journey, being on a Friday, my horſe caſt a ſhoe, in a little village where there ſtood a fair caſtle. And as it chanced, there dwelt a ſmith, to whom I commanded my ſervant to repair, to ſhoe my horſe. And ſtanding by while my horſe was ſhoeing, there came to me a ſervant of the caſtle, perceiving me to be an Engliſhman, and one of my Lord Legate's ſervants, as they then called my Lord, requiring me to go to the caſtle to my Lord his maſter, whom he thought would be very glad of my company.——So I went with him, who conducted me into the caſtle; and at my firſt entry, I was among the watchmen that kept the firſt ward, being very tall men, and comely perſons. They ſaluted me very reverently, and knowing the cauſe of my coming, deſired me to ſtay myſelf, until they had advertiſed their Lord and maſter. And ſo I did, and incontinent the Lord of the caſtle came out, who was called Monſieur Crocque, a Nobleman born, and nigh of King Lewis's blood, which was the laſt King before King Francis that then reigned. And at my coming, he embraced me, ſaying that I was right heartily welcome; and thanked me that I would ſo gentelly viſit him and his caſtle; and further ſaying unto me, that he was preparing himſelf to encounter the King and my Lord, to deſire them the next day to come to his caſtle, if he could

" the Chancellor of France, laying to his charge, that he went " about to hinder the league, which was before his (the Chancel- " lor's) coming, concluded between the King our Sovereign Lord, " and the French King his maſter. Inſomuch that my Lord ſto- " macked him ſtoutly, and told him, that it ſhould not lie in his " power to infringe the amiable friendſhip between them con- " cluded. And that if the King his Maſter, being there pre- " ſent, would follow his counſel, he ſhould not fail, ſhortly after " his return, to feel the ſmart, and to know what it is to main- " tain war againſt the King of England; and thereof he ſhall " be well aſſured. So that his ſtout countenance, and bold " words, made them all in doubt how to quiet him, and revoke " him again to the Council, who was then departed in a great " fury. There was ſending, there was coming, there was in- " treating, and there was great ſubmiſſion and interceſſion made " unto him, to reduce him to the former communication and " concluſion; who would in no wiſe relent, until Madam Re- " gent (the King's mother) came to him herſelf, and handled " the matter in ſuch wiſe, that ſhe brought him again to his " former eſtate of communication. And by this means he " brought other things to paſs, that before he could not attain " unto. Which was more for fear, than for any affection to the " matter. And thus he had all their heads under his girdle (*b*).

On the 18th of Auguſt, the Cardinal concluded three treaties with the French King; by the firſt of which it was agreed, that the Duke of Orleans ſhould eſpouſe the Princeſs Mary, and that the

could ſo intreat them. Then took he me by the hand, and moſt gen- teely led me into his caſtle, through another ward; and being once en- tered into the caſtle, within a court, I ſaw all his family and ſervants in goodly order.---Then we entered into a fair parlour, which was hanged with fair cloth of fine old arraſs; and being there but a while, com- muning together of my Lord of Suf- folk, how he was there to have be- ſieged the ſame, his ſervants brought in unto him bread and wine of di- vers ſorts. And after we had drank the ſame, I will (ſaid he) ſhew you the ſtrength of my houſe, and how hard it would have been for my Lord of Suffolk to have won it." Caven- diſh then goes on to deſcribe the caſtle; after which he proceeds, " Monſ. Crocque took his leave of me, and commanded his Steward, and other of his gentlemen, to at- tend upon me, and to conduct me to my Lady his wife to dinner."---He was then introduced to the Lady, who, (ſays he), " received me very genteely, according to her noble eſtate, having a train of twelve gen- tlewomen. And when ſhe and her train were come all out, ſhe ſaid unto me, *Foraſmuch as you be an Engliſh- man, whoſe cuſtom is to kiſs all Ladies and gentlewomen in your country without offence, although it be not ſo with us in this realm, yet I will be ſo bold as to kiſs you, and ſo ſhall you do all my maids.* Whereupon I incontinently kiſſed her, and all her maids. Then went ſhe to her dinner, being as nobly ſerved as I have ſeen any other of late here in England, having all the dinner time pleaſant communication of the uſage of our Ladies and Noblemen in Eng- land; and commended the behaviour of them right excellently.---To be ſhort, after dinner, pauſing a little, I took my leave, and ſo departed on my journey."---MS. Fol. 21. 22.

(*b*) *Vid.* MS. Fol. 22, 23.

he treaty of alliance concluded in England, in 1525, ſhould remain in full force. The ſecond treaty related to trade, and ſpecified certain privileges, which Francis granted to the Engliſh Merchants. In the third, the two Kings agreed, that they would never conſent to the convocation, of a general Council, during the Pope's captivity (*i*); and that they would receive no Bull, Brief, or Mandate, from his Holineſs, until he ſhould be ſet at liberty; but, in the mean time, punctually execute every thing that ſhould be determined in England by the Cardinal-Legate, with the concurrence of the Clergy; and, in France, by the principal Members of the Gallican Church. Wolſey appears alſo to have made ſome attempts to get his legantine power extended over France and Germany, as well as England; but in theſe he did not ſucceed.

On the 16th of September the Cardinal ſet out from Abbeville, being conducted out of town by the French King, the King of Navarre, and all the Nobility of the French Court; but about a mile from the town the King halted, and the Cardinal and he took a ſolemn leave of each other. When Wolſey arrived at Calais, he opened a mart there for the Engliſh Merchants; that is, Henry's trading ſubjects at that place were allowed the ſame privileges they had enjoyed in the Low Countries; and the ſubjects of France were alſo permitted to trade with Calais.

It appears that before the Cardinal left France, he received very great preſents, both from the French Monarch and his mother. He arrived in England on the 30th of September, and was very graciouſly received by the King. And his Majeſty appointed a public thankſgiving for the ſucceſs of the Cardinal's Embaſſy, at which Henry and his whole Court aſſiſted. And in the beginning of Michaelmas term, the Cardinal aſſembled in the Star-Chamber all the Nobility, with the Judges, and the Juſtices of the Peace of every ſhire throughout England, and made a long oration to them, concerning the cauſes, and the conſequences of his Embaſſy.

In 1528, on the death of Fox, Biſhop of Wincheſter, the Cardinal was tranſlated to that See, upon which he reſigned the Biſhopric of Durham. And this year he was appointed by the Pope, to determine the affair of the King's divorce, in conjunction with Cardinal Campejus, who was ſent over into England

(*i*) This year the Duke of Bourbon, who had entered into engagements with the Emperor, marched to Rome, with a large body of troops, conſiſting chiefly of Germans and Spaniards, and beſieged the city. Bourbon was killed in the aſſault; but the Prince of Orange, who ſucceeded to the command, made himſelf maſter of Rome, and plundered it. The Pope himſelf, Clement VII. was confined as a priſoner in the caſtle of St. Angelo, in which ſituation he was when the above treaty was made. He eſcaped out of the caſtle in diſguiſe the following year, whilſt a negociation was on foot for his deliverance.

for this purpoſe. But the Pope, who was extremely unwilling to give any umbrage to the Emperor, Queen Catherine's nephew, was deſirous of protracting the buſineſs of the divorce as much as poſſible; and, therefore, he directed his Legate Campejus to take every method of ſpinning out the affair, and to forbear giving ſentence of divorce, until he ſhould receive new orders from his Holineſs.

The firſt ſtep which Campejus took after his arrival, was to exhort the King to live in good underſtanding with Catherine, and to deſiſt from the proſecution of his divorce; and finding this counſel ill received, he pretended to perſuade the Queen to conſent to the ſeparation. But Catherine told the Legate, that ſhe was the King's lawful wife, and would ſo continue, until ſhe ſhould be declared otherwiſe by the Pope's ſentence. Campejus then declared, that he would proceed no further without new orders; and ſix months elapſed before theſe could be obtained.

Cardinal Wolſey alſo made application to the Queen, in order to prevail upon her to ſubmit to the King's pleaſure. But the manner in which ſhe received his advice, and her ſentiments concerning the Cardinal himſelf, ſufficiently appear in the ſhort ſpeech which ſhe made to him on this occaſion. "Of theſe my "miſeries (ſaid ſhe) I can accuſe none but you, my Lord of "York; becauſe I could not away with your monſtrous pride, "exceſſive riot, whoredom, and intolerable oppreſſion, therefore "do I now ſuffer: and becauſe my nephew the Emperor did not "gratify your inſatiable ambition, to advance you to the Pa-"pacy, you threatened to be revenged on him and his friends. "And you have performed your promiſe. You have been the "plotter of the wars againſt him, and raiſed this doubt againſt "me."

On the 31ſt of May, 1529, the two Legates opened their court at Black Friars, and cited the King and Queen to appear before them, on the 18th day of June. Wolſey, in order to ſhew his impartiality, yielded the chair of preſidency to Campejus, though the latter was the younger Cardinal. When the appointed day arrived, the Queen's Agents excepted to the authority of the Legates; but their exceptions were over-ruled, and the King and Queen perſonally appeared on the 21ſt day of the mouth. Henry, when called upon, anſwered to his name; but the Queen, inſtead of anſwering to her's, roſe from her ſeat, and throwing herſelf at the King's feet, made a very pathetic ſpeech, in which ſhe told him, that ſhe was a ſtranger in his dominions, without protection, or aſſiſtance, and expoſed to all the injuſtice which her enemies were pleaſed to impoſe on her. She had been his wife, ſhe ſaid, during the ſpace of twenty years, and would now appeal to him, whether her affectionate ſubmiſſion to his will had not merited other treatment, than to be thus, after ſo long a time, thrown from him with ſo much indignity. She referred it to his own conſcience, whether ſhe had not come a virgin to his bed;

bed; and obſerved, that it was not to be expected that her Council could ſpeak for her with freedom, as they were to ſpeak againſt their Sovereign Lord; and, therefore, ſhe declined the authority of the Court, till ſhe could have advice from Spain. When ſhe had ended her ſpeech, ſhe aroſe, and making the King a low reverence, departed from the Court, and never would again appear in it.

After the Queen's departure, Henry declared, that ſhe had always been a true and obedient wife, and was poſſeſſed of many excellent qualities; but he inſiſted on his own ſcruples, with reſpect to the lawfulneſs of their marriage; and he explained the nature of thoſe doubts by which he had been ſo long and ſo violently agitated. Wolſey then applied to Henry, deſiring that he would clear him from the imputation which had been thrown on him by his enemies, as if he had been the firſt who excited him to ſolicit the divorce; upon which the King readily acquitted the Cardinal of having any hand in encouraging his ſcruples; and he deſired a ſentence of the Court, agreeable to the juſtice of his cauſe.

The Legates cited the Queen again to appear before them, but ſhe refuſed, and appealed to the Pope, and was thereupon pronounced contumacious. The Court then proceeded to the examination of the cauſe; and the firſt point which came before them, was, the proof of Prince Arthur's conſummation of his marriage with Catherine; and the evidence afforded ſome very ſtrong preſumptions, that Prince Arthur had carnally known the Queen. This trial was ſpun out till the 23d of July, and the buſineſs then ſeemed to be drawing near to a period, and the King was in expectation of a ſentence in his favour; when, to his great ſurprize, Campejus, upon very frivolous pretences, prorogued the Court till the 1ſt of October.

Upon this adjournment, the Duke of Suffolk ſtood up, and vehemently exclaimed, that it had never been well in England, ſince there had been Cardinals in it. To this Wolſey made a reply, in which he charged the Duke with ingratitude, and told him, that of all men in the world, he had the leaſt reaſon to revile Cardinals; "for if I (ſaid he) poor Cardinal had not been, "you ſhould have had at preſent no head upon your ſhoul-"ders (*k*)." Wolſey then vindicated the proceedings of himſelf, and his brother Legate Campejus, alledging that their commiſſions did not warrant them in proceeding further in ſo difficult a caſe, without the conſent and approbation of the Pope.

Whether Wolſey was at firſt really inclined to promote the divorce, or not, he appears, at leaſt by his public behaviour, to have been by no means very deſirous of doing it at this time.

(*k*) It cannot now be determined with any certainty what it is to which the Cardinal here alludes.

For he made no objection to Campejus's propoſal of proroguing the Court, though he muſt have known how extremely diſagreeable it would be to Henry; and in his reply to Suffolk, he affirmed the neceſſity there was of applying to the Court of Rome, before they could pronounce any definitive ſentence in the affair. It is certain, that if he had ever any deſire of bringing about Catherine's divorce from Henry, he had no wiſh to ſee Anne Boleyn raiſed to the Throne; and that, he now plainly ſaw, would be the conſequence of Henry's ſucceeding in the buſineſs of the divorce.

Soon after the prorogation of the Legantine Court, the Pope iſſued forth a brief of avocation of the cauſe from England to the Conſiſtorial Court of Rome. Henry was ſufficiently irritated at the delays which had been made by the Legantine Court; but the avocation of his cauſe to Rome ſtill more inflamed him. In one of the intervals of time, whilſt the Legantine Court was ſitting, he ſent for Wolſey, who repaired to him at his palace of Bridewell, and continued with him upwards of an hour. The Cardinal then went on board his barge at Black Friars, in order to go to his houſe at Weſtminſter, attended by the Biſhop of Carliſle. And whilſt they were in the barge, the Biſhop obſerved, that it was a very hot day. "Yes, my Lord, "(ſaid the Cardinal); if you had been as well chafed as I have "been within this hour, you would then ſay, that it were in-"deed very hot."

Anne Boleyn had been removed from Court by her father, during the proceſs of the divorce; but now the commiſſion of the Legates was vacated, by the removal of the cauſe to Rome, ſhe returned at the King's deſire. And as ſhe imputed the miſcarriage of the divorce to the backwardneſs with which Wolſey had acted in the affair, her old reſentment revived, and ſhe became greatly diſpoſed to prejudice the King againſt him (*f*). And as Wolſey's enemies were very numerous, they were alſo extremely ready to co-operate with her in any meaſures that might

(*f*) It appears by ſeveral letters ſtill extant from Anne Boleyn to Wolſey, that before the ſitting of the Legantine Court, ſhe was upon very good terms with the Cardinal; or, if ſhe did then entertain any reſentment againſt him, ſhe very artfully diſſembled it. One of theſe letters is as follows:

ANNE BOLEYN to Cardinal WOLSEY.

'*My Lord,*

'IN my moſt humble wiſe that 'my heart can think, I deſire you to 'pardon me that I am ſo bold, to 'trouble you with my ſimple and 'rude writing, eſteeming it to pro-'ceed from her, that is much deſi-'rous to know that your Grace does 'well, as I perceive by this bearer 'that you do. The which I pray 'God long to continue, as I am moſt 'bound to pray; for I do know the 'great pains and troubles that you 'have taken for me, both day and 'night, is never like to be recom-'penſed on my part, but only in 'loving you, next unto the King's 'Grace, above all creatures living. 'And I do not doubt, but the daily 'proofs of my deeds ſhall manifeſtly 'declare

might be taken, which appeared to have any tendency to ruin him with the King.

Henry being very impatient under his diſappointment concerning the divorce, ſet out upon a journey into the country, in order to divert his chagrin, attended by Anne Boleyn. Being arrived at Grafton in Northamptonſhire, the two Cardinals, Campejus and Wolſey, repaired to the Court there. But Wolſey met with a colder reception than he had ever experienced before; though ſome marks of diſtinction were ſhewn to Campejus, as being a ſtranger. Wolſey, having waited on his brother Legate to his apartment, and intending to go directly to his own, was told by one of the officers, "That no proviſion for his reception had been made in the Court." This greatly ſurprized him, as he had never before been treated near the King's perſon with ſuch neglect. But there was ſuch a general perſuaſion among the Courtiers, that the Cardinal had highly incurred the King's diſpleaſure, that many wagers were laid, that his Majeſty would not even ſpeak to him. However, though no proviſion had been made for the Cardinal's reception, Sir Henry Norris, Groom of the Stole, made him an offer of his own lodgings, which the Cardinal accepted.

Notwithſtanding theſe unfavourable circumſtances, the King gave both Wolſey and Campejus a gracious reception, and he converſed ſome time with Wolſey (*l*); after which he went to dine with Anne Boleyn, who ſaid many things to prejudice the King

'declare and affirm my writing to 'be true, and I do truſt you do think 'the ſame. My Lord, I do aſſure 'you, I do long to hear from you 'news of the Legate; for I do hope, 'and they come from you, they ſhall 'be very good, and I am ſure you de'ſire it as much as I, and more, and 'it were poſſible, as I know it is not: 'and thus, remaining in a ſtedfaſt 'hope, I make an end of my letter, 'written with the hand of her that 'is moſt bound to be,

'*Your humble Servant,*

'ANNE BOLEYN.'

Poſtſcript by King HENRY.

'The writer of this letter would 'not ceaſe, till ſhe had cauſed m 'likewiſe to ſet my hand, deſiring 'you, though it be ſhort, to take in 'good part. I aſſure you there is 'neither of us but that greatly deſire 'to ſee you, ſo much more joyous to 'hear that you have eſcaped this 'plague ſo well, truſting the fury 'thereof to be paſſed, eſpecially with 'them that keep a good diet, as I 'truſt you do. The not hearing of 'the Legate's arrival in France, 'cauſeth us ſomewhat to muſe, notwithſtanding we truſt by your diligence and vigilancy, with the aſſiſtance of Almighty GOD, ſhortly 'to be eaſed out of that trouble. 'No more to you at this time, but 'that I pray GOD ſend you as good 'health and proſperity as the writer would.

By your loving Sovereign and Friend,

HENRY R.'

Vid. Harleian Miſcellany, Vol. III. P. 59, 60.

(*l*) Cavendiſh ſays, according to the common printed editions, ſpeaking of this converſation of the King and Wolſey, "The King was in earneſt diſcourſe with him, inſomuch that I could hear the King ſay, How can this be? is not this *your* hand? and pulled a letter out of his own boſom, and ſhewed the ſame to my Lord.

King againſt the Cardinal (*m*). In the afternoon Henry had ſome further diſcourſe with him, for a conſiderable time, and told him, he would talk further with him in the morning. But when the Cardinal came in the morning, the King was juſt ready to mount his horſe, and, without taking further notice of him, in a cool manner, ordered him to conſult with the Lords of the Council. His Majeſty then rode out with Anne Boleyn, who, with a view of preventing the King from conferring again with the Cardinal, found means, according to Cavendiſh, to detain him till the afternoon, when Wolſey was obliged, agreeable to the King's command, to attend Campejus to London, he having taken leave of the King, in order to depart the kingdom (*n*).

When Wolſey had taken leave of Campejus, he repaired to his houſe at Weſtminſter; where, on the 16th of October, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk came to him, and in the King's name

Lord. And as I perceived, my Lord ſo anſwered the ſame, that the King had no more to ſay." But in the manuſcript which we have frequently referred to, this paſſage ſtands thus: "The King was in earneſt and long communication with him, inſomuch that I might hear the King ſay, How can that be? Is not that *their own hands?* and pulled a letter or writing out of his boſom, and ſhewed the ſame to my Lord. And as I perceived, my Lord anſwered the ſame, that the King had no more to ſay." *Vid.* MS. Fol. 37.

(*m*) "I heard it reported (ſays Cavendiſh) by them that waited on the King at dinner, that Mrs. Anne Boleyn was much offended, ſo far as ſhe durſt, that the King did ſo gently entertain my Lord Cardinal. Saying, as ſhe ſat with the King at dinner, in communication of my Lord, 'Sir, '(quoth ſhe), is it not a marvellous 'thing, to ſee what debt and danger 'he hath brought you in with all 'your ſubjects?' 'How ſo, ſweet-'heart? (quoth the King),' 'Forſooth, Sir, (quoth ſhe), there is not 'a man within all your realm, worth '5*l.* but he hath indebted you to 'him;' meaning a loan, which the King had of his ſubjects. 'Well, '(quoth the King), as for that, there 'was in him no blame; for I know 'that matter better than you, or any 'other.' 'Nay, Sir, (quoth ſhe), 'beſides that, what things I pray you 'hath he wrought within this realm, 'to your great ſlander? There is 'never a Nobleman, that if he had 'done but half ſo much as he hath 'done, he were worthy to loſe his 'head. And if my Lord of Norfolk, my Lord of Suffolk, my Lord 'my father, or any other Nobleman 'within your realm, had done much 'leſs than he, they ſhould have loſt 'their heads e're this.' 'Then I 'perceive, (quoth the King), you are 'not the Cardinal's friend.' 'Why, 'Sir, (quoth ſhe), I have no cauſe, 'nor any that loveth you: no more 'hath your Grace, if you conſider 'well his doings.' By this time the waiters had taken up the table, and ſo their communication ended."—*Vid.* MS. Fol. 37, 38.

(*n*) Cavendiſh ſays, that it was hinted to the King, that Campejus had taken with him a conſiderable quantity of treaſure belonging to Wolſey, it being ſuſpected that the latter had a deſign to retire privately out of the kingdom, and to repair to Rome. And, therefore, juſt as Campejus was going to embark, the cuſtom-houſe officers ſearched all his baggage, under pretence of looking for contraband goods: but their ſearch was without effect. Some writers have aſſigned motives for the ſearch of Campejus's baggage, different from that of Cavendiſh. However, Campejus complained loudly of the inſult, and wrote to the King to demand

name demanded of him the Great Seal of England. But the Cardinal refuſed to deliver it up, unleſs they could ſhew him a written order, ſigned by the King; and further added, that he held the poſt of Chancellor by patent for life. Upon this the two Noblemen returned to the King, who was at Windſor, and acquainted him with the Cardinal's refuſal; and Henry ſent them back again the next day, with an order in writing under his own hand. Wolſey ſeeing the King's hand to the paper, immediately delivered up the Seal; and they alſo acquainted him, that it was the King's pleaſure, that he ſhould immediately depart from his palace, called York-Houſe, and retire to Eſher, a country-ſeat near Hampton-Court, which he held as Biſhop of Wincheſter. The Great Seal was ſoon after delivered to Sir Thomas More.

It now ſeemed evident, that the King's diſappointment in the affair of the divorce, aided by the inſinuations of Anne Boleyn, and the other enemies of the Cardinal, had ſo far weakened the King's attachment to him, which was his only ſupport, that his ruin muſt be the conſequence. And before the Cardinal left his palace, he called his ſervants and officers together, and took an account of all the jewels, plate, and other things of value, which were ſeverally committed to their charge, and gave directions that the whole ſhould be delivered up to the King. The furniture and effects in this palace of the Cardinal's, were of an immenſe value. The walls of his gallery were hung with cloth of gold, ſilver, and tiſſue. He had a prodigious quantity of velvet, ſattin, damaſk, taffata, ſarcenet, and ſilk of all colours, with a thouſand pieces of fine holland. And beſides much valuable plate in other parts of the palace, there was in a room called the Gilt Chamber, gilt plate, and veſſels of gold, to an incredible amount.

When the Cardinal had made every thing ready for his departure, and was about to ſet out, Sir William Gaſcoigne, his Treaſurer, came to him, and ſaid, "Sir, I am ſorry for your "Grace, for I am informed that you muſt ſtraightway go to the "Tower." "Is this (ſaid the Cardinal) the beſt comfort and "counſel which you can give to your maſter in adverſity? You "have always, Sir William, been too credulous; but I would "have you, and all who have raiſed this report, know, that it is "untrue.

demand ſatisfaction for ſuch an affront offered to the Legate of the Holy See But Henry coldly anſwered, that his cuſtom-houſe officers had done their duty in executing the orders long ſince eſtabliſhed with regard to perſons going out of the kingdom. That he was ſurprized at his aſſuming the character of Legate, after his power and commiſſion had been revoked; and much more that, being Biſhop of Saliſbury, he ſhould be ſo far ignorant of the laws of the land, as to dare to take upon him that title without the King's permiſſion. Campejus, intimidated by this anſwer, thought himſelf very happy in being ſuffered to depart without further moleſtation.

" untrue. For I never deſerved to come there, although it hath " pleaſed the King to take my houſe ready furniſhed for his " pleaſure. And I would have all the world know, that as I " have nothing but what I have received from the King, ſo it is " but reaſonable that I ſhould chearfully ſurrender the ſame to " him again."

The Cardinal then, attended by his train of gentlemen and yeomen, which were a conſiderable number, and taking with him ſome furniture and proviſions, went on board his barge, and directed his courſe towards Putney. Upon this occaſion, the Thames was crowded with ſpectators on both ſides, and a vaſt number of boats appeared on the river, in expectation of ſeeing the Cardinal carried to the Tower; and in the hopes of which the people expreſſed great joy. The Cardinal being landed at Putney, immediately mounted his mule, his ſervants and attendants being on horſeback. But he was ſcarcely got to the foot of the hill, on the other ſide Putney, when he was overtaken by Sir John Norris, one of the gentlemen of the King's bed-chamber, who diſmounted his horſe, and ſaluting the Cardinal in his Majeſty's name, acquainted him, that he was ſtill in the King's favour as much as ever, and would continue ſo, notwithſtanding his preſent behaviour towards him. He alſo preſented him with a ring in the King's name. Wolſey, who diſcovered as much meanneſs of ſpirit in adverſity, as he had pride and arrogance in proſperity, immediately got off his mule, and fell down upon his knees in the mire, in order to return thanks for theſe joyful tidings (*o*). The Cardinal then proceeded to Eſher, where he was in a very uncomfortable ſituation, being in want of common conveniencies. Cavendiſh ſays, the Cardinal and his family continued here " for the ſpace of three or four weeks, without " either beds, ſheets, table-cloths, or diſhes to eat their meat in, " or wherewith to buy any. Howbeit, there was good proviſion " of all kind of victuals, and of drink, as beer and wine, " whereof there was ſufficient and plenty enough. And my " Lord was compelled of neceſſity to borrow of Mr. Arundel, " and of the Biſhop of Carliſle, plate and diſhes, both to drink " in, and alſo to eat his meat in."

While

(*o*) The account which Cavendiſh gives of this tranſaction, and which is entirely omitted in the printed editions, is as follows: " When he was with all his train arrived at Putney, being upon the land, he took his mule, and every man took his horſe, and riding not paſt a pair of butt lengths, he eſpied a gentleman come riding poſt down the hill in Putney town, and demanding of his gentlemen about him, what he was that came riding down ſo faſt, 'Forſooth, Sir, (quoth they), it is Mr. 'Norris, as it ſeemeth to us.' And bye and bye he came to my Lord, ſaluting him, and ſaid, 'Sir, (quoth 'he), the King's Majeſty recommendeth him unto you; and commanded me to ſhew you, that you 'be as much in his favour as ever 'you were, and ſhall be ſo. Therefore, he would that you ſhould be 'of good chear, and take no thought, 'for you ſhall not lack. And although he hath done this unkindly 'towards

While the Cardinal continued at Eſher, Thomas Cromwell, afterwards Earl of Eſſex, but who was now in Wolſey's ſervice, took an opportunity of repreſenting to him, that he ought to conſider, that ſcarce any proviſion had been made for many of his ſervants, who had been very true and faithful to him, and had not forſaken him, as he expreſſed it, "neither in weal, nor "in woe." And he adviſed him to aſſemble his ſervants together, and to make ſome acknowledgment to them of his ſenſe of their ſervices, which, he ſaid, would be a great encouragement to them. "Alas! Thomas, (ſaid the Cardinal), you know I "have nothing to give them, and words without deeds be not "oft well taken. For if I had as I but late had, I would part

'towards you, it is more for the ſa-
'tisfying of ſome, than of any in-
'dignation. And yet you know
'well, that he is able to recompenſe
'you again, and reſtore you to twice
'ſo much. And thus he bad me
'that I ſhould ſhew you, and willed
'to bid you take all this matter in
'patience. And, Sir, for my part, I
'truſt to ſee you in better eſtate,
'than ever you were.' But when he had heard Mr. Norris report the good and comfortable words of the King, he quickly alighted from his mule, all alone, as though he had been the youngeſt amongſt us, and incontinent kneeled down in the dirt, upon both his knees, holding up his hands for joy of the King's comfortable meſſage. Mr. Norris alighted alſo, and eſpying him ſo ſoon upon his knees, holding up his hands, kneeled by him, and took him in his arms, and aſked him how he did, calling upon him to credit his meſſage. 'Mr.
'Norris, (quoth he), when I conſi-
'der the joyful news that you have
'brought me, I could do no leſs than
'greatly rejoice. Your words
'pierced ſo my heart, that the ſud-
'den joy ſurmounteth my memory,
'having no regard or reſpect to the
'place; but I thought it my duty,
'that in the ſame place where I re-
'ceived this comfort, to laud and
'praiſe God upon my knees, and
'moſt humbly to render to my Sove-
'reign Lord, my hearty thanks for
'the ſame.' And as he was talking thus upon his knees to Mr. Norris, he would have pulled off a velvet night cap, which he wore under his black hat, and ſcarlet cap, but he could not undo the knot under his chin; wherefore with violence he rent the laces from his cap, and pulled his ſaid cap from his head, and kneeled bare headed. And this done, he roſe up, and mounted again upon his mule, and ſo rode further up the highway in the town, talking with Mr. Norris. And when he came upon Putney heath, where Mr. Norris ſhould depart from him, Mr. Norris gave him a ring of gold with a ſtone, and ſaid unto him, that the King ſent him the ſame, for a token of his good will; 'which ring
'(quoth he) the King ſayeth you
'know very well;' for it was the privy token between the King and him, when the King would have any eſpecial thing ſpeeded at his hands. Then ſaid he to Mr. Norris, 'If I
'were Lord of a realm, the one half
'thereof were too ſmall a reward to
'give you, for your pains and good
'news. But good Mr. Norris, con-
'ſider that I have nothing left me,
'but my clothes upon my back.
'Wherefore I ſhall deſire you to take
'this ſmall reward at my hands:' the which was a little chain of gold made like a bottle chain, with a croſs of gold, wherein was a piece of the holy croſs, which he continually ware about his neck, next his body; and ſaid furthermore, 'Mr. Norris,
'I aſſure you, when I was in proſ-
'perity, although it ſeem but ſmall
'in value, yet I would not gladly
'have departed with the ſame for a
'thouſand pounds. Therefore, I
'ſhall require you to take it in good
'worth, and to wear it about your
'neck continually for my ſake; and

'to

" with them in ſuch a manner, that they ſhould have no reaſon " to complain. But nothing hath no favour: and I am both " aſhamed, and alſo ſorry, that I am not able to requite their " faithful ſervice. And although I do rejoice, as I may, to " conſider the fidelity that I ſee in the number of my ſervants, " who will not forſake me in my miſerable eſtate, but be as di- " ligent and as ſerviceable about me, as they were in my great " triumph and glory; yet I do lament again as vehemently the " want of ſubſtance to diſtribute amongſt them (*p*)." In anſwer to which, Cromwell obſerved to him, that he had a number of Chaplains, who had been promoted by him to benefices, ſome of them to the amount of one thouſand pounds a year, others five hundred marks, and none leſs than three hundred. Theſe (ſaid Cromwell) " have had all the profit and gains at " your hands, and your other ſervants nothing; and yet have " your poor ſervants taken much more pains in one day, than " all your idle Chaplains have done in a year. Therefore, if " they will not freely and frankly conſider your liberality, and " diſtribute to you of the ſame goods gotten in your ſervice, " now in your great indigence and neceſſity, it is pity that they " live, and all the world will have them in indignation and " hatred, for their ingratitude to their maſter."

In the afternoon of the ſame day in which the Cardinal had this converſation with Cromwell, he cauſed all his domeſtics to be aſſembled together; and when he came out to them, and beheld (ſays Cavendiſh) " this goodly number of his ſervants, " he could not ſpeak unto them, until the tears ran down his " cheeks; which few tears perceived by his ſervants, cauſed " great fountains of water to guſh out of their faithful eyes, in " ſuch ſort as it would cauſe the moſt cruel heart to lament."

The

' to remember me to the King, when ' you ſhall ſee opportunity, unto ' whoſe Highneſs I ſhall moſt in- ' ſtantly require you to have me ' moſt humbly commended, for ' whoſe charitable diſpoſition to- ' wards me, I can but pray for the ' preſervation of his Royal eſtate. I ' am his obedient ſubject, his poor ' Chaplain and Bedeſman, and ſo ' will be during my life, accounting ' my ſelf nothing, nor to have any ' thing, but only of him, and by ' him, whom I have juſtly and truly ' ſerved, to the beſt of my groſs ' wit.' And with that he took Mr. Norris by the hand, bare-headed, and ſo departed. And when he was gone but a ſmall diſtance, he returned again, and cauſed Mr. Norris to be called unto him again. When Mr. Norris was returned, he ſaid unto him, ' I am ſorry (quoth he) that I ' have no token to ſend to the King; ' but if you will at my requeſt pre- ' ſent the King with this poor fool, I ' truſt he will accept him; for he is ' for a Nobleman's pleaſure forſooth ' worth a thouſand pounds.' So Mr. Norris took the fool, with whom my Lord was fain to ſend ſix of his talleſt yeomen to help him to convey the fool to the Court. For the poor fool took on like a tyrant, for that he ſhould depart from my Lord. Notwithſtanding, they conveyed him away, and ſo brought him to the Court, where the King received him very gladly." *Vid.* MS. as before, Fol. 40, 41.

(*p*) *Vid.* the MS. of Cavendiſh, as before, Fol. 42.

The Cardinal then made a very pathetic ſpeech to them, in which he told them, that he had nothing left to diſtribute among them, beſides the garments he wore; which, he ſaid, he was ready to ſtrip himſelf of, and divide among them, if they would be of any ſervice to them. However, he adviſed them, for a time, to repair to their wives or relations; upon which Cromwell obſerved, that ſome of the ſervants were ready to obey the Cardinal's commands in this reſpect, but wanted money for the purpoſe. He, therefore, propoſed a contribution, which he particularly recommended to the Chaplains, and encouraged them by his own example; and ſome money being raiſed by that means, the Cardinal was thereby enabled to diſcharge his ſervants, and allow them ſeveral months ſubſiſtence; ſome of whom accordingly returned to their families or friends, but others ſtaid with the Cardinal, to ſee the iſſue of his misfortunes.

The next day Cromwell ſet out for London, to attend his maſter's and his own affairs, having firſt declared he would MAKE ALL, OR MAR ALL, which was his uſual phraſe. About twelve at night, after Cromwell had left Eſher, Sir John Ruſſel arrived there, being ſent privately by the King, to aſſure the Cardinal that he was ſtill in his Majeſty's favour, who in token thereof ſent him another ring, ſet with a Turkiſh ſtone.

But notwithſtanding theſe kind meſſages, it does not appear that the King had any real intentions of reſtoring the Cardinal again to favour; at leaſt, if he had, Wolſey's enemies, particularly Anne Boleyn, and the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, exerted all their influence over Henry, in order to complete the Cardinal's ruin. And accordingly a bill of indictment was preferred againſt him, by Hales, the Attorney-General, upon the ſtatute of Premunire. It was alledged againſt him, that he had obtained certain Bulls from Pope Clement VII. by virtue of which, he had exerciſed juriſdiction and authority-legatine, to the deprivation of the King's power eſtabliſhed in his courts of juſtice; to the prejudice of both ſecular and eccleſiaſtical perſons; and to the contempt of the King and his Crown, and contrary to the ſtatute paſſed in the 16th of King Richard the Second. This mode of proſecution againſt the Cardinal was thought ſevere, as that was now imputed to him as a crime, which he had long and openly practiſed, with the conſent and approbation of the King, and the acquieſcence of the Parliament; and it is ſaid that he had obtained the King's licenſe in the moſt formal manner, for the exerciſe of his legatine powers. However, the Cardinal choſe to ſubmit; and therefore, by his Attorney, confeſſed the facts which were laid in the indictment, but pleaded ignorance of the ſtatute. Upon which the Court gave ſentence, "That he was out of the King's protection, and "his lands, goods, and chattels, forfeited; and that his perſon "might be ſeized upon."

The Cardinal being thus legally deprived of his eſtate and effects, and even liable to impriſonment, was in a calamitous ſituation. However, the King granted him his Royal licenſe and protection, and he had alſo ſome of his furniture and plate reſtored to him. But Henry ſent Shelley, one of the Judges, with a meſſage to the Cardinal, requiring that he ſhould ſurrender York-Houſe into his Majeſty's hands, and acknowledge the right thereof to belong to the King and his ſucceſſors. Wolſey had fitted up and repaired this palace with a magnificence which few Royal buildings in Europe could equal; and, as it belonged to the Archbiſhopric of York, it could not legally be forfeited in the ſame manner as the reſt of his eſtate. The Cardinal, therefore, made great oppoſition to this order of the King's, which he conſidered as ſacrilegious; however, he at length complied, though with much reluctance; and at parting with the Judge, he requeſted him to tell the King, that he deſired his Majeſty, "to remember, that there was both Heaven "and Hell." The Cardinal alſo ſigned a reſignation of the gifts of all benefices and offices within his dioceſe of Wincheſter.

Cavendiſh informs us, that the King alſo ſent a meſſage to the Cardinal by the Duke of Norfolk; but what was the purport of it, he has not informed us. 'My Lord (ſays he) being adver-'tiſed that my Lord of Norfolk was coming, even at hand, he 'cauſed all his gentlemen to wait upon him down through the 'hall, into the baſe court, to receive the Duke at the gates, 'and commanded all his yeomen to ſtand in order in the hall. 'And he himſelf, with his gentlemen, went to the gates, where 'he received my Lord of Norfolk, bare-headed, who embraced 'each other, and ſo led him by the arm through his hall into 'his chamber. And when the Duke had paſſed through unto 'the upper end of the hall, regarding the number of tall yeo-'men that ſtood on the ſide thereof, he turned again to the yeo-'men, and ſaid, "Sirs, your diligent and faithful ſervice unto "your maſter in this his calamity, hath purchaſed you of all "men, noble and ignoble, much praiſe. Inſomuch, that the "King commanded me to ſay unto you, in his name, that for "your true and loving ſervice that you have done to your "maſter, his Highneſs will ſee you all at any time furniſhed "with ſervice according to your merits." With that my Lord 'put off his cap, and ſaid to my Lord of Norfolk, "Sir, "(quoth he), theſe men be all approved men; wherefore it "were pity they ſhould want any ſervice. And for that I am "not able to do for them as my heart wiſheth, for the which I "am right ſorry: I will therefore require you, my good Lord, "to be a good Lord unto them, and extend your charity unto "them, when and where you ſhall ſee occaſion at any time here-"after, and that you will recommend their diligence and faith-"ful ſervice unto the King." The Duke of Norfolk pro-'miſed

" miſed the Cardinal that he would comply with his requeſt; " after which they went to dinner together, when the Cardinal " ſaid to the Duke, " My Lord, of all other Noblemen I have " moſt cauſe to thank you, for your noble and gentle heart, the " which you have ſhewed me behind my back, as my ſervant Mr. " Cromwell hath reported unto me. But even as you be a No- " bleman in deed, ſo have you ſhewed yourſelf no leſs to all " men in calamity, and in eſpecial to me, whom you have " brought down from my high eſtate; but now again, being in " this my miſerable eſtate, you have extended your favour moſt " honourably, with great charity. You do right well deſerve " to bear in your arms the noble and gentle lion, having the " very property of the lion; whoſe natural property is, when " he hath vanquiſhed a cruel beaſt, and ſeeth him yielded, lying " proſtrate before him, under his feet, then he will be merciful " unto him, and do him no more hurt, nor ſuffer any ravenous " beaſt to devour him; whoſe natural inclination you have, " wherefore I may ſay theſe verſes in your commendation:

" *Parcere proſtratis, ſcit nobilis ira Leonis.*
" *Tu quoque fac ſimile, quisquis regnabis in orbe* (*q*)."

On the 3d of November the Parliament aſſembled, and ſoon after the Houſe of Lords voted a long charge againſt the Cardinal, conſiſting of forty-four articles. In theſe articles it was alledged againſt him, that he had abuſed his legatine power; that he had expedited orders of the greateſt importance, and executed treaties, without the King's knowledge and concurrence; that he had ſought to equal himſelf to his Majeſty, by writing in orders and inſtructions, EGO ET REX MEUS; that he had endangered the King's health by breathing upon him, and whiſpering in his ear, when he knew himſelf to be deeply infected with the venereal diſtemper; that he had cauſed all foreign letters and diſpatches to be firſt conveyed to his hands, and all Ambaſſadors to be firſt introduced to him alone, ſo that neither the King, nor Council, were made acquainted with any matters, but ſuch as he thought proper; that he had endeavoured to ſow diſſenſion among the Nobility; that it was his cuſtom to behave himſelf in a moſt arrogant and arbitrary manner at the Council table, ſuffering ſcarce any of the Counſellors to ſpeak but himſelf, and endeavouring to brow-beat and intimidate all thoſe who gave any opinion contrary to his own; and that when matters had been nearly brought to an iſſue by proceſs at common law, he had not only given and ſent injunctions to the parties, but alſo ſent to the Judges, and threatened and commanded them to defer the judgment, to the evident ſubverſion of the laws. Theſe articles having paſſed the Lords, were ſent down to the Houſe

(*q*) *Vid.* MS. Fol. 45, 46. This is entirely omitted in the printed copies of Cavendiſh.

Houſe of Commons; but Cromwell, having found means to get himſelf elected a Member of that Houſe, defended his maſter with ſo much eloquence and addreſs, and laboured ſo earneſtly to make it appear that the articles did not amount to treaſon, that they were thrown out by the Commons.

But notwithſtanding this, the diſgrace which the Cardinal was fallen into, and the many mortifications which he had received, made ſo much impreſſion upon his ſpirits, as to throw him at length into a dangerous illneſs. The King being informed of this, ſeemed to relent, and to be much concerned for the Cardinal's indiſpoſition; for he ſent his own phyſician, Dr. Butts, to enquire into his ſituation. The Doctor found the Cardinal extremely ill; and upon his return to Court informed the King, that if he did not receive ſome comfort from his Majeſty, he would be a dead man in four days. "Marry, (ſaid the King), "God forbid that he ſhould die. I pray you, Mr. Butts, go "again unto him, and do your care upon him; for I would not "loſe him for twenty thouſand pounds." "Then muſt your "Grace (ſaid the Doctor) ſend him ſome comfortable meſſage, as "ſpeedily as you can." "That I will," ſaid the King; and upon that he took a ring from his finger, upon which his own picture was engraved, and commanded the Doctor to deliver it to him; and "tell him (ſaid Henry) that I am not offended with "him in my heart, nothing at all, and that ſhall he know "ſhortly. Therefore, bid him pluck up his heart, and be of "good comfort. And I charge you come not from him, till you "have brought him out of the danger of death." The King alſo prevailed upon Anne Boleyn to ſend the Cardinal a token of her favour; and Dr. Butts returning to him, was followed by three other phyſicians, who were alſo ſent by Henry to the Cardinal; who was in conſequence ſoon after greatly recovered from his diſorder (*r*).

The King ſhortly after, on the 12th of February, 1530, granted the Cardinal a full and general pardon. It has been obſerved by Sir Edward Coke, that this pardon of Wolſey's, and that of William of Wykeham, were the two moſt learned and beneficial pardons which he had ever read. The King alſo gave him ſome further marks of his favour, and promiſed to reſtore to him the whole revenues of the Archbiſhopric of York; and at the ſame time ſent him a conſiderable quantity of plate and rich furniture, for his houſe and chapel. Henry afterwards alſo furniſhed him with ſome money; and, on the Cardinal's requeſt, permitted him to remove from Eſher to the palace at Richmond.

The enemies of Wolſey were alarmed at theſe indications of the King's returning favour. They were extremely deſirous, therefore, of getting him removed further from Court; as being apprehenſive, that if by any means he ſhould once more gain acceſs

(*r*) *Vid.* MS. of Cavendiſh, as before, Fol. 47, 48.

acceſs to the King, he might poſſibly recover his former aſcendancy over him: and, in that caſe, they had juſt reaſon to fear, that his vengeance would fall with redoubled force upon all thoſe who had any way contributed to his diſgrace. And, therefore, the Lords of the Council made application to Henry, that the Cardinal might be ſent down to York, where his chief eccleſiaſtical preferment lay, and where his preſence might be of ſervice in compoſing ſome diſturbances in the country, which threatened the public peace. The King appeared not averſe to this propoſal; and Cromwell was ordered by the Duke of Norfolk to acquaint the Cardinal, that it was expected he would remove to a greater diſtance from Court. The Cardinal agreed to this, and offered to go to Wincheſter; but he was given to underſtand, that he muſt go down to York. He at laſt conſented to this; but acquainted the Lords of the Council, that he wanted money for the purpoſe, and could not go till he was enabled to ſatisfy his creditors. The King being acquainted with this, ordered him to receive the ſum of ten thouſand pounds; but it appears that he did not actually receive much more than ſix thouſand three hundred. Henry, at the ſame time, by a public inſtrument, granted to the Cardinal all the revenues of the Archbiſhopric of York.

Before Wolſey ſet out upon his journey towards the north, he removed from the palace at Richmond to a monaſtery of Carthuſian Monks at Sheen. And he took up his lodging in an apartment built by Dean Colet, and in which that great man died. For the Cardinal's misfortunes had made ſo deep an impreſſion upon him, that he ſeemed now diſpoſed to prepare himſelf for another world. During his reſidence at Sheen, he viſited the church every morning, and in the afternoon conferred with ſome of the moſt pious Monks. He alſo put on a hair ſhirt, and in other reſpects conformed himſelf to the rules of a monaſtic life.

The Cardinal at length ſet out, though with great reluctance, on his journey to his dioceſe of York. He had with him in his train one hundred and ſixty perſons, and twelve carts laden with baggage and furniture. He made ſome ſtay at Peterborough, in order to ſolemnize the feaſt of Eaſter; and on Palm Sunday he went in ſolemn proceſſion with the Monks there. On the Thurſday following he waſhed and kiſſed the feet of fifty-nine poor people, to each of whom he gave twelve-pence, with three ells of canvaſs to make them ſhirts, a pair of ſhoes, and a caſk of red herrings. And on Eaſter-day he went in proceſſion in his Cardinal's habit, and ſung high maſs himſelf with great ſolemnity. After which, he pronounced a bleſſing, with plenary remiſſion of ſins to all the audience. He then proceeded by ſhort ſtages till he arrived at Southwell, where was one of the palaces belonging to his See. He found it in a bad condition, but he ſoon put it into repair. And during his reſidence here, which

was

was the beſt part of the ſummer, he made it evidently appear, that he was well acquainted with the duties of a Chriſtian Prelate, however little he had hitherto practiſed them. The revenues of his Archbiſhopric now began to come in, and he was thereby enabled to keep a good houſe; and there was daily diſtributed at his gates great quantities of proviſions to the poor. He was extremely hoſpitable; took great pains to accommodate differences among the Gentry, and others, in his neighbourhood; and behaved to perſons of all ranks with much kindneſs and affability. By theſe means he rendered himſelf very popular in that part of the country; and was much viſited by the gentlemen and perſons of rank in the neighbourhood.

About the latter end of the ſummer, he removed from Southwell to Scrooby, where was another of his epiſcopal ſeats. He continued here ſome time; after which he removed to Cawood caſtle, an antient palace belonging to his See, within a few miles of York. He found this place alſo in bad condition; but he employed three hundred artificers and labourers in the reparation of it. To this place the Clergy of the dioceſe of York repaired to him; to whom he declared, that "it was the moſt "ſpecial cauſe of his coming, to be amongſt them as a father, "and a natural brother." And he here continued to render himſelf very popular. On holydays he would ride five or ſix miles from his houſe, ſometimes to one pariſh church, and ſometimes to another; and cauſing one of the Clergy to preach to the people, he ſat among them, and ſaid maſs himſelf before all the pariſh. And on theſe occaſions he brought his dinner with him, to which he would invite ſome of the pariſhioners, and alſo cauſe money and proviſions to be diſtributed to the poor. He uſed alſo to enquire, if there were any differences among any of the pariſhioners, and he would endeavour to bring about a reconciliation between the contending parties.

The Cardinal had now come to a reſolution to be inſtalled as Archbiſhop in the cathedral at York (*s*); but while the neceſſary preparations were making for that purpoſe, the Earl of Northumberland, and Sir Walter Walſh, unexpectedly arrived at

(*s*) About this time an incident happened, which ſhews the Cardinal to have been ſomewhat ſuperſtitious. Being at dinner, ſurrounded with his Chaplains, and the reſt of his attendants, Dr. Auguſtine, a phyſician, who was cloathed in a heavy velvet gown, in ariſing up, puſhed againſt the Cardinal's ſilver croſs, placed at the corner of the table, which fell ſo heavy upon Dr. Bonner's head, one of the Chaplains, that the blood came trickling down his ſhoulder. Upon this the Cardinal immediately retired to his chamber, and, ſhaking his head, ſaid, 'I do not like this 'omen.' Wolſey himſelf afterwards, it is ſaid, explained this omen in the following manner: That the croſs repreſented his perſon; Dr. Auguſtine, who threw it down, he ſuſpected to be one of his enemies, and an informer; and its falling on Dr. Bonner's head, who was then maſter of the Cardinal's faculties and ſpiritual juriſdiction, imported that his power was at an end, and that death would quickly enſue.

at the Cardinal's palace at Cawood. On their arrival, the Earl and Sir Walter went into the hall, and demanded the keys of the palace from the porter, who refuſed to deliver them without his maſter's order; upon which they contented themſelves with taking an oath from the porter, that no perſon ſhould go out or come in at the gates, until he received further orders. The Cardinal, in the mean time, was entirely ignorant of what paſſed below, care being taken that no one ſhould go up to inform him. But at laſt one of the ſervants found means to acquaint his maſter, that the Earl of Northumberland was in the hall. The Cardinal, who had juſt dined, and who ſuppoſed that Nobleman, who received part of his education in his family, was come to make him a friendly viſit, immediately aroſe from table, and meeting him at the top of the ſtairs, they mutually embraced. The Cardinal having then told the Earl that he was heartily welcome, ſaid to him, "If you had loved me, "my Lord, you would have acquainted me before of your "coming, which would have enabled me to have entertained "you in a more ſuitable and honourable manner; notwith-"ſtanding, you ſhall have ſuch cheer as I can make you for the "preſent, with a right good-will, truſting you will accept "thereof in good part, hoping hereafter to ſee you oftener, "when I ſhall be better able to entertain you." He then took the Earl by the hand, and led him into his chamber, the Earl's ſervants following him; and as they were both ſtanding together at the window, the Earl ſaid to the Cardinal, "My Lord, I "arreſt you for high treaſon." The Cardinal was ſo much ſurprized at theſe words, that he ſtood for ſome time ſilent; but at length recovering himſelf, he deſired to ſee the Earl's commiſſion, which that Nobleman declining to ſhew him, he refuſed to ſubmit to the arreſt. But whilſt they were debating together, Sir Walter Walſh came up ſtairs; and the Cardinal knowing him to be one of the gentlemen of the King's bedchamber, ſurrendered himſelf to him, as being ſufficiently commiſſioned by his poſt.

The Cardinal, being now under arreſt, ſet out on Sunday, the 1ſt of November, on his journey towards London. And the King, who had been prevailed upon by Wolſey's enemies to permit this further proſecution of him, had given orders that he ſhould be reſpectfully treated, and allowed as much time as he ſhould demand for his journey. When the Cardinal left Cawood, his departure was greatly lamented by the country people. He lodged the firſt night at Pomfret Abbey, the next at Doncaſter, and the night following at Sheffield Park, where he was very kindly entertained by the Earl of Shrewſbury, with whom he continued eighteen days. He was alſo treated with great reſpect by the neighbouring gentlemen, who flocked in to viſit him.

When Cromwell was informed that his maſter the Cardinal was taken into cuſtody, he expreſſed great uneaſineſs, and made application to the King in his favour; who aſſured him, that though he had cauſed him to be arreſted at the importunity of ſome of his Council, he ſhould be fairly heard before any ſentence ſhould be paſſed on him; and, in the mean time, ſhould be treated with the utmoſt reſpect. And a few days after, the King commanded Sir William Kingſton to repair to the Earl of Shrewſbury's, in order to receive the Cardinal into his cuſtody, and to attend him to town. When Sir William, who was attended with a party of the guards, arrived at the Earl's, he found the Cardinal very ill; and he expreſſed much uneaſineſs at Kingſton's arrival, on account of his being Lieutenant of the Tower. However, though he was now ill and weak, he proceeded on his journey the next morning, and reached Hardwicke-Hall, another ſeat belonging to the Earl of Shrewſbury. The next day he arrived at Nottingham, his diſtemper ſtill increaſing; and the day following he came to Leiceſter Abbey, being then ſo weak that he could ſcarcely ſit upon his mule. When the Abbot and Monks advanced to meet him with much ceremony and reſpect, he with much difficulty alighted from his mule, and ſaid, "Father Abbot, I am come to lay my bones "among you." It was on Saturday that he arrived at this place, when he went to bed immediately, and there continued till he expired, which he did about eight o'clock on the Tueſday morning (*t*).

A little before his death, he addreſſed himſelf in the following words to Sir William Kingſton: "I pray you have me heartily "recommended unto his Royal Majeſty, and beſeech him on "my behalf to call to his princely remembrance all matters "that have paſſed between us from the beginning, eſpecially "with regard to his buſineſs with the Queen; and then will "he know in his conſcience whether I have offended him.

"He is a Prince of a royal courage, and hath a princely "heart, and rather than he will miſs or want any part of his "will and pleaſure, he will endanger the loſs of the one half of "his realm. For I aſſure you I have often kneeled before him, "the ſpace ſometimes of three hours, to perſuade him from his "will and appetite, but I could never diſſuade him therefrom. "Therefore, Mr. Kingſton, I warn you, if it chance you here-"after to be one of his Privy Council, (as for your wiſdom you "be

(*t*) Cavendiſh mentions an inſtance of the Cardinal's ſuperſtition, which happened early on the ſame morning in which he died, but which is omitted in the printed copies. "After he had eaten (ſays he) of a cullar (or callis) made of a chicken, a ſpoonful or two, at the leaſt, quoth he, Whereof was this cullar made? Forſooth, Sir, (quoth I), of a chicken. Why, (quoth he), it is faſting day, being St. Andrew's even. What though it be, (quoth Dr. Palmer), you be excuſed by reaſon of your ſickneſs. Yea, (quoth he), what though, I will eat no more."—MS. as before, Fol. 70.

" be very meet), be well aſſured and adviſed what you put in " his head; for you ſhall never put it out again.

" If I had ſerved GOD as diligently as I have done the King, " he would not have given me over in my grey hairs. But this " is the juſt reward I muſt receive, for my diligent pains and " ſtudy that I have taken to do him ſervice, not regarding my " ſervice to GOD, but only to ſatisfy his pleaſure." The Cardinal afterwards earneſtly recommended to the King, the ſuppreſſion of Lutheraniſm, and all other hereſies, and in a few minutes after died, wanting only four months of ſixty years of age (*u*).

Such was the end, on the 29th of November, 1530, of Cardinal Wolſey. He was privately buried in the chapel of Leiceſter Abbey. The Cardinal was, as to his perſon, tall and comely, and very graceful in his air and manner. But it is ſaid that he had a blemiſh in one of his eyes, which was occaſioned by the venereal diſeaſe; and that it was with a view of hiding that defect, that he was conſtantly pictured in profile. He was a man of great abilities, great induſtry, and unbounded ambition. He raiſed himſelf from the loweſt rank, by his addreſs, and his intrigues, to the greateſt degree of power, wealth, and dignity, which had ever been enjoyed by any ſubject. He governed England for the ſpace of twenty years, and influenced the moſt important affairs of Europe; and he was courted, flattered, and careſſed, by the greateſt Potentates in Chriſtendom.

In his miniſterial character he diſplayed eminent ability; and it is certain, that in the courſe of his Miniſtry, he rendered England formidable to all the Powers of Europe. But it is at the ſame time ſufficiently evident, that in his foreign negociations, he was often influenced by his own private views, deſigns, and intereſts (*w*). It has been urged as a ſtrong preſumption in Wolſey's favour, as a Miniſter, that the latter part of Henry's reign was more unfortunate and criminal, than that which was directed by Wolſey's councils. But there ſeems reaſon to believe that ſome of the evils which aroſe in the ſubſequent part of Henry's reign, were in part occaſioned by the Cardinal; tho' whilſt he held the reins of Government, his addreſs and abilities enabled him to prevent things from running into confuſion. " It may be doubted, (ſays Lord Herbert), whether the impreſ-

(*u*) It was ſuſpected that the Cardinal had taken poiſon; but there were no ſymptoms or appearances of it upon his body, which was expoſed to public view.

(*w*) Mr. Hume ſays, (Hiſt. Eng. Vol. IV. P. 115.) " If in foreign politics, he ſometimes employed his influence over the King for his private purpoſes, rather than his maſter's intereſt, which, he boaſted, he had ſolely at heart; we muſt remember, that he had in view the Papal Throne; a dignity, which, had he obtained it, would have enabled him to make Henry a ſuitable return for all his favours."---But ſurely this can never be admitted to be a very ſolid excuſe, or juſtification, of Wolſey's conduct.

" ſions he gave, did not occaſion divers irregularities which " were obſerved to follow." And it appears very probable, that the abſolute and entire ſubmiſſion which Wolſey always profeſſed to the King's will and pleaſure, at all times, and in all caſes, contributed greatly to increaſe the natural arbitrarineſs of Henry's temper, to which the greateſt diſorders of his reign may juſtly be aſcribed. " He had ever taken care (ſays one of " our hiſtorians) to conceal from Henry, that there was aught " above Royal will and pleaſure, or that law had the force to " curb prerogative."

Wolſey was, in his proſperous circumſtances, proud, arrogant, and haughty, above all the men of his time (*x*); though he was, as is not unuſual with men of that caſt, mean and abject in adverſity (*y*). He was alſo vindictive, rapacious, and arbitrary; and paid no regard to the laws, or the conſtitution of his country, when they came in competition with his own power, intereſt, or ambition. He was immoral in his private life, though he was very exact and regular in his attendance upon the exterior forms of devotion, according to the cuſtoms of that age, and the rites of the Romiſh religion. He had an eloquent and perſuaſive tongue; and poſſeſſed a conſiderable ſhare of taſte and learning. He alſo greatly promoted and encouraged literature, and patroniſed many learned men; and he was, in general, a kind and generous maſter to his domeſtics.

As the Cardinal was charged with incontinence, he is alſo ſaid to have had natural children. It is alledged againſt him in his articles of impeachment, that he had two children by one woman. And Thomas Winter, who was generally reputed to be the Cardinal's ſon, received a learned and liberal education at his expence. He ſent him to ſtudy at Paris, and alſo heaped a great number of preferments upon him.

We have already taken notice of Wolſey's founding Cardinal College at Oxford; but upon his diſgrace, the King ſeized all the lands and revenues of it, to the Cardinal's very great regret, and at his death it was left unfiniſhed. But Henry afterwards

(*x*) Cavendiſh, notwithſtanding his natural partiality to his maſter, cannot help making the following remark, at the end of his life: " Here is the end and fall of pride and arrogancy of men, exalted by fortune to dignity. For I aſſure you, that in his time he was the haughtieſt man in all his proceedings alive; having more reſpect to the honour of his perſon, than he had to his ſpiritual profeſſion, wherein ſhould be ſhewed all meekneſs, humility, and charity."—MS. as before, Fol. 71.

(*y*) At the time of his diſgrace, and during his reſidence at Eſher, he wrote to Stephen Gardiner, who was then Secretary of State, deſiring him, " as he tendered his poor life, and at the reverence of GOD, and that holy time (of Chriſtmas), that he would ſend him his letter, appealing alſo to his pity, knowing in what agony he was; and that he would not only deſerve towards GOD, but bind him thereby to be his continual Beadſman; and ſo ended from Eſher, written with his rude hand, and ſorrowful heart; ſubſcribing himſelf *the moſt miſerable* Thomas Cardinal of York."

wards founded it again, under the name of Chriſt Church College. The Cardinal alſo founded a College, or Grammar-School, at his native town of Ipſwich. But that came to nothing after his death.

There is a letter of the Cardinal's ſtill extant, written in Latin, and addreſſed to the maſters of Ipſwich ſchool, containing the method of teaching and education that was to be obſerved in that ſchool; and which, as hath been very juſtly obſerved by Mr. Guthrie, does great honour to his ſtile, his taſte, and his judgment. The Cardinal directs the boys in his ſchool to be divided into eight claſſes. He orders thoſe of the firſt claſs to be inſtructed in the eight parts of ſpeech, and to be taught to pronounce the Latin in a full, open, elegant manner. The ſecond claſs were to practiſe the ſpeaking of Latin; and every boy was to have a note-book, and, being well grounded in his rudiments, to be exerciſed in tranſlating ſome quick, witty, pertinent ſaying from Engliſh into Latin. To the third claſs he recommended the reading of Æſop, for the improvement of their ordinary ſtile, becauſe of that author's neat and pleaſant language. Along with this ſtudy he recommends the learning of Lilly upon Nouns. The fourth claſs were to read Virgil, that Prince of Poets, as the Cardinal calls him; and he directed the maſters to make the boys read the majeſty of his verſe aloud, in a full, ſonorous tone. He cautioned the maſters againſt treating the youths under their care with ſeverity or tyranny; for by ſuch uſage, he ſaid, a forward genius was commonly either quite cruſhed, or at leaſt in a great meaſure blunted. To the fifth claſs he recommended the reading Cicero's ſelect epiſtles, as being, in his opinion, the beſt book for attaining richneſs and copiouſneſs of ſtile. The ſixth claſs he appointed to read books of hiſtory, ſuch as Salluſt, or Cæſar's Commentaries; and by the bye, he recommends it to the maſters to teach the ſtudents in this claſs the knowledge of defective, anomalous, and heteroclite verbs out of Lilly. The ſeventh claſs he enjoined to read the epiſtles of Horace, with Ovid's Metamorphoſis and Faſti. They were likewiſe to be taught compoſition of verſes and epiſtles; to reduce verſe to proſe, and proſe to verſe; and to have always in the morning ſome ſpecimen of their compoſition ready. And the Cardinal concludes his directions to this claſs in the following manner: "In the mean time, the mind is to be relaxed, and labour to be mixed with diverſions; but ſuch diverſions as may become a gentleman, and a man of letters. Pleaſure is to mingle even with ſtudy itſelf, that the boy may think learning rather an amuſement, than a toil. Particular care is to be taken not to hurt the genius of a boy, by overſtretching it, nor to fatigue him by too long leſſons. Both extremes are hurtful."

With reſpect to the eighth and laſt claſs, the Cardinal ſays, "When the youths have, by ſuch exerciſes, attained to ſome knowledge

" knowledge of the language, let them then proceed to arrive " to the higher rules of grammar, ſuch as the figures as they " are laid down by Donatus, Valla upon elegance, and ſeveral " antient writers, who treat upon the Latin tongue. In read- " ing thoſe works, we particularly recommend it to you, to en- " deavour to make yourſelves maſters of every paſſage re- " quiring immediate explanation. As for inſtance, ſuppoſe " you are to give the plan of one of Terence's comedies, you " are to preface it with a ſhort account of the author's life, his " genius, and his manner of writing. You are next to ex- " plain both the pleaſure and the profit that attends the reading " of comedies. You are next, in a clear, but ſuccinct manner, " to explain the ſignification and etymology of the word, to " give a ſummary of the fable, and to give an exact deſcrip- " tion of the nature of the verſe. You are then to conſtrue it " in its natural order. Laſtly, you are carefully to mark out to " your pupils every ſtriking elegance of ſtyle, every antiquated " expreſſion, every thing that is new, every Græciſed turn, " every thing that is obſcure, every etymology, derivation, or " compoſition, that may ariſe; whatever is harſh or confuſed " in the arrangement of the ſentence. You are to mark every " orthography, every figure, every graceful ornament of ſtyle, " every rhetorical flouriſh, whatever is proverbial, all paſſages " that ought to be imitated, and all that ought not.

" Beſides, you are to take care in ſchool that your pupils " ſpeak as correctly as poſſible; you are to applaud the excel- " lent, and you are to mend the incorrect. Sometimes you " ought, in the Engliſh language, to throw out a ſhort ground- " work for an eſſay; but let it be ſomewhat that is elegant. " Laſtly, if you pleaſe, you are to lay before them certain ſhort " rules, by which they may more conveniently handle the ſub- " ject aſſigned them.

" When in your ſchool the ſtudents are tinctured with ſuch " ground-works of learning, they will ſoon give eminent proofs " of what great importance it is to have their tender years " formed by the beſt maſters. In the mean while do you perſe- " vere, in adorning the country, to which you owe ſo much, " with the moſt liberal ſtudies."

THE

The Life of Sir THOMAS MORE, Lord High Chancellor of England.

THIS great and juſtly celebrated man was born in Milk-Street, London, in the year 1480. He was the only ſon of Sir John More, Knight, one of the Judges of the Court of King's Bench (*x*). He was inſtructed in grammar learning at a free-ſchool, of great repute at that time, in Thread-needle-ſtreet, called St. Anthony's. Having made at this ſchool a very conſiderable proficiency in the Latin tongue, his father procured him to be placed in the houſe of Cardinal Morton, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Lord Chancellor; a method of education which was much practiſed in that age. The Cardinal was much pleaſed with the promiſing genius of young More; and was particularly delighted with the quickneſs and vivacity of his wit. Whilſt he was at the Cardinal's houſe, ſome players were employed in acting there during the Chriſtmas holidays; at which time young More would frequently ſtep in among the players, and without any previous ſtudy, make a part of his own, in which he diſplayed ſo much ingenuity and wit, that he at once charmed and ſurprized his auditors. And Cardinal Morton had ſo ſtrong a perſuaſion of the force of his genius, that he would often ſay to ſuch of the Nobility as dined with him, "This child here waiting at the table, whoſoever "ſhall live to ſee it, will prove a marvellous man (*a*)."

In

(*x*) Sir John More had much of the ſame pleaſant turn, and gaiety of wit, for which his ſon was afterwards ſo diſtinguiſhed; and as a ſpecimen of it, Camden tells us, (Remains, P. 294.) that he would compare the danger which there was in the choice of a wife, to that of putting a man's hand into a bag full of ſnakes, with only one eel in it; where he may indeed chance to light of the eel, but it is an hundred to one he is ſtung by a ſnake. However, it has been obſerved, that Sir John ventured to put his hand three times into this perilous bag, for he married three wives; and was not ſo ſtung, but that he made a ſhift to live to almoſt ninety years; and then did not die of old age, being luſty and ſtrong, as it is ſaid, but of a ſurfeit occaſioned by eating grapes. Sir Thomas was by his firſt wife, whoſe maiden name was Handcombe. Sir John More was a man of conſiderable abilities, and great integrity.

(*a*) Sir Thomas More gives this character of Cardinal Morton in his Utopia. "He was (ſays he) a man not leſs venerable for his wiſdom and virtues, than for the high character he bore. He was of a middle ſtature, not broken with age; his looks begot reverence rather than fear; his

conv.rſation

In 1497, he was ſent to Canterbury College, now part of Chriſt Church in Oxford; where he heard the lectures of Grocyn and Linacre upon the Greek and Latin tongues; and he ſoon gave ſome ſpecimens of a maſterly ſkill in both languages, by epigrams and tranſlations which are printed in his works. His father

converſation was eaſy, but ſerious and grave; he ſometimes took pleaſure to try the force of thoſe that came as ſuitors to him upon buſineſs, by ſpeaking ſharply, though decently to them, and by that he diſcovered their ſpirit and preſence of mind; with which he was much delighted, when it did not grow up to impudence, as bearing a great reſemblance to his own temper; and he looked on ſuch perſons as the fitteſt men for affairs. He ſpoke both gracefully and weightily; he was eminently ſkilled in the law, had a vaſt underſtanding, and a prodigious memory. And thoſe excellent talents with which nature had furniſhed him, were improved by ſtudy and experience.——The King (Henry VII.) depended much on his councils, and the Government ſeemed to be chiefly ſupported by him; for from his youth he had been all along practiſed in affairs; and having paſſed through many traverſes of fortune, he had with great coſt acquired a vaſt ſtock of wiſdom; which is not ſoon loſt, when it is purchaſed ſo dear."

Cardinal MORTON was born at a place called Beer in Dorſetſhire. He took the degree of Doctor of Laws at Oxford, and greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ſkill in the civil and canon law. He rendered himſelf ſo eminent, and acquired ſo much applauſe, by his pleadings in Doctors-Commons, that he was thought well qualified for a Privy Counſellor: and being recommended by Archbiſhop Bourchier to King Henry VI. was in that Prince's reign preferred to the Council-Board; at which he behaved himſelf to ſo much advantage, both as to his integrity and abilities, that King Edward IV. continued him in the ſame poſt, upon his acceſſion to the Throne. After the death of Edward IV. Richard Duke of York having uſurped the Throne, found it impracticable, notwithſtanding all his artifices, to corrupt the integrity of Morton, who was then Biſhop of Ely; and therefore impriſoned him, together with ſeveral other great men. The Prelate, however, making his eſcape, projected the marriage between the Earl of Richmond, afterwards Henry VII. and the Princeſs Elizabeth, daughter to Edward IV. and by that means proved the inſtrument of uniting the two Houſes of York and Lancaſter. At the time of Henry the VIIth's acceſſion, Biſhop Morton reſided in the Netherlands; but upon that event he returned to England, was promoted to the Archbiſhopric of Canterbury; and in 1487, appointed Lord High Chancellor; and in 1494, received a Cardinal's cap from Pope Alexander VI. He died in 1501.

Lord Bacon gives Cardinal Morton the following character: "He was (ſays he) a wiſe man, and an eloquent, but in his nature harſh and haughty; much accepted by the King, but envied by the Nobility, and hated of the people.——He won the King with ſecrecy and diligence, but chiefly becauſe he was his old ſervant in his leſs fortunes: and alſo for that (in his affections) he was not without an inveterate malice againſt the Houſe of York, under whom he had been in trouble. He was willing alſo to take envy from the King, more than the King was willing to put upon him. For the King cared not for ſubterfuges, but would ſtand envy, and appear in any thing that was to his mind; which made envy ſtill grow upon him more univerſal, but leſs daring. But in the matter of exactions, time did after ſhew, that the Biſhop in feeding the King's humour, did rather temper it.——But whatſoever elſe was in the man, he deſerveth a moſt happy memory, in that he was the principal means of joining the two Roſes. He died of great years, but of ſtrong health and powers."

father afforded him but a very ſcanty allowance during his ſtay at the Univerſity, not ſuffering him ſcarcely to have money enough in his own cuſtody to pay for mending his clothes; and of the little which he did allow him, he exacted a particular account. This he did with a view of obliging him to a diligent attendance upon his ſtudies; and Sir Thomas, when he came to riper years, affirmed that this proceeding of his father's was advantageous to him, as in conſequence of it he was withheld from many idle expences, and reſtrained from vicious and diſſolute company.

When he had been two years at Oxford, and had made a proportionable progreſs in academical ſtudies, in rhetoric, logic, and philoſophy, he was removed from thence to New-Inn, London, in order to apply himſelf to the ſtudy of the law. But he ſoon after removed to Lincoln's Inn, where he continued his ſtudies till he became a Barriſter. He did not, however, confine himſelf merely to the ſtudy of the law; but continued to proſecute thoſe other liberal ſtudies, which he had commenced at Oxford.

During the time of his reſidence at Lincoln's Inn, he read public lectures in the pariſh church of St. Laurence Old Jewry, upon St. Auſtin's treatiſe DE CIVITATE DEI. In the courſe of theſe lectures, he did not ſo much diſcuſs points of divinity, as explain the precepts of moral philoſophy, and clear up difficulties in hiſtory. And he diſplayed ſo much ingenuity and learning, that his lectures were much attended, and highly applauded, by men of letters; and among the number of his auditors was the learned Grocyn. In ſhort, the reputation which he acquired, procured him the place of law reader at Furnival's Inn; an office in which he continued for ſome time, and which he diſcharged with eminent ability.

Mr. More had much natural facetiouſneſs and vivacity in his temper, but he was notwithſtanding ſtrongly diſpoſed to piety and devotion; though his piety was much tinctured with the ſuperſtition of the times. He took lodgings near the Charter-Houſe, amongſt the Carthuſians, where he continued four years, and practiſed all the auſterities of monkiſh devotion. He uſed to wear an hair ſhirt next his ſkin, a cuſtom which he never after entirely left off, even when he was Lord Chancellor; he alſo diſciplined himſelf every Friday, and on high faſting days; he uſed much faſting and watching, and often lay either upon the bare ground, or upon ſome bench, with a log under his head, and allowing himſelf but four or five hours in the night at the moſt for ſleep (*b*). He was a diligent attendant on the public preaching of Dean Colet, whom he choſe for his ghoſtly father. And he had a ſtrong inclination to take upon him the Order of the Franciſcans, as well as the Prieſthood.

(*b*) *Vid.* Life of Sir Thomas More, by his great grandſon, Thomas More, Eſq; Edit, 1726. P. 15, 16.

Mr. More was, however, diverted from any deſign of this kind; and moſt probably by his father, to whom he always behaved with the utmoſt dutifulneſs and ſubmiſſion. Before he was two and twenty years of age, he was elected a Member of Parliament, and remarkably diſtinguiſhed himſelf in that capacity. In 1503, King Henry VII. called a Parliament, his chief deſign in which was to procure a ſubſidy, and three fifteenths, for the marriage of his eldeſt daughter to the King of Scotland. When this was moved in the Houſe of Commons, though the majority of the Members diſapproved of the demand, yet being afraid of incurring the King's diſpleaſure, they made little oppoſition to it. Mr. More, however, notwithſtanding his youth, acted on this occaſion as became an Engliſhman, a man of integrity, and a Member of the Great Council of the nation. He was ſuperior to the temptations of wealth, and of ambition; and had too much intrepidity to be intimidated by power. He expreſſed himſelf with ſo much eloquence, and argued with ſuch ſtrength and clearneſs, againſt the King's demand, that in the end he cauſed it to be rejected. Upon this, Mr. Tyler, one of the King's Privy Council, who was preſent in the Houſe of Commons when this ſpeech was made, went immediately to the King, and told him, that "all his purpoſe had been diſappointed by a beardleſs boy."

A Prince ſo avaricious as Henry VII. could not but be highly incenſed at this vigorous oppoſition to a demand of money, the acquiſition of which was ever the moſt favourite purpoſe of his heart. He was deſirous, therefore, of revenging himſelf ſome way or other upon our young Patriot, and of damping his courage. But as Mr. More had done nothing but his duty, and what the King himſelf had no right to call him to account for, Henry pretended a quarrel, though without any cauſe, againſt Sir John More his father; whom he cauſed to be impriſoned in the Tower, and kept him there, till he had forced a fine of one hundred pounds from him, for his pretended offence.

It happened a ſhort time after, that Mr. More having ſome buſineſs with Fox, Biſhop of Wincheſter, Henry's favourite Miniſter, that Prelate took him aſide, and pretending great kindneſs to him, promiſed, that if he would be ruled by him, he would not fail to reſtore him to the King's favour; intending, as it was afterwards conjectured, to draw him into ſome confeſſion of an offence againſt the King, that Henry might thereby have an opportunity of gratifying his diſpleaſure againſt him. But he was not caught in the Biſhop's ſnare; and deſired ſome time to conſider what he ſhould do. When he had taken his leave with this anſwer, he fell into diſcourſe with Mr. Whitford, a familiar friend of his, then Chaplain to the Biſhop, and to him related what the Biſhop had propoſed, deſiring his advice. The Chaplain, being an honeſter man than his maſter, diſſuaded him with great earneſtneſs from following the Biſhop's counſel. "For my

"Lord

"Lord my maſter, (ſaid he), to ſerve the King's turn, would "not ſtick to conſent to the death of his own father." Upon this, Mr. More avoided any further communication with the righteous Prelate; and was once upon the point of going abroad, as thinking it would not be ſafe for him to live in England, expoſed as he was to the indignation of an arbitrary and revengeful Monarch. However, he was obliged to lay aſide his practice as a Lawyer, and to live in a retired manner at home; where he diverted himſelf with muſic, mathematical ſtudies, and learning French; and in this retirement he alſo acquired a very extenſive acquaintance with hiſtory (*c*).

Whilſt he was thus employed, King Henry VII. died; and as Mr. More had nothing to apprehend from his ſucceſſor, he again made his appearance in the world. And in the exerciſe of his profeſſion as a Lawyer, he acquired ſo much reputation by his eloquence, his knowledge in the law, and his integrity, that there was ſcarcely a cauſe of any importance tried at the bar, in which the parties did not endeavour to retain him on their ſide. But Mr. More was far from thinking, that his having been bred up to the profeſſion of the law, was a ſufficient reaſon for his undertaking to defend a bad cauſe, for the ſake of his fees. On the contrary, he was uncommonly ſcrupulous in the cauſes which he undertook. It was his conſtant method, before he took any cauſe in hand, to enquire in the moſt careful manner into the juſtice and equity of it; and if he found the cauſe to be an unjuſt one, he would tell the party, that he would not undertake it for all the goods in the world. He would alſo endeavour to reconcile the contending parties, and perſuade them, if poſſible, not to litigate the matter in diſpute. But if he could not ſucceed in this, he would direct his clients how to proceed in that manner which was the leaſt troubleſome and expenſive (*d*).

As Mr. More's diſpoſition was gay and lively, it appears alſo that he was naturally amorous; and he, therefore, found it ſomewhat difficult to preſerve his chaſtity, notwithſtanding the auſterities which he practiſed. For this reaſon, in purſuance of the advice of Dean Colet, he reſolved to marry. And having cultivated ſome acquaintance with Mr. Colt, of New-Hall in Eſſex, that gentleman, who delighted much in his company, having made him an invitation, he went down to pay him a viſit. His friend had three daughters, who were all accompliſhed and agreeable young Ladies; and giving him his choice of theſe for a wife, the conſequence of this viſit was, that Mr. More was married to the eldeſt; though, we are told, that his fancy led him to prefer the ſecond; but he was unwilling to

(*c*) *Vid.* Dr. Warner's Life of Sir T. More, P. 7, 8, 9.

(*d*) *Vid.* Life of Sir Thomas More in the Britiſh Muſeum, Harleian MSS. No. 1302. Fol. 135.

give any chagrin or vexation to the eldeſt, by the preference of her younger ſiſter (*e*).

In the mean time, he was appointed by the city of London, Judge of the Sheriff's Court, and was alſo made a Juſtice of the Peace. And we are told, that he uſed to ſit upon the bench at the ſeſſions at Newgate in that ſtation; and one of the moſt antient of the Juſtices there, making it a general cuſtom to cenſure with much ſeverity the careleſsneſs and negligence of thoſe who had their purſes ſtole, and who came there to proſecute on that account, Mr. More took a facetious method of reproving his brother Juſtice for his cenſuring humour. He ſent to one of the moſt expert cut-purſes who was then in priſon, and promiſed to procure his pardon, if he would the next day cut the purſe of the old Juſtice as he ſat upon the bench, and by ſome ſign make him acquainted with it. The fellow very gladly undertook it; and the next day, when he came upon his trial, he ſaid he could clear himſelf, if he might be permitted to ſpeak privately to this Juſtice. This being accordingly granted, the thief found means to cut the old Magiſtrate's purſe while he whiſpered him in the ear. Mr. More perceiving the buſineſs was done, took occaſion to make a motion for the bench to diſtribute ſome alms to a perſon there preſent who was in extreme neceſſity, and began himſelf to ſet the example. When it came to the old Juſtice's turn, he felt for his purſe, and, to his great ſurprize, found it gone; though he affirmed, that he had brought it with him when he came thither that morning. "Why, (ſaid Mr. More), "will you charge any of us with felony?" But the old gentleman growing warm, Mr. More called to the cut purſe, and bid him deliver up again the purſe which he had taken; but at the ſame time adviſed his brother Juſtice, not to cenſure ſo ſeverely hereafter the negligence of other men, who were robbed of their purſes, when he could not take care of his own, whilſt he was ſitting upon the bench, in a Court of Juſtice (*f*).

Notwithſtanding the uprightneſs and integrity with which Mr. More exerciſed his profeſſion as a Lawyer (*g*), yet his practice was ſo extenſive, that it brought him in, together with his office in the city, upwards of four hundred pounds a year; which

(*e*) "Although his affection moſt ſerved him to the ſecond, for that he thought her the faireſt, and beſt favoured; yet, when he thought within himſelf that this would be a grief, and ſome blemiſh to the eldeſt, to ſee her younger ſiſter preferred before her, he, of a kind of compaſſion, ſettled his fancy upon the eldeſt, and ſoon after married her, with all her friends good liking." More's Life of Sir T. More, P. 30.

(*f*) *Vid.* Hoddeſdon's Life of Sir T. More, Edit. 1662. P. 180.

(*g*) There is ſomewhat remarkable in the manner in which he ſpeaks of his own profeſſion in his *Utopia*. Speaking of the inhabitants of that imaginary iſland, whom he repreſents as a very happy people, "They have no Lawyers (ſays he) among them; for they conſider them as a ſort of people, whoſe profeſſion it is to diſguiſe matters, and to wreſt the

which was at leaſt equal to ſix times that ſum at this day; and which he gained, as he himſelf often ſaid, "without any ſcru-"ple of conſcience." And on account of his wiſdom, learning, extenſive knowledge, and dexterity, before he was engaged in the ſervice of Henry VIII. he was twice appointed, by his Majeſty's conſent, at the ſuit of the Engliſh merchants, as their agent in ſome cauſes of great conſequence between them and the merchants of the Steel-yard; and about the year 1516, he went into Flanders with Tonſtal, Biſhop of Durham, when that Prelate and Dr. Knight were appointed Commiſſioners for renewing the treaty of alliance between Henry VIII. and the Archduke of Auſtria. And being upon ſome occaſion at Bruges, a conceited fellow there ſet up a challenge, that he would anſwer any queſtion that could be propoſed to him in any art or ſcience whatſoever. Upon which Mr. More cauſed this queſtion to be put up, "An averia capta in withernamia ſint "irreplegiabilia?" That is, Whether cattle taken in withernam (a writ to make repriſals on one who has wrongfully diſtrained another man's cattle, and drove them out of the county), be irrepleviable. It was declared, that there was one of the Engliſh Ambaſſador's retinue, who was ready to diſpute with the challenger upon this ſubject. But he being altogether ignorant even of the terms of the Engliſh law, knew not what to anſwer to it, and ſo was made a laughing-ſtock to the whole city.

Mr. More's various avocations did not hinder him from exerciſing his talents in polite literature. He found leiſure, amidſt the hurry of buſineſs, to write his Utopia, which gained him great reputation, and was tranſlated into ſeveral foreign languages ſoon after its publication. He alſo cultivated an acquaintance, and maintained an almoſt continual literary correſpondence, with the moſt diſtinguiſhed men of learning in every part of Europe, and particularly with Eraſmus. When Eraſmus came to England, we are told, that it was contrived by the perſon who conducted him over, that the firſt meeting between him and More ſhould be, without either of them knowing it, or without any introduction to each other, at the Lord Mayor's table, which in thoſe days was open to men of letters of every nation. A diſpute ariſing at dinner, Eraſmus, either with a view of diſplaying his abilities, or for the ſake of argumentation,

the laws; and therefore they think it is much better that every man ſhould plead his own cauſe, and truſt it to the Judge; as in other places the client truſts to a Counſellor. By this means they both cut off many delays, and find out truth more certainly. For after the parties have laid open the merits of the cauſe, without thoſe artifices which Lawyers are apt to ſuggeſt, the Judge examines the whole matter, and ſupports the ſimplicity of ſuch well-meaning perſons, whom otherwiſe crafty men would be ſure to run down: and thus they avoid thoſe evils, which appear very remarkably among all thoſe nations that labour under a vaſt load of laws."

tion, endeavoured to defend the wrong ſide of the queſtion. But he was oppoſed by More with ſo much keenneſs of wit, and ſtrength of argument, that he ſaid to his antagoniſt, in Latin, with ſome vehemence, "You are either More, or No-"body." To which Mr. More replied in the ſame language with great vivacity, "You are either Eraſmus, or the Devil;" for it is ſaid the arguments of Eraſmus had a tincture of irreligion. Eraſmus and More were very fond of each other's company and correſpondence, and maintained a long and cloſe friendſhip. When Eraſmus left England, More, it is ſaid, lent him an horſe to carry him to the ſea-ſide; but, when he came there, inſtead of ſending it back, Eraſmus took it over to Holland with him, and ſent his friend More the following epigram in the room of it; alluding, as it ſeems, to ſome converſation which they had had together, concerning the doctrine of the real preſence in the Sacrament.

"QUOD MIHI DIXISTI
"DE CORPORE CHRISTI
"CREDE QUOD EDAS, & EDIS:
"SIC TIBI RESCRIBO
"DE TUO PALFRIDO,
"CREDE QUOD HABEAS, & HABES."

The fame of Mr. More's eminent abilities having reached the King's ear, his Majeſty ordered Cardinal Wolſey to engage this able man in his ſervice. The Cardinal accordingly made overtures to Mr. More for that purpoſe, and offered him an yearly penſion; but that he thought proper to decline. And he was ſo extremely unwilling to change his preſent independent condition for that of a Courtier, that the Cardinal could not prevail upon him to enter into the King's ſervice; and Henry for that time admitted of the excuſe he made. It happened ſoon after, that a large ſhip of the Pope's putting into the port of Southampton, was ſeized as a forfeiture to the King; but the Pope's Legate obtained of his Majeſty, that the caſe might be ſolemnly argued, and that his Holineſs might have ſuch Counſel aſſigned him, as were learned in the laws of this kingdom to plead his cauſe. And none of the Lawyers of that age were thought ſo proper to be Counſel for the Pope, as Mr. More, who could report all the arguments on both ſides in Latin to the Legate. The hearing was appointed before the Lord-Chancellor and all the Judges, in the Star-Chamber. And Mr. More here pleaded the cauſe of his client with ſo much learning and ſucceſs, that the forfeiture which the King had claimed, was reſtored immediately (*b*).

Mr. More acquired ſo much reputation by his management of this cauſe, that the King would no longer be induced, by any entreaty

(*b*) *Vid.* Dr. Warner's Life of Sir T. More, P. 13. and Biographia Britannica, Vol. V. P. 3160.

treaty whatſoever, to diſpenſe with his ſervice. And accordingly he was appointed Maſter of the Requeſts, the beſt place which then happened to be vacant. And in a month after he was knighted, appointed one of the Privy Council, and admitted into great familiarity with the King himſelf. And the following year, 1520, he was appointed Treaſurer of the Exchequer.

Sir Thomas More had ſo little reliſh for a Court, and ſo little inclination for wealth and dignity, that theſe honours and promotions gave him very little pleaſure. In a letter to Biſhop Fiſher, he ſays, "I am come to the Court extremely againſt my "will, as every body knoweth, and as the King himſelf often "twitteth me in ſport for it. And hereto do I hang ſo un-"ſeemly, as a man not accuſtomed to ride fits unhandſomely in "his ſaddle (*i*)." However, the King would frequently ſend for him into his cloſet, and there converſe with him about aſtronomy, geometry, divinity, and other branches of learning, as well as affairs of State. And he would ſometimes carry him in the night upon the leads at the top of his palace, in order to be inſtructed in the variety, courſe, and motions of the heavenly bodies. Henry was naturally fond of the company of men of ingenuity and learning; but he was particularly delighted with the chearful diſpoſition, and the fund of wit and humour, which he found in Sir Thomas More. He would often ſend for him, to make himſelf and the Queen merry; and they were ſo much entertained with Sir Thomas's converſation, that he could ſcarcely once in a month get leave to ſpend an evening with his wife and children, nor be abſent from Court two days together without being ſent for by the King. This, however, was by no means agreeable to Sir Thomas More; he was no friend to the buſtle, the ceremony, and the ſplendor of a Court; but, on the contrary, loved domeſtic pleaſures, and philoſophic retirement. He, therefore, grew very uneaſy at this reſtraint of his liberty, and began by little and little to abſtain from his accuſtomed mirth and facetiouſneſs; and by thus diſſembling his natural temper, he cauſed himſelf not to be ſo often called for on theſe occaſions of merriment.

Sir Thomas had now loſt his firſt wife, by whom he had ſeveral children; but he married a ſecond, a widow, who bore him no children. When he was not at Court, or employed in buſineſs, he reſided with his family in a houſe which he had upon the river ſide, at Chelſea. Eraſmus has given us the following agreeable picture of Sir Thomas's domeſtic life. "More (ſays "he) hath built near London, upon the Thames, ſuch a com-"modious houſe as is neither mean, nor ſubject to envy, yet "magnificent enough. There he converſeth affably with his "family, his wife, his ſon, and daughter-in-law, his three "daughters,

(*i*) *Vid.* More's Life of Sir T. More, P. 45.

" daughters, and their huſbands; with eleven grand-children. " There is not any man living ſo affectionate to his children as " he; and he loveth his old wife, as well as if ſhe were a " young maid. And ſuch is the excellence of his temper, that " whatſoever happeneth that could not be helped, he is as " chearful and as well ſatisfied as though nothing could have " happened more happily. You would ſay there were in that " place Plato's academy. But I do the houſe injury, in com- " paring it to Plato's academy, where there was only diſputa- " tions of numbers and geometrical figures, and ſometimes of " moral virtues. I ſhould rather call his houſe a School, or " Univerſity, of Chriſtian religion. There is none therein but " readeth or ſtudieth the liberal ſciences, but their ſpecial care " is piety and virtue. There is no quarrelling, nor intemperate " words heard, nor any ſeen idle: and that worthy gentleman " does not govern his houſhold, nor introduce into it ſo much " regularity and order, by proud and lofty words, but with all " kind and courteous benevolence; every body performing his " duty, yet is there always alacrity, neither is ſober mirth any " thing wanting."

Though Sir Thomas More was much at Court, engaged in a multiplicity of buſineſs, and of a temper uncommonly chearful and facetious, yet in every period of his life piety was an eminent part of his character. It was his conſtant cuſtom, beſides his private prayers, to read the Pſalms and Litany with his wife and children in a morning; and every night, to go with his whole family into the chapel, and there devoutly read the Pſalms and Collects with them. But becauſe he ſometimes choſe to ſequeſter himſelf entirely from the world, even from his own family, he built at ſome diſtance from his manſion-houſe, a gallery, library, and chapel; where, as on other days he ſpent ſome time in ſtudy and devotion, ſo on Fridays he continued the whole day, employing it in ſuch religious exerciſes as he thought beſt calculated to ſtrengthen and increaſe the pious diſpoſitions of his mind. In Sir Thomas's hours of relaxation, he frequently diverted himſelf and his family with muſic: but he had always a perſon to read whilſt he was at table, in order to prevent all improper converſation before his children and ſervants. And at the end of the reading, it was his cuſtom to aſk thoſe who were at dinner, how they underſtood ſome particular paſſages which had been read; and from thence he would take occaſion to make ſuch obſervations and reflexions, as had a tendency to entertain and to inſtruct the company.

In 1523, Sir Thomas More was choſen Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, an office which he accepted with great reluctance. But as the King, who had directed his nomination, would not conſent to his refuſal, he could not avoid taking it upon him. During the ſitting of this Parliament, Cardinal Wolſey had taken much offence at the behaviour of the Members of the Houſe of Commons,

Commons; and had complained, "that nothing was ſaid or done "in that Houſe, but immediately it was blown abroad in every "ale-houſe." On the other hand, the Members thought they had an undoubted right to repeat to their friends without doors, whatever had paſſed within. It happened, however, that a large ſubſidy having been demanded by the King, which Wolſey apprehended would meet with great oppoſition in the lower Houſe, he was determined to be preſent when the motion ſhould be made, with a view of over-awing the Members, and by that means preventing it from being rejected. The Houſe being apprized of the Cardinal's deſign, there aroſe a warm debate in what manner they ſhould receive him, whether with a few of his Lords only, or with his whole train. The majority of the Houſe inclined to the firſt; upon which Sir Thomas More got up, and ſaid, "Gentlemen, foraſmuch as my Lord Cardinal "hath not long ſince, as you all know, laid to our charge the "lightneſs of our tongues, for things ſpoken out of this Houſe, "it ſhall not in my judgment be amiſs to receive him with all "his pomp; with his maces, his pillars, his pole-axes, his "croſſes, his hat, and the Great Seal too; that ſo if he blames "us hereafter, we may be the bolder to excuſe ourſelves, and to "lay it upon thoſe that his Grace ſhall bring hither with him." The Houſe being pleaſed both with the humour, and the propriety of the Speaker's motion, the Cardinal was received accordingly: and having ſhewn, in a ſolemn ſpeech, how neceſſary it was for the King's affairs that the ſubſidies moved for ſhould be granted, and that a leſs ſum would not anſwer his Majeſty's purpoſe; but finding that no Member made any anſwer, nor ſhewed the leaſt inclination to comply with what he aſked, he ſaid, with ſome emotion, "Gentlemen, you have many "wiſe and learned men amongſt you; and ſince I am ſent hi-"ther immediately from the King, for the preſervation of your-"ſelves and all the realm, I think it meet that you give a rea-"ſonable anſwer to my demand." But every body being ſtill ſilent, he addreſſed himſelf to ſeveral of the Members in particular, who were eſteemed the moſt conſiderable men in the Houſe: none of whom, however, made him any anſwer; it having been before determined, agreeable to the cuſtom of the Houſe, to give him no anſwer but by their Speaker. The Cardinal loſt his temper at this contemptuous treatment, and ſaid to them, with great indignation, "Gentlemen, unleſs it be the "manner of your Houſe, as perchance it may, to expreſs your "minds in ſuch caſes by your Speaker only, whom you have "choſen for truſty and wiſe, as indeed he is, here is without "doubt a ſurprizing obſtinate ſilence." He then required the Speaker to give him an anſwer to the demand which he had made, in the King's name, of the Houſe. Upon which Sir Thomas More, with great reverence, excuſed their ſilence, as being abaſhed at the preſence of ſo noble and extraordinary a

perſonage; and then proceeded to ſhew him, that it was not expedient, nor agreeable to the antient liberty of the Houſe, to make an anſwer to his Majeſty's meſſage, by any other perſon, how great ſoever, than ſome of their own Members. And, in concluſion, he told the Cardinal, "that though they had all "truſted him with their voices, yet except every one of them "could put their ſeveral judgments into his head, he alone in "ſo weighty a matter was not able to make a ſufficient anſwer "to his Grace." This evaſive anſwer of the Speaker's only irritated the Cardinal ſtill more. He, therefore, roſe up in a heat, and departed in great diſpleaſure with the whole Houſe (*k*).

A few days after, Sir Thomas being in Wolſey's gallery at Whitehall, the Cardinal complained vehemently of his behaviour in this affair, and ſaid to him, "Would to GOD you had "been at Rome, Mr. More, when I made you Speaker." To which Sir Thomas replied, "Your Grace not offended, ſo "would I too, my Lord; for then I ſhould have ſeen an antient "and famous city, which I have long deſired to ſee." He then endeavoured to change the diſcourſe, and divert the Cardinal from the preſent ſubject, by obſerving to him, that he liked that gallery of his, better than his other at Hampton Court.

Sir Thomas More was a man by no means agreeable to Wolſey. His eminent abilities, his popularity, his incorruptible ſpirit, and the warm friendſhip and regard which the King often expreſſed for him, made him at once the object of the Cardinal's jealouſy and diſlike. This appeared on ſundry occaſions (*l*); and accordingly, with a view of removing him from Court, he perſuaded the King to ſend him Ambaſſador into Spain; and for that purpoſe artfully commended to the King his learning, wiſdom, and ſuitableneſs for that employment; and alledged, that conſidering the difficulty of the buſineſs which was to be negotiated, no other man was ſo proper for the Embaſſy. But when the King acquainted Sir Thomas, that he had deſigned him for it, he told his Majeſty, that the climate of Spain was ſo ill ſuited to his conſtitution, that if he undertook to go there, his death would probably be the conſequence; however, if it was his Majeſty's pleaſure, he would, notwithſtanding, prepare for his journey thither. But to this Henry replied, that it was not his meaning to do him hurt, but to do him good; and that, therefore,

(*k*) *Vid.* Dr. Warner's Life of Sir T. More, P. 25, 26, 27, 28. and his great grandſon's Life of him, P. 51, 52.

(*l*) Camden tells us, that when Sir Thomas More was firſt made a Privy Counſellor, Cardinal Wolſey moved that there might be a Lieutenant General conſtituted over the whole realm, to which motion the body of the Council aſſented. But Sir Thomas made ſome oppoſition to the propoſal. Upon which the Cardinal ſaid in a heat, "Are you not aſhamed, who are the meaneſt man here, to diſſent from ſo many honourable and wiſe perſonages? Why you prove yourſelf a plain fool." To which Sir Thomas immediately replied, "Thanks be to GOD, that the King's Majeſty hath but one fool in his right honourable Council!"

fore, he would think of another perſon for that Embaſſy, and employ his ſervice in ſome other way.

In 1527, Sir Thomas More attended Cardinal Wolſey in his ſplendid Embaſſy to France; and after his return, in 1528, he was appointed Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaſter; and the King ſtill continued to treat him with much familiarity and friendſhip. Henry would ſometimes come, without giving him any notice, to his houſe at Chelſea, in order to enjoy his converſation. But he had too much penetration, and was too well acquainted with Henry's volatile and fickle temper, and indeed poſſeſſed too much real greatneſs of mind, to be any way elated on this account. The King made him one day an unexpected viſit of this ſort to dinner; and walked afterwards with him in his garden for an hour, with his arm about Sir Thomas's neck. As ſoon as his Majeſty was gone, Mr. Roper, ſon-in-law to Sir Thomas, obſerved to him how happy he was, ſince the King had treated him with a degree of familiarity, which he had never ſeen him ſhew to any perſon before, except once to Cardinal Wolſey. "I thank our LORD, (anſwered Sir Thomas), I find "his Grace my very good Lord indeed; and I believe he doth "as ſingularly favour me as any ſubject within this realm. "However, ſon Roper, I may tell thee, I have no cauſe to be "proud thereof; for if my head would win him a caſtle in "France, it would not fail to be ſtruck off."

We have already taken notice of Sir Thomas's friendſhip with Eraſmus, his extenſive correſpondence with learned foreigners, and his regard for, and connexion with Dean Colet. There was alſo a cloſe intimacy between him and Biſhop Fiſher; and Grocyn, Linacre, William Latimer, William Lily, Cuthbert Tonſtal, Reginald Pole, afterwards the famous Cardinal, and Dr. Clement, a learned phyſician, were among the number of his moſt eſteemed friends. There was alſo much intimacy between him and Edward Lee, who ſucceeded Wolſey in the Archbiſhopric of York; but the Archbiſhop was by no means one of More's moſt worthy and reſpectable friends. He wrote againſt Eraſmus, and was a great oppoſer of him, at which More was very much offended: and Sir Thomas wrote three Letters to Lee on that occaſion; from which it appears, that he would have diſſuaded Lee from printing his cenſures upon Eraſmus, and that he was ſorry when they were publiſhed; that he thought Lee to be no match for Eraſmus, but far inferior to him both in knowledge and abilities, and in credit and intereſt with the learned world; and he judged that this exploit would draw infamy and contempt upon the writer, and even an odium upon the Engliſh nation (*m*).

(*m*) "Thus our Lee, (ſays Dr. Jortin), who, if he had kept the fool within doors, might have paſſed off for a tolerable Divine, choſe rather to purchaſe renown, ſuch as it was, by heading the clamorous, unlearned, or half-learned

In 1529, Sir Thomas More, together with his friend Biſhop Tonſtal, were appointed Ambaſſadors, in order to negociate a peace between the Emperor, King Henry, and the King of France. A peace was accordingly concluded at Cambray; and Sir Thomas acquitted himſelf in the negociation with great dexterity, and in a manner which procured him the approbation of the King. It was his cuſtom, when in the courſe of his travels he came to any foreign Univerſity, to deſire to be preſent at their readings and diſputations; and he would ſometimes diſpute among them himſelf, and with ſo much readineſs and learning, as to excite the admiration of the auditors. Indeed, he was ſo much celebrated for his eloquence, and the quickneſs of his invention, that whenever the King made a viſit to the Univerſities, where he was received with polite and learned ſpeeches, Sir Thomas More was always appointed to make an extempore anſwer for the King, as the man of all his Court the beſt qualified for the undertaking.

Before Sir Thomas was ſent on the Embaſſy to Cambray, King Henry had held ſome conference with him on the ſubject of his divorce; but the reſult was not agreeable to his Majeſty's inclinations, Sir Thomas expreſſing himſelf againſt the divorce with much freedom. However, he did it in ſuch a manner, that the King took what he ſaid in good part. After his return from Cambray, Henry made ſome further application to him upon the ſame ſubject, the high opinion which he had conceived of Sir Thomas making him deſirous of having his approbation of his proceedings.

half-learned cenſurers of Eraſmus, and of all reformation. Amongſt theſe, indeed, he might hope to make a figure, though not amongſt more eminent perſons.

"Lee began about the year 1517 to attack Eraſmus, and to ſtir up the Divines againſt him; in which attempt the Dominicans were no leſs buſy. He not only treated Eraſmus as one of little erudition, and no judgment, but as an Heretic, and an enemy to the Church; and did all that lay in his power to run him down, and ruin him. Eraſmus in return hath often ſaid of him, that the Earth never produced an animal more vain, more arrogant, more ſcurrilous, more ignorant, more fooliſh, and more malicious, than he. Yet this man advanced himſelf at Court, and became an Archbiſhop. He muſt have had ſome dexterity, ſays Le Clerc, unleſs his elevation was owing to the caprice of the King, or of dame Fortune, who loves to divert herſelf, and play her gambols, (if we may ſpeak in a Pagan ſtyle), at the expence of poor mortals.

"Lee was of a reputable family, was educated at Oxford and Cambridge, afterwards Chaplain and Almoner to Henry VIII. then employed by the King on ſeveral Embaſſies, then made Archbiſhop of York, Ann. 1531, and died 1544.

"He was, as Anthony Wood and ſome others have ſaid, not only profoundly learned, and an incomparable Divine; but a pious Chriſtian, an able and aſſiduous preacher, extremely charitable to the poor, and univerſally lamented, when he departed this life. It is very well: but whence came our *Antiquaries* to know all this? Why, even from his *Epitaph*. As if ſtones could not exaggerate! Thus much is certain, that he was always an enemy to the Reformation."——Dr. Jortin's Life of Eraſmus, Vol. I. P. 98, 99.

proceedings. And the King told him, among other things, that "though his marriage with Queen Catherine, being againſt the "poſitive laws of the Church, and againſt the written law of "GOD, was in ſome meaſure ſet right by the diſpenſation from "Rome; yet there was another thing found out of late, by "which the marriage with her appeared to be ſo directly con-"trary to the law of nature, that it could in no wiſe be diſpen-"ſible by the Pope." Of this, he told him Stokeſly, then newly made Biſhop of London, (and much in the King's ſecrets), could more fully inform him. But though Sir Thomas had a conference with the Biſhop, according to the King's command, yet he ſaw nothing of ſufficient force to induce him to change his ſentiments. The Biſhop, however, in reporting their conference to the King, ſpoke ſo favourably of Sir Thomas, and of his deſire to ſee ſomething in his Majeſty's cauſe which might enable him to be of his ſide, that Henry was not offended with him.

On the 25th of October, 1529, Sir Thomas More was appointed Lord Chancellor, in the room of Cardinal Wolſey, now removed from that office by the King's command (*n*). He entered, however, upon this high promotion, with regret, rather than with pleaſure. For he well knew the danger which naturally attended ſuch a ſituation under the reign of a Prince, whoſe temper was ſo fickle, and ſo arbitrary, as that of Henry. Sir Thomas, however, diſcharged the duties of that important poſt to which he was raiſed, with the greateſt diligence and aſſiduity, and with that uprightneſs and integrity, by which he had ever been ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed.

In a very ſhort time after his promotion to the Chancellorſhip, a ſurprizing alteration was perceived by all. Wolſey, his predeceſſor, had great abilities; and, as a Chancellor, appears to have been incorrupt. But he had ſo much pride and arrogance in his compoſition, that he would ſcarcely look or ſpeak to any perſon of common rank; and it was difficult to be admitted into his preſence only, without giving money to his officers and ſervants. On the contrary, Sir Thomas More had too much real greatneſs of ſoul, to treat any man with contempt and inſolence, on account of the humbleneſs of his ſituation. He was above being elated with external rank or honours; and as

(*n*) It is obſerved by the authors of the *Biographia Britannica*, and the *Biographical Dictionary*, 8vo. Vol. VIII. that Sir Thomas More was the firſt Layman who was intruſted with the Great Seal. But that is a miſtake. Sir Robert de Thorp, Knight, was appointed Lord-Chancellor in the 45th year of the reign of King Edward III. and Sir Richard de la Scrope, Knight, had alſo the Great Seal delivered to him in the ſecond year of the reign of Richard II. Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, was alſo raiſed to the Chancellorſhip in the ſame reign; and in the reign of Henry V. Richard Nevil, Earl of Salisbury, held the ſame poſt.

as he knew how frequently the poor were the objects of injuſtice and oppreſſion, he conſidered them as on that account peculiarly entitled to his friendſhip and protection. The poorer and meaner a ſuitor was, with the more affability would he ſpeak to him, with the more attention hear his buſineſs, and with the more readineſs diſpatch it. And for that purpoſe, it was his general cuſtom to ſit every afternoon in his open hall; that if any perſon whatſoever had a ſuit to prefer to him, he might come to him without bills, ſolicitors, or petitions, and open his complaints before him. His ſon-in-law, Mr. Dauncy, once found fault with him, between jeſt and earneſt, for his eaſineſs of acceſs, and extraordinary condeſcenſion; telling him, that when Wolſey was Lord-Chancellor, not only many of his privy chamber, but his porters alſo, got a great deal of money under him. "And ſince I have married (ſays he) one of your daughters, "and attended upon you always at your houſe, I think I "might reaſonably expect to get ſomething too. But you are "ſo ready to hear every man, poor as well as rich, and your "doors are ſo open to all who come, that there is no getting "any thing under you. Whereas otherwiſe, ſome for friend-"ſhip, ſome for kindred, and ſome for profit, would gladly "uſe my intereſt to bring them to you. I know I ſhould do "them wrong if I ſhould take any thing of them; becauſe "they might as readily prefer their ſuits to you themſelves: "and this, though I think it is very commendable in you, yet "to me, who am your ſon, I find is not profitable." "You "ſay well, ſon, (ſaid Sir Thomas), I am glad you are of a "conſcience ſo ſcrupulous; but there are many other ways "that I may do good to yourſelf, and pleaſure your friends. "However, this one thing, ſon, I aſſure thee on my faith, that "if the parties will call for juſtice at my hands, then though "it were my father, whom I love ſo dearly, ſtood on the one "ſide, and the Devil, whom I hate extremely, ſtood on the "other, his cauſe being juſt, the Devil of me ſhould have his "right."

Another of his ſons-in-law, Mr. Heron, having a cauſe depending, was adviſed by Sir Thomas to refer it to arbitration. But he declined this, having ſome hopes that his father-in-law the Chancellor would ſhew him ſome favour, when the matter came to be tried. But he found himſelf deceived. For Sir Thomas, upon hearing the cauſe, made a decree directly againſt him. And our upright Chancellor was ſo indefatigable in his application to buſineſs, that though he found the Court of Chancery, on his coming into his office, clogged with many and tedious cauſes, ſome of which had been there near twenty years; yet, when he had held the poſt of Chancellor about two years, having finiſhed a cauſe, and calling for the next that was to be heard,

heard, he was anſwered that there was not one cauſe more depending; and this he ordered to be entered on record (*o*).

Sir Thomas More was a man of a very humane, benevolent temper; and this had led him, in his Utopia, to condemn the putting men to death for robbery (*p*). But notwithſtanding this humanity of diſpoſition, and his intellectual endowments, ſuch is the force of religious bigotry, and ſuch the inconſiſtency of human nature, that he not only approved, but zealouſly promoted, the perſecuting, and putting men to death, becauſe their religious ſentiments were different from his own! Biſhop Burnet obſerves, that Sir Thomas More "was one of the bittereſt "enemies of the new preachers, not without great cruelty "when he came into power, though he was otherwiſe a very "good-natured man. So violently (adds the Biſhop) did the "Roman Clergy hurry all their friends into thoſe exceſſes of "fire and ſword."

Sir Thomas More's zeal for the Romiſh Church, and violent prejudices againſt Luther and his followers, led him, notwithſtanding his many avocations, to write ſeveral treatiſes in defence of Popery. He was thought by theſe to have done great ſervice to the Church: and as it was known that, notwithſtanding the King's favour, he had amaſſed no riches, nor had ſuch an income from his employments as his great worth deſerved, it was reſolved by the Clergy in convocation, as a grateful return to Sir Thomas for his theological labours, to make him a preſent of four or five thouſand pounds, which was in that age a very great ſum; and to the payment of which every Biſhop, Abbot, and others of the Clergy, contributed liberally, according to their abilities. On this occaſion, his friend Tonſtall, Biſhop of Durham, with the Biſhops of Bath and Exeter, were deputed to wait upon him in the name of the whole body; to let him know, how much they eſteemed themſelves obliged to him for his labours in GOD's ſervice; and though they could not, they ſaid, requite him according to his deſerts, yet to ſhew their ſenſe of his great merit, and in conſideration that his eſtate was by no means equal to it, they preſented him, in the name of their whole convocation, with a ſum which they hoped he would accept of. Sir Thomas, however, abſolutely declined the acceptance of this money; telling them, "That as it was no ſmall comfort to "him, that ſuch wiſe and learned men ſo well accepted of his "works,

(*o*) The following lines were written on this occaſion:

When *More* ſome years had Chancellor been
"No *more* ſuits did remain;
"The ſame ſhall never *more* be ſeen,
"'Till *More* be there again."

(*p*) The learned Dr. Jortin takes notice, that Sir Thomas More "in his Utopia hath declared himſelf fully and freely againſt putting thieves to death. He would have them confined to hard labour, and made ſlaves for a certain number of years, and kindly uſed all that time, if they behaved

" works, for which he never intended to receive any reward " but at the hand of GOD; ſo he hearrily thanked this ho- " nourable body for their bountiful conſideration." When the Prelates found that they could by no means prevail upon him to accept

haved themſelves well. Eraſmus (he adds) was in the ſame juſt and reaſonable way of thinking."

Concerning putting thieves and robbers to death, Sir Thomas More, in that work of his which is juſt mentioned, expreſſes himſelf thus: " It ſeems to me a very unjuſt thing to take away a man's life for a little money; for nothing in the world can be of equal value with a man's life: and if it is ſaid, that it is not for the money that he ſuffers, but for his breaking the law; I muſt ſay, extreme juſtice is an extreme injury: for we ought not to approve of theſe terrible laws, that make the ſmalleſt offences capital; nor of that opinion of the Stoicks, that makes all crimes equal, as if there were no difference to be made between the killing a man, and the taking his purſe; between which, if we examine things impartially, there is no likeneſs nor proportion. GOD has commanded us not to kill; and ſhall we kill ſo eaſily for a little money? But if any one ſhall ſay, that by that law we are only forbid to kill, except when the laws of the land allow of it; upon the ſame grounds, laws may be made in ſome caſes to allow of adultery and perjury: for GOD having taken from us the right of diſpoſing, either of our own, or of other people's lives, if it is pretended that the mutual conſent of men in making laws, can authorize manſlaughter in caſes which GOD has given us no example, that it frees people from the obligation of the divine law, and ſo makes murder a lawful action; what is this, but to give a preference to the human laws before the divine? And if this is once admitted, by the ſame rule, men may in all other things put what reſtrictions they pleaſe upon the laws of GOD. If by the Moſaical law, though it was rough and ſevere, as being a yoke laid on an obſtinate and ſervile nation, men were only fined, and not put to death for theft; we cannot imagine that in this new law of mercy, in which GOD treats us with the the tenderneſs of a Father, he has given us a greater licence to cruelty, than he did to the Jews. Upon theſe reaſons it is, that I think putting thieves to death is not lawful; and it is plain and obvious that it is abſurd, and of ill conſequence to the common-wealth, that a thief and a murderer ſhould be equally puniſhed."

Dr. Warner, in reference to theſe ſentiments of Sir Thomas More, ſays, " It has long been my opinion, that we preſume too much on our power of making laws, and too far infringe on the command of GOD, by taking away the lives of men, in the manner we do in England, for theft and robbery; and that this is not only a pernicious error, but a national abomination. It muſt be granted, that all ſocieties have a power within themſelves of making laws to ſecure property, and of annexing puniſhments to the breach of them: but then, on the other hand, it muſt be owned that no man, or body of men, can have power to make laws which are contrary to the laws of GOD, or to ordain ſuch puniſhments for the breach of them as he hath poſitively forbidden. It is to little purpoſe to urge, that men may agree to give up their natural rights, for their mutual benefit, and to hold their lives and liberties upon certain terms and conditions, on the breach of which they ſhould be forfeited; becauſe though this argument will hold with regard to liberty and property, it will not hold with regard to life; of which GOD alone is the ſole diſpoſer, and over which we have no right, in ourſelves, or in other men. A robber in this country, indeed, ſins with his eyes open, and knows the penalty which he is going to incur: but the wilfulneſs of the crime is no ſort of excuſe for making the puniſhment far exceed the heinouſneſs of the tranſgreſſion: and who will deny that a little theft or robbery, perhaps

of

accept this gift from the convocation, they deſired that he would give them leave to preſent his family with it. "Not ſo, in-"deed, my Lords, ſaid Sir Thomas; I had rather ſee it all "caſt into the Thames, than that I or any of mine ſhould have "a penny of it. For though your Lordſhips offer is very "friendly and honourable to me, yet I ſet ſo much by my "pleaſure, and ſo little by my profit, that in good faith I would "not for a much larger ſum have loſt the reſt of ſo many nights "ſleep as was ſpent upon theſe writings. And yet, notwith-"ſtanding that, upon condition that all Hereſies were ſup-"preſſed, I wiſh that all my books were burnt, and my labour "entirely loſt."

How earneſtly Sir Thomas More wiſhed for the ſuppreſſion of Hereſy, appears from another incident which is related of him. As he was one day walking with his ſon-in-law by the water-ſide at Chelſea, and diſcourſing very ſeriouſly on the ſtate of public affairs, he ſaid to him, "Now on condition that three "things were well eſtabliſhed in Chriſtendom, I would to our "LORD, ſon Roper, that I were put here into a ſack, and pre-"ſently thrown into the Thames!" Mr. Roper expreſſing much ſurprize at this unuſual zeal, and deſiring to hear what thoſe things were which he ſo earneſtly wiſhed to be brought to paſs; "Wouldſt thou know," ſaid he, "what they be? In faith "then they are theſe. The firſt is, that whereas the greateſt "part of Chriſtian Princes are now at mortal war, they were at "univerſal peace. The ſecond, that whereas the Church of "CHRIST is at this time ſorely afflicted with many errors and "hereſies, it were ſettled in a perfect uniformity of reli-"gion (*q*). The third is, that whereas the King's marriage

of the value of two or three ſhillings only, is not puniſhed infinitely beyond a juſt proportion, when it is puniſhed with death?

"Theſe laws, however, in my opinion, are not more abominable, than they are ill contrived; if this obſervation, which men verſed in affairs make, is true, that the riches of a nation are in proportion to the number of hands employed in works of ſkill and labour. How many hands of this ſort, which might be ſo employed, in making ſails and cordage for the navy, in our fleets or dock yards, in mending the high-ways, or converting waſte lands into tillage, are ſent every ſeſſions to Tyburn for theft and robbery, the reader need not be told. The laws of GOD affix no other puniſhment to thoſe crimes than ample reſtitution, or perpetual ſlavery; a word of great horror in England, where we boaſt ſo highly of our liberty.——A confinement of this ſort to conſtant labour for the public, whatever name we give it, would be dreaded worſe than death by theſe wretches, who have no idea of a future ſtate; and conſequently deter them more from the commiſſion of ſuch crimes, which is the only reaſonable end of puniſhment in a State."

(*q*) "Diviſions and ſchiſms," ſays a learned ingenious, and excellent writer, "are doubtleſs a grievous calamity in Chriſtendom; and yet it is better upon the whole, that the Church ſhould be thus diſunited, and ſplit into five, or into five hundred ſects than that it ſhould be uniformly ſubject to ſo cruel a tyranny, (as that of the Papal See), and united only in "the

" is now brought in queſtion, it were to the glory of GOD, " and the quietneſs of all parties, well concluded."

During the time that Sir Thomas More was in poſſeſſion of the Great Seal, King Henry often importuned him to re-conſider the ſubject of his divorce; but his opinion ſtill continued the ſame; and he had too much integrity, to profeſs a change of ſentiment out of complaiſance to his Sovereign. However, the King appeared ſatisfied with the anſwers which he gave him, and courteouſly told him, that if he could not in conſcience ſerve him in the affair, he was content to accept of his ſervice otherwiſe; and he would take the advice of thoſe of his learned Council in this buſineſs, who could conſcientiouſly ſerve him in it; aſſuring him, notwithſtanding, that he would ſtill continue his uſual favour to him, and no more moleſt his conſcience on that ſubject.

Whilſt Sir Thomas continued in the poſt of Chancellor, Hans Holbein, the celebrated painter, arrived in England. Holbein found an eaſy admittance to the Chancellor, and was very joyfully received by him, both becauſe Sir Thomas was a lover of the fine arts, and becauſe the artiſt had brought with him Eraſmus's picture, and letters recommendatory from him. Sir Thomas kept Holbein in his houſe between two and three years; during which time he drew Sir Thomas's picture, and thoſe of many of his friends and relations. One day Holbein happened to ſpeak of an Engliſh Nobleman, whom he had ſome years before ſeen abroad, and who had then invited him to England; upon which Sir Thomas was very ſolicitous to know who he was. Holbein replied, that he had indeed forgot his title, but remembered his face ſo well, that he thought he could draw his likeneſs; and this he did ſo ſtrongly, that the Nobleman, it is ſaid, was immediately known by it. Sir Thomas, when he had ſufficiently furniſhed and enriched his apartments with Holbein's productions, reſolved to introduce this great painter to the King. He did this in the following manner. He invited the King to an entertainment, and hung up all Holbein's pieces, diſpoſed in the beſt order, and placed in the beſt light, in the great hall of his houſe. Henry, upon his firſt entrance into the hall, was ſo charmed with the ſight of them, that he aſked, " Whether ſuch " an artiſt was now alive, and to be had for money?" Upon which Sir Thomas preſented Holbein to his Majeſty, who immediately took him into his ſervice, and brought him into great eſteem with the Nobility and Gentry of the kingdom (*r*).

Sir

the bond of ignorance, or of hypocriſy. Under ſuch a Head, and ſuch a Government, every rational enquiry would be checked and ſuppreſſed; but now Truth and Liberty prevail, ſometimes in one place and ſometimes in another, and are not entirely driven out of the Chriſtian world."—Dr. Jortin's Life of Eraſmus, Vol. I. P. 201.

(*r*) An incident is related concerning Holbein, which ſhews that Henry had formed an high idea of this artiſt's merit. A Nobleman of the

Sir Thomas More had now executed the office of Chancellor near three years; but as his ſcruples concerning the King's divorce ſtill continued, and as he was apprehenſive that ſome ſteps would be taken in that affair, which by virtue of his office, and yet contrary to his conſcience, he muſt be engaged in, he made application to the King, and at length obtained permiſſion, though not without much reluctance on the part of Henry, to reſign the Great Seal. And when he waited upon the King for this purpoſe, his Majeſty beſtowed many thanks and commendations upon him, for his excellent execution of that important truſt; and at the ſame time aſſured him, that for the good ſervices he had done both to himſelf and the kingdom, he ſhould in any requeſt which he might have occaſion to make, which concerned either his intereſt or his honour, find that his Sovereign would be always kind to him. Diſintereſtedneſs was, however, ſo eminently a part of Sir Thomas More's character, that he was not likely to derive much advantage from a declaration of this kind. For he declared, at his latter end, that notwithſtanding the degree of Royal favour which he had enjoyed, he had never aſked the King for the value of a penny, either for himſelf or for his family, in any part of his life.

The day after he had reſigned the Seal, a circumſtance with which his own family were unacquainted, he went as uſual, it being an holy-day, to Cheiſea church, with his wife and daughters; and, after maſs was over, it being cuſtomary for one of his gentlemen to go to his Lady, to tell her the Chancellor was gone out of church, he went himſelf to the pew-door, and making her a low bow, ſaid, "Madam, my Lord is gone." She thinking it to be no more than his uſual pleaſantry, took no notice of it. But as they were walking home, he aſſured her very ſeri-

the firſt quality came one day to ſee Holbein, when he was drawing a figure after the life. Holbein begged his Lordſhip to defer the honour of his viſit to another day; which the Nobleman taking for an affront, broke open the door, and very rudely went up ſtairs. Holbein, hearing a noiſe, came out of his chamber, and meeting the Lord at his door, fell into a violent paſſion, and puſhed him backwards from the top of the ſtairs to the bottom. However, conſidering immediately what he had done, he eſcaped from the tumult he had raiſed, and made the beſt of his way to the King. The Nobleman, who was much hurt, though not ſo much as he pretended, was there ſoon after him; and, upon opening his grievance, the King ordered Holbein to aſk pardon for his offence. But this only irritated the Nobleman the more, who would not be ſatisfied with leſs than his life; upon which the King ſternly replied, "My Lord, you have not now to do with Holbein, but with me; whatever puniſhment you may contrive by way of revenge againſt him, ſhall aſſuredly be inflicted upon yourſelf. Remember, pray my Lord, that I can, whenever I pleaſe, make ſeven Lords of ſeven plowmen, but I cannot make one Holbein of even ſeven Lords."

Hans Holbein was a native of Baſle in Switzerland, where he was born about the year 1498. He drew a vaſt number of admirable portraits in England. He died of the plague at London in the year 1554, and at his lodgings at Whitehall, where he had lived from the time that King Henry became his patron.

ouſly, that what he had ſaid was true, and that he had reſigned his office of Lord Chancellor the day before. When Lady More, who was by no means remarkable for pliability of temper, or ſubmiſſion to her huſband, and whoſe notions of riches and honours were very different from his, found that Sir Thomas was in earneſt, ſhe was exceedingly chagrined, and replied to him in a manner which was unuſual to her, "Tilly Vally, "what will you do, Mr. More? Will you ſit and make goſlings "in the aſhes? Would to GOD I were a man, and you ſhould "quickly ſee what I would do. What? why, go forward with "the beſt: for, as my mother was wont to ſay, It is ever bet-"ter to rule, than to be ruled; and, therefore, I would not be "ſo fooliſh as to be ruled, where I might rule." "By my "faith, wife, (ſaid Sir Thomas), I dare ſay you ſpeak truth; "for I never found you willing to be ruled yet."

Sir Thomas More, whilſt he held the poſt of Chancellor, lived in a manner ſuitable to the dignity of his ſtation; and as he was alſo generous and charitable, and regardleſs of his own private intereſt, he found his finances, after his reſignation, in a very low ſituation. Though he had gone through ſuch honourable employments, and practiſed the law ſo long and ſo ſucceſsfully, he was not, at this time, worth more than one hundred pounds yearly income (*s*). Hitherto he had kept his children, with their reſpective families, after their marriage, and provided for them all in his own houſe; but not being able now to ſupport them any longer in that manner, he diſmiſſed them each to their own homes, and diſcharged all his ſtate ſervants, and procured other ſuitable ſervices for them. All his gentlemen and yeomen he placed with Noblemen and Prelates, and his eight watermen with Sir Thomas Audley his ſucceſſor, to whom alſo he gave his great barge.

About the time of Sir Thomas's reſignation, he buried his father, Sir John More; to whom he behaved in his laſt illneſs, as he had always done, with the higheſt degree of filial piety; and notwithſtanding the great age to which his father's life was extended, yet he was much affected with his loſs. When Sir Thomas was Chancellor, he never paſſed through Weſtminſter-Hall to his ſeat in the Chancery, without going into the Court of King's-Bench, when his father was ſitting there, and aſking his bleſſing upon his knees; and when they happened to meet together at the readings at Lincoln's-Inn, he always offered the precedence to his father; which, on account of his ſon's poſt as Chancellor, Sir John always waved (*t*).

Sir

(*s*) According to his ſon-in-law Roper, Sir Thomas had not, on his reſignation of the Chancellorſhip, after his debts were paid, the value of one hundred pounds in gold and ſilver, his gold chain excepted.

(*t*) The death of Sir Thomas's father brought him but a very inconſiderable acceſſion of fortune; becauſe the greateſt part of Sir John More's eſtate, with his ſeat at Gubbins in Hertfordſhire, were ſettled upon his ſecond wife, who outlived Sir Thomas many years.

Sir Thomas More now reſolved never to engage again in any public buſineſs. He gave himſelf up to domeſtic life, to retirement, ſtudy, and devotion, in his houſe at Chelſea. But as he was well acquainted with the cruel and inconſtant temper of Henry, to his beſt and moſt faithful ſervants, he foreſaw that when his Majeſty found he could not bring him over to his deſigns by gentle methods, he would uſe him with rigour; and, therefore, he prepared himſelf for the ſtorm which was likely to fall upon him.

King Henry finding he could not procure a divorce from Queen Catherine at the Court of Rome, had now come to a determination to ſhake off the authority of the Roman Pontiff; a meaſure in which he was very readily joined by the Parliament. He had alſo procured the judgments of many of the foreign Univerſities, as well as of Oxford and Cambridge, in favour of his divorce. And at length, reſolving to put an end to the affair in his own kingdom, he was privately married to Anne Boleyn, whom he had created Marchioneſs of Pembroke. He afterwards publicly declared his marriage with her; and his former marriage with Catherine was, by a formal ſentence, pronounced invalid. The Coronation of Anne Boleyn being fixed for the 31ſt of May, 1533, Sir Thomas More received an invitation to attend the ceremony; but that he declined, as he ſtill retained his former opinion concerning the lawfulneſs of the King's firſt marriage. All fair means thus proving ineffectual to win him over, in the enſuing Parliament a bill was brought into the Houſe of Lords, attainting him, as well as Biſhop Fiſher, and ſome others, of miſpriſion of treaſon, for countenancing and encouraging Elizabeth Barton, the Maid of Kent, in her treaſonable practices (*u*). When this bill of attainder was to be read the third time in the Houſe of Lords, they addreſſed the King to know his pleaſure, whether Sir Thomas More might not be ſuffered to ſpeak in his own defence; but Henry would not conſent to it. The preſumptions which lay againſt him as countenancing this impoſture, appear no further than by his ſending a letter to the Nun, with which the King was much offended; and by ſome converſations which he had with her, from the opinion he had formed of her holineſs and humility. It appears, however, that he then thought very meanly of her underſtanding; for in his letters to his daughter Roper, he always called her THE SILLY NUN. And he juſtified himſelf of all the intercourſe he had with her, in ſeveral letters to Secretary Cromwell; and in which he ſaid, that he was now convinced that ſhe was the moſt falſe diſſembling hypocrite that had been known.

Henry, however, was determined, in reſentment againſt him for not aſſenting to his divorce, and refuſing to countenance his ſecond

(*u*) *Vid.* Vol. I. of our Work, P. 345.

ſecond marriage, to puſh him with this bill of attainder. When Sir Thomas, therefore, deſired to be admitted into the Houſe of Commons, to make his own defence againſt the bill, the King would not conſent to it; but aſſigned a Committee of Council to call him before them, and hear his juſtification. This, however, was a mere pretence; for the point intended was to draw him, by fair words or threatenings, to give a public aſſent to the divorce and ſecond marriage. It was the great and univerſal reputation of Sir Thomas More, which made Henry ſo deſirous of obtaining this; for the King knew that Sir Thomas's opinion would have great weight among the people. The Committee of Lords appointed on this occaſion, conſiſted of Cranmer, now Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor Audley, the Duke of Norfolk, and Secretary Cromwell. The Lord Chancellor, having opened the affair to Sir Thomas, when he appeared before them, made a great parade of the King's extraordinary love and favour to him, of the many offices and honours which he had beſtowed upon him, and of his preſent inclination to be gracious to him. Sir Thomas aſſured them of the ſenſe he had of the King's goodneſs to him, and of his own readineſs to do every thing which might be acceptable to his Majeſty. But he told them, "that he had hoped he ſhould never have heard again of this buſineſs; ſince he had always from the beginning informed his Majeſty of his ſentiments concerning it; which the King had favourably received, and even promiſed that he ſhould never be moleſted more in the affair. But, however, he had found nothing, ſince the firſt agitation of this matter, to perſuade him to change his mind; if he had, it would have given him a great deal of pleaſure."

The Lords of the Committee then all of them endeavoured, in their turn, to prevail upon him by ſuch arguments as they thought beſt adapted to the purpoſe. But finding them all ineffectual, they told him, "it was the King's command, if they could not bring him over by gentleneſs and perſuaſion, to charge him with ingratitude. And to inform him, that his Majeſty thought there never was a ſervant ſo villainous, nor a ſubject ſo traiterous to his Prince, as he. And in ſupport of this heavy charge againſt him, they were to alledge his ſubtle and ſiniſter devices, in procuring his Majeſty to ſet forth a book, to his great diſhonour throughout all Chriſtendom; by which he had put a ſword into the Pope's hand to fight againſt himſelf." The Lords having finiſhed what they had to ſay to him in the King's name, Sir Thomas, by way of reply, told them, that "theſe terrors were arguments for children, and not for him: but as for the book which they had mentioned, he could not bring himſelf to believe that the King would ever lay it to his charge, as his Majeſty was himſelf better acquainted with that affair, and with his innocence in it, than any other perſon could be. The King, he ſaid, well knew

"that

" that he had not procured, nor counſelled, the writing of that " book; and when he reviſed it by the King's command, and " found the Pope's authority defended and advanced very " highly, that he remonſtrated againſt it to his Majeſty, and told " him, that as he might not always be in amity with the Pope, he " thought it beſt that it ſhould be amended in that point, and " the Pope's authority be more ſlenderly touched. Nay, ſaid " the King, that ſhall it not: we are ſo much indebted to the " See of Rome, that we cannot do too much honour unto it. " Upon this he put his Majeſty further in mind of the ſtatute of " Premunire, which had pared away a good part of the Pope's " authority and paſtoral cure. To which the King replied, " Whatſoever impediment there may be to the contrary, we " will ſet forth that authority to the uttermoſt, for we received " from the Roman See our Crown Imperial; which, till it was " told him from his Majeſty's own mouth, he never heard of " before. He truſted, therefore, that when his Majeſty ſhould " be informed of this, and ſhould recollect the ſubject of their " converſation upon this head, he would of himſelf entirely " clear him from this charge."

Sir Thomas's vindication of himſelf was ſo clear and ample, that the Lords appointed to examine him could make no reply to it, and therefore diſmiſſed him. When he was returned to his houſe at Chelſea, his ſon-in-law, Mr. Roper, obſerving him to be extremely chearful, aſked him if his name was ſtruck out of the bill of attainder, that he was in ſuch high ſpirits. " In " troth, ſon," ſaid he, " I had forgotten that; but if thou " wouldſt know why I am ſo joyful, in good faith it is this. I " rejoice that I have given the Devil ſo foul a fall; for I have " gone ſo far with theſe Lords, that without great ſhame I can " never go back."

When a report was made to the King by the Lords of the Committee, of the ſubſtance of their conference with Sir Thomas More, in which he had had the courage to vindicate himſelf at his Majeſty's expence, what he had ſaid being little leſs than charging the King with a known and deliberate falſehood, Henry was exceedingly exaſperated, and declared that the bill of attainder ſhould proceed againſt him. The Duke of Norfolk, and Secretary Cromwell, who were both his friends, endeavoured all that was in their power to diſſuade the King from this reſolution, aſſuring him that they found the upper Houſe were fully bent upon hearing him in his own defence before they would paſs the bill; and if his name was not ſtruck out, it was much to be apprehended that the bill would fall to the ground. Henry, however, continued full of vehemence and obſtinacy, and ſaid that he would be preſent himſelf in the Houſe when the bill ſhould paſs; and ſeemed to take it for granted, that the Parliament ſtood ſo much in awe of him, that the Lords would not then dare to reject it. But the Lords of the Council alledged, that as the parts

parts and eloquence of Sir Thomas More were ſo ſuperior and commanding, it was not prudent to hazard his appearing to plead in his own defence; eſpecially as people of all ranks were ſo prejudiced in his favour. Henry, notwithſtanding, ſtill continued intractable; upon which they fell on their knees, and beſought him to forbear his purpoſe by this conſideration, "that "if the matter ſhould be carried againſt him in his own pre-"ſence, as they believed it would be, it would encourage his "ſubjects to deſpiſe him, and be a diſhonour to him alſo over "all Europe. They did not doubt, they ſaid, but in time they "ſhould be able to find out ſome more ſuitable matter againſt "More: but in this affair of the Nun, he was univerſally ac-"counted ſo innocent, that the world thought him more worthy "of praiſe, than of reproof." With theſe ſuggeſtions, and particularly that of finding ſomething elſe againſt him, they at length overcame the obſtinacy of Henry; and the name of Sir Thomas More was ſtruck out of the bill.

A ſhort time after this, the Duke of Norfolk having ſome converſation with Sir Thomas, ſaid to him, among other things, "By the maſs, Mr. More, it is dangerous contending with "Princes; I would, therefore, wiſh you as a friend to incline "to the King's pleaſure; for by God, Mr. More, INDIGNATIO "PRINCIPIS MORS EST." "Is that all? my Lord," replied Sir Thomas, "in good faith then there is no more difference "between your Grace and me, but that I ſhall die to-day, and "you to-morrow. It is ſurely better to offend an earthly King, "than the King of Heaven; and temporal death ought to be "leſs the object of our dread, than the indignation of the "ALMIGHTY."

As it was now publicly known how much Sir Thomas More was out of favour with the King, his enemies endeavoured to bring againſt him all the accuſations they were able. But they ſerved only to render his uprightneſs and integrity the more ſtriking and conſpicuous. One Parnel, in particular, exhibited a complaint againſt Sir Thomas, for having made a decree againſt him in the Court of Chancery, at the ſuit of Vaughan his adverſary; for which Sir Thomas had received, at the hands of Vaughan's wife, Vaughan himſelf being confined at home with the gout, a great gilt cup as a bribe. Upon this accuſation he was, by the King's direction, brought before the council. And the witneſs charging him with the fact, Sir Thomas readily owned, that as that cup was brought him for a New-Year's gift long after the decree was made, he had not refuſed to take it. Upon this Lord Wiltſhire, one of Sir Thomas's enemies, and who had promoted the proſecution, ſaid with much exultation, "Lo, my Lords, did I not tell you that you ſhould find this "matter true?" But Sir Thomas then deſired, that as they had kindly heard him tell one part of the tale, ſo they would alſo vouchſafe to hear him tell the other. This being granted, Sir Thomas

" Thomas declared, that though after much ſolicitation he had " indeed received the cup, and it was long after the decree was " made, yet he had ordered his butler to fill it immediately " with wine, of which he directly drank to Mrs. Vaughan ; " and when ſhe had pledged him in it, then as freely as her " huſband had given it to him, even ſo freely he gave the ſame " to her again, to preſent unto her huſband for his New Year's " gift ; and which ſhe received, and carried back again, " though with much reluctance." The truth of this the woman herſelf, and other perſons who were preſent at the time the affair happened, depoſed before the Council; to the great confuſion and diſappointment of all Sir Thomas More's enemies.

It appeared alſo, that at another time, on a New-Year's-Day likewiſe, one Mrs. Croker, a Lady in whoſe favour he had made a decree in Chancery againſt the Lord Arundel, preſented him with a pair of gloves, and in them forty pounds in angels, for a New-Year's gift. Upon which Sir Thomas took the gloves, but returned her the money, ſaying to her, " Since it would be " contrary to good manners to refuſe a New-Year's gift from a " Lady, I am content to take your gloves ; but as for the " lining, I utterly refuſe it (*w*)."

Other accuſations were brought againſt him; but they all ended in the ſame manner, and ſerved only to illuſtrate his character, and to demonſtrate his integrity. But the act of ſucceſſion (*x*), which was paſſed in 1534, was a new ſource of perſecution to him, and enabled the King in a more effectual manner to gratify his reſentment. By this act the King's marriage with Catherine of Arragon was declared to be void, and contrary to the law of GOD, his marriage with Anne Boleyn was confirmed, and the Crown was entailed upon the iſſue of the latter. The act alſo obliged perſons of all ranks to take an oath, the form of which was preſcribed to them, in which they ſwore to maintain the contents of the ſaid act of ſucceſſion ; and whoſoever refuſed to take the oath, was to be adjudged guilty of miſpriſion of treaſon, and puniſhed accordingly. A ſhort time after the Parliament broke up in which this law was enacted, a Committee of the Cabinet Council met at Lambeth, where ſeveral Eccleſiaſtics, and Sir Thomas More, but no other Layman, were cited to appear, and take the oath. Sir Thomas being firſt called, and the oath being tendered to him under the Great Seal, he deſired to ſee the act of ſucceſſion which had enjoined it. After this had been ſhewn him, he ſaid, that " he would blame nei- " ther thoſe who had made the act, nor thoſe who had taken " the oath ; but, for his own part, though he was willing to " ſwear to the ſucceſſion, in a form of his own drawing up, yet

(*w*) *Vid.* Hoddeſdon's Life of Sir T. More, Edit. 1662, P. 107, 108.

(*x*) *Vid.* Vol. I. of our Work, P. 349.

" the oath which was offered to him was ſo worded, that his con-
" ſcience revolted againſt it, and he could not take it with ſafety
" to his ſoul." He was then ordered to withdraw, that others who attended might be diſpatched. Every one elſe who had been ſummoned, took the oath without any ſcruple, except Fiſher, Biſhop of Rocheſter, who gave nearly the ſame anſwer as Sir Thomas More. Sir Thomas being afterwards called in again, much argument and perſuaſion were made uſe of, in order to induce him to take the oath; but as it all proved ineffectual, he was committed to the cuſtody of the Abbot of Weſtminſter for four days. During that time, it was debated by the King and Council what courſe it was beſt to take with him. Archbiſhop Cranmer was very preſſing, that Sir Thomas's propoſal of ſwearing to the ſucceſſion, without confining him to the terms of the preſcribed oath, might be accepted. But the King would not agree to this; and the oath being again tendered to Sir Thomas More, and he ſtill continuing intractable, was committed priſoner to the Tower.

Sir Thomas's misfortunes made ſo little impreſſion upon his ſpirits, that he not only continued ſerene and tranquil, but alſo retained his uſual mirth and pleaſantry. When he entered the Tower-gate, the porter, according to the cuſtom, demanded of him his upper garment. " Marry, friend," ſaid he, " here it
" is;" giving him his cap; " I am ſorry it is not better for
" thee." Nay, Sir, (replied the porter) I muſt have your
" gown;" which he immediately gave him. When he was brought to his apartment, he called to him John Wood, his ſervant, who could neither write nor read, and ſwore him before the Lieutenant of the Tower, that if he ſhould at any time hear him ſpeak, or ſee him write, any thing againſt the King, the Council, or the State of the Realm, he ſhould tell it to the Lieutenant, that he might inform the Council of it. The Lieutenant, who had been formerly under ſome obligations to Sir Thomas, apologized to him for not being able to accommodate and entertain him in the manner which he wiſhed to do; which, he ſaid, he could not do without incurring the King's diſpleaſure. To which Sir Thomas replied, " Maſter Lieutenant, whenever
" I find fault with the entertainment which you provide for me,
" do you turn me out of doors."

When Sir Thomas had been confined in the Tower about a month, his daughter Margaret was permitted to viſit him; and ſome time after, his Lady obtained the ſame permiſſion. Lady More, who, as hath been already obſerved, thought in a very different manner from her huſband, remonſtrated to him, and not without much petulence, " that he who had been always
" reputed ſo wiſe a man, ſhould now ſo play the fool, as to be
" content to be ſhut up in a cloſe filthy priſon, with rats and
" mice; when he might enjoy his liberty, and the King's fa-
" vour, if he would but do as all the Biſhops and other learned
" men

" men had done. And as he had a good houſe to live in, his " library, his gallery, his garden, and all other neceſſaries " handſome about him, where he might enjoy himſelf with his " wife and children, ſhe could not conceive what he meant by " tarrying ſo quietly in this impriſonment." Sir Thomas having heard her very patiently, aſked her, in his facetious manner, " Whether that houſe was not as nigh to Heaven as his own ?" She reſenting this, he aſſured her very ſeriouſly, " that he ſaw " no great cauſe for ſo much joy in his houſe and the things " about it; which would ſo ſoon forget its maſter, that if he " were under ground but ſeven years, and came to it again, he " ſhould find thoſe in it who would bid him be gone, and tell " him it was none of his. Beſides, his ſtay in it was ſo uncer- " tain, that as he would be but a bad merchant who would put " himſelf in danger to loſe eternity for a thouſand years, ſo " how much more if he was not ſure to enjoy it to the end of " one day (*y*)."

An act of Parliament had now paſſed, by which the King was declared Supreme Head of the Church of England; and it was made high treaſon to deny it. And the King ſent a Committee of the Privy Council to viſit Sir Thomas More in the Tower, in order to engage him to acknowledge the King's Supremacy, or elſe openly to deny it. But they could not bring him to do either. He contented himſelf with giving them this anſwer: " That the ſtatute was like a two-edged ſword; if he " ſpoke againſt it, he ſhould procure the death of his body; " and if he conſented to it, he ſhould purchaſe the death of his " ſoul."

Other applications were made to Sir Thomas for the ſame purpoſe, but without effect. Upon which Mr. Rich, the Solicitor-General, Sir Richard Southwell, and Palmer, an under Secretary, were ſent to take away all his books and papers, and to deprive him of the uſe of pen and ink (*z*). The pretence for this was, to prevent him from writing any thing againſt the King's ſecond marriage, or his ſupremacy. Whilſt Southwell and Palmer were employed in executing their commiſſion, the Solicitor, Rich, pretending a great friendſhip for Sir Thomas, began a converſation with him on the ſubject of his impriſonment. And after complimenting him on his wiſdom and learning, and knowledge of the law, he ſaid to him, " Suf-

(*y*) " Theſe (ſays Dr. Warner) are the ſentiments of a mind ſublimed above the feelings of ſenſe; and which was no otherwiſe attached to this world, than as to a ſtate of pilgrimage, in order to a better. We are not therefore to wonder, that ſuch a mind could withſtand the temptations of liberty, of riches, and even of life; when they were to be purchaſed at the loſs of his peace of conſcience here, and of the favour of GOD hereafter."

(*z*) After Sir Thomas was deprived of pen and ink, when he could by any means procure paper, he made uſe of a coal, in order to write therewith to his wife and daughter.—*Vid.* his Great Grandſon's Life of him, P. 240.

" ſer me, Sir, to put this caſe to you. If there were an act of " Parliament to be made, that all the realm ſhould take me for " King, would not you, Mr. More, take me to be ſo ?" " Yes," ſaid Sir Thomas, " that I would (*a*)." Rich then aſked him further, Whether if an act of Parliament ſhould conſtitute him Pope, Sir Thomas would not take him to be ſo ? With reſpect to the firſt caſe, Sir Thomas told him, " that the Parliament might " intermeddle without impropriety in the ſtate of temporal " Princes : but to his ſecond, he would put another caſe him- " ſelf, Whether if an act of Parliament ſhould paſs, ordaining " that GOD ſhould not be GOD, Mr. Rich would own that he " ſhould not ?" To this the Solicitor replied, that he ſhould not, as no Parliament could make ſuch a law ; and nothing further was ſaid upon that ſubject.

Sir Thomas More having now been upwards of a year priſoner in the Tower, he was by the King's command brought to his trial, and arraigned at the King's Bench Bar at Weſtminſter. He was tried, upon an indictment for high treaſon, in denying the King's ſupremacy, before the Lord Chancellor, and a Committee of the Lords, together with ſome of the Judges. The principal evidence againſt him was the Solicitor-General, Rich, who depoſed, that when he was ſent to fetch away the books of Sir Thomas More from the Tower, at the end of a converſation which he had with him on the King's ſupremacy, he having owned, in anſwer to a caſe put to him by Sir Thomas, that no Parliament could make a law that GOD ſhould not be GOD, Sir Thomas ſaid by way of reply, " No more could the Parlia- " ment make the King Supreme Head of the Church."

When Rich had given this evidence to the Court on oath, Sir Thomas More, ſurprized at the malice and falſehood of it, ſaid, " If I was a man, my Lords, that did not regard an oath, I " needed not at this time, and in this place, as it is well known " to you all, ſtand as an accuſed perſon. And if this oath, " Mr. Rich, which you have taken, be true, then I pray that I " may never ſee the face of GOD ; which I would not ſay, " were it otherwiſe, to gain the whole world." He then related the whole diſcourſe which he really had with Rich in the Tower, and ſo much ſhook the credit of his teſtimony, that the Solicitor deſired Southwell and Palmer might be called, to give evidence of what they heard. But they both depoſed, that they were ſo engaged in executing their commiſſion with reſpect to the books and papers, that they gave no attention to the converſation between Sir Thomas and the Solicitor (*b*).

Sir

(*a*) It appears evidently from this, that Sir Thomas More had no very high opinion of divine, hereditary, indefeaſable right.

(*b*) See an account of this Rich's baſe behaviour to Biſhop Fiſher, Vol. I. of this Work, P. 353.

Sir Thomas's long confinement had impaired his health, and much weakened him; but he, notwithſtanding, defended himſelf with much force and reaſon, and with great eloquence, and the utmoſt chearfulneſs and preſence of mind. The Jury, however, found him guilty; in conſequence of which he received ſentence as a traitor. After ſentence was paſſed, Sir Thomas addreſſed himſelf to the Court, in a manner that reflects the greateſt honour upon his memory. "I have," ſaid he, "nothing further to ſay, my Lords, but that as the bleſſed Apoſtle "St. Paul was preſent and conſented to the death of Stephen, "and kept their clothes who ſtoned him to death, and yet they "are now both holy Saints in Heaven, and ſhall there continue "friends for ever; ſo I verily truſt, and ſhall therefore right "heartily pray, that though your Lordſhips have now been "Judges on earth to my condemnation, we may yet hereafter "all meet together in Heaven to our everlaſting ſalvation: and "ſo I pray GOD preſerve you all, and eſpecially my Sovereign "Lord the King, and ſend him faithful Counſellors."

Sir Thomas was then conducted from Weſtminſter-Hall to the Tower, with the axe carried before him, according to the uſual manner after condemnation. When he came to the Tower-Wharf, his favourite daughter Margaret, wife to Mr. Roper, was there waiting to ſee him, thinking this might be the laſt opportunity ſhe ſhould ever have. The moment he appeared in ſight, regardleſs of the numerous ſpectators, ſhe burſt through the crowd and the guard which ſurrounded him; and having received his bleſſing upon her knees, ſhe embraced him with the moſt eager affection. Tears flowed from her in great abundance, whilſt ſhe hung upon his neck; and her heart being ready to burſt with grief, the only words which could find utterance were, "My father! Oh my father!" Sir Thomas, taking her up in his arms, told her, "that whatever he ſhould ſuffer, though he "was innocent, yet it was not without the will of GOD, to "whoſe bleſſed pleaſure ſhe ſhould conform her own will; that "ſhe well knew all the ſecrets of his heart, and that ſhe muſt be "patient for his loſs." She then endeavoured to bid him a laſt adieu, and was reluctantly ſeparated from him; and having gone back a few paces, overwhelmed with grief, and ſtruck with the thought that ſhe ſhould never more ſee her father, whom ſhe ſo fondly loved, ſhe again ſuddenly broke through the crowd, and once more hung upon his neck, and eagerly and tenderly embraced him. Sir Thomas More, who felt not for his own diſtreſſes, and whoſe great ſoul was not to be intimidated by the approach of death, could not, however, avoid being touched with the diſtreſs and anguiſh of his beloved daughter; and a tear ſtole down his manly cheek. This tender ſcene drew tears from every ſpectator, and even from the ſurrounding guards: and it was with difficulty that the diſtreſſed Lady was for the laſt time ſeparated from her father.

When

When Sir Thomas had lain a few days under ſentence of death, an officious Courtier, with a view of recommending himſelf to the King, made a viſit to Sir Thomas in the Tower, and vehemently importuned him to change his mind. He entered not, however, into any particulars; but continuing to be very troubleſome, Sir Thomas at length, to get rid of his importunity, told him, that "he had changed his mind." He had no ſooner ſaid this, than the Courtier haſtily left him, and pluming himſelf upon carrying a point which ſo many others had failed in, immediately went and informed the King that Sir Thomas More had changed his ſentiments. Henry, however, was not without apprehenſions, that the Courtier had miſtaken Sir Thomas's meaning. He, therefore, ordered him to return immediately to the priſoner, to know what the particulars were in which he had changed his mind. Sir Thomas rebuked the Courtier for his officiouſneſs, in making ſuch haſte to acquaint the King with what he had only ſaid in jeſt. But as to his changing his mind, it was only, he told him, in this reſpect: "that whereas he had "before intended to be ſhaved, that he might appear to the "people in the ſame manner that he had been accuſtomed to do "before his impriſonment, he was now determined that his "beard ſhould ſhare the ſame fate with his head."

Shortly after this, on the ſixth of July, 1535, Sir Thomas Pope, who was one of the friends of Sir Thomas More, came to him by the King's command very early in the morning, to acquaint him, that he was to be beheaded that day at nine o'clock; and that therefore he muſt immediately prepare himſelf for death. Sir Thomas More received the information with the utmoſt chearfulneſs, and thanked his friend for his good news. Sir Thomas Pope then acquainted him, that it was his Majeſty's pleaſure that he ſhould not uſe many words at his execution. To which he replied, "You do well, Mr. Pope, to give me warning of the "King's pleaſure herein; for otherwiſe I had purpoſed at that "time to have ſpoken ſomewhat, but no matter wherewith his "Grace, or any other, ſhould have cauſe to be offended. How-"beit, whatſoever I intended, I am ready to conform myſelf "obediently to his Highneſs's command; and I beſeech you, "good Mr. Pope, to be a means to his Majeſty, that my daugh-"ter Margaret may be at my burial." Sir Thomas Pope, in anſwer to this, acquainted him, that the King had already conſented, that his wife and children, and any of his friends, might be preſent at it, at which he expreſſed his ſatisfaction.

Sir Thomas Pope appearing to be very melancholy, at the conſideration of his friend's approaching death, Sir Thomas More took his urinal in his hand, and caſting his water, ſaid with his uſual pleaſantry, "I ſee no danger but that this man might live "longer, if it had pleaſed the King." And when his friend bid him adieu, which he could not do without ſhedding tears, Sir Thomas

Thomas More endeavoured to comfort him by the proſpect of eternal felicity, in which, he ſaid, he hoped they ſhould have an happy meeting.

As ſoon as Sir Thomas Pope (*c*) was gone, he dreſſed himſelf in the beſt clothes he had; to which the Lieutenant of the Tower objected, telling him thoſe clothes were too good for the executioner, who would have whatever he wore at that time. "If they were cloth of gold, (ſaid Sir Thomas), I ſhould think "them well beſtowed on him who was to do me ſo ſingular a be-"nefit." However, the Lieutenant prevailed upon him to change his dreſs; and accordingly he put on a gown of freeze, and of the little money which he had left, ſent an angel of gold to the executioner.

About nine o'clock he was brought out of the Tower, and led to the place of execution on Tower-Hill. He behaved with the utmoſt fortitude, and even retained to the laſt his accuſtomed chearfulneſs and pleaſantry. When he came to the ſcaffold, obſerving that it was ſo weakly built that it ſeemed ready to fall down, he turned about to the Lieutenant, and ſaid to him, "I pray you, Mr. Lieutenant, ſee me ſafe up; and as "for my coming down, you may let me ſhift for myſelf." Having knelt down, and ſpent a ſhort time in his devotions, he got up again, and ſaid to the executioner, with the utmoſt chearfulneſs and vivacity in his countenance, "Pluck up thy ſpirits, "man, and be not afraid to do thine office. My neck is very "ſhort; take heed, therefore, that thou ſtrike not awry, for thy "credit's ſake." He then knelt down, and laying his head upon the block to receive the ſtroke, he bad the executioner ſtay till he had removed his beard; "for that," ſaid he, "has "committed no treaſon;" and the executioner then ſevered his head from his body.

Such

(*c*) Sir THOMAS POPE was the founder of Trinity College, Oxford. He was born at Dedington in Oxfordſhire, in the year 1508, being the ſon of a gentleman of that place. He received the firſt rudiments of grammatical learning at the public ſchool at Banbury in the ſame county, which he afterwards completed at Eton College. He appears to have had conſiderable intereſt at Court in the reign of King Henry VIII. and went through ſeveral honourable employments. He was appointed one of the viſitors for the diſſolution of religious houſes, and is commended for his moderation in the diſcharge of that employment. When Queen Mary aſcended the Throne, he was taken into high favour, and was made one of her Privy Counſellors; and afterwards one of the Commiſſioners for proceeding againſt Heretics. In 1555, the Princeſs Elizabeth having been impriſoned, and treated with much ſeverity by her keeper, Sir Henry Beningfield, was placed under the care and inſpection of Sir Thomas Pope, who treated her with the utmoſt tenderneſs and reſpect. He died at his houſe in Clerkenwell, London, in 1558, in the fiftieth year of his age. Our celebrated Engliſh Poet of the ſame name was deſcended from this gentleman.

Such was the end of Sir THOMAS MORE, whoſe great abilities and endowments rendered him an ornament to his country; and who for his integrity, his fortitude, his incorruptible ſpirit, his greatneſs of mind, and generous contempt of riches and external honours, was equal to the moſt celebrated characters of antient Greece or Rome. He was, as to his perſon, of a middle ſtature, and well proportioned; his complexion fair, with a light tincture of red; his hair of a dark chefnut colour; his beard thin, and grey eyes; his countenance chearful and pleaſant, and expreſſive of the temper of his mind; his voice neither ſtrong nor ſhrill, but clear and diſtinct. His conſtitution was generally healthy; but, in the latter part of his life, too much writing brought upon him a pain in his breaſt, which was often very troubleſome. In walking, his right ſhoulder appeared higher than the other; but this was only the effect of habit, and not any defect in the make of his perſon. He was generally negligent in his dreſs; but when the dignity of his place required it, he would conform to the cuſtom. His diet was ſimple and abſtemious; and he ſeldom taſted wine, but when he pledged thoſe who drank to him.

He was a kind maſter to his ſervants, and very charitable to the poor; and of a temper extremely ſocial and benevolent He was a kind huſband, and very affectionate to his children, in whoſe education he took great pains; and was particularly careful to inſtruct them in the principles of religion and virtue. His own piety was conſtant and exemplary, but he had a moſt bigotted attachment to the ſuperſtitions of the Romiſh Church; though it appears from his Utopia, and his letters to Eraſmus, that in the earlier part of his life he had much freer notions of religion.

He was a great maſter of polite literature, poſſeſſed an uncommon ſhare of wit, and was extremely eloquent. "More "had," ſays Dr. Jortin, "if ever man had, what is called "VERSATILE INGENIUM, and was capable of excelling in any "way to which he would apply himſelf. He was no bad Poet, "and might have been a better, if he had paid more aſſiduous "court to the Muſes."

When the Emperor Charles V. heard of Sir Thomas More's death, he ſent for Sir Thomas Elliott, then Ambaſſador from England at his Court, and ſaid to him, "My Lord Ambaſſador, "we underſtand that the King your maſter has put to death his "faithful ſervant, and grave and wiſe Counſellor, Sir Thomas "More." To which Sir Thomas Elliott anſwered, that he had heard nothing of it. "Well," ſaid the Emperor, "it is too "true; and this will we ſay, that if we had been maſter of ſuch "a ſervant, of whoſe abilities ourſelf have had theſe many "years no ſmall experience, we would rather have loſt the beſt

"city

"city in our dominions, than ſo worthy a Counſellor (*d*)." Indeed King Henry himſelf appears to have felt ſome compunction at Sir Thomas More's death; for we are told, that when the news of it was brought to him, he being at that time playing at tables with Queen Anne Boleyn, he caſt his eyes upon her, and ſaid, "Thou art the cauſe of this man's death;" and riſing up immediately from his play, went and ſhut himſelf up in his chamber, in great perturbation of mind (*e*).

Sir Thomas's body was interred in the chapel of the Tower, but was afterwards begged by his daughter Margaret, and depoſited on the ſouth-ſide of the chancel in the church of Chelſea, where a monument, with an inſcription written by himſelf, had been ſome time before erected. His head was ordered to be placed on London-bridge; where having remained ſome time, his affectionate daughter Margaret found means to get poſſeſſion of it, and carefully preſerved it in a leaden box. She was, however, taken up for this, and examined before the Council; but, after a ſhort impriſonment, ſhe was diſcharged.

Sir Thomas had by his firſt wife one ſon and three daughters. But his ſon, John More, as Dr. Jortin obſerves, "was one of "thoſe HEROUM FILII, who are ſeldom equal to their fathers." However, he had all the advantages of a liberal education, by which his natural parts ſeem to have been much improved. After his father's death, he was committed to the Tower, for refuſing the oath of ſupremacy, and condemned, but he was afterwards pardoned, and ſet at liberty; a favour which he did not long ſurvive. Sir Thomas had no children by his ſecond wife, who after his death was obliged to quit the houſe at Chelſea, his ſmall eſtate being ſeized as a forfeiture to the Crown; but the King allowed her an annuity of twenty pounds for her life.

Of his three daughters, Margaret, the eldeſt, who was married to William Roper, Eſq; of Eltham in Kent, was his particular favourite. She much reſembled her father, both in temper and perſon. She appears to have been a moſt amiable woman, and of extraordinary accompliſhments. She was modeſt and humble, and of a mild, gentle, and affectionate temper; and made a moſt excellent wife to Mr. Roper, who appears to have been a very worthy man. She wrote two declamations in Engliſh, which her father and ſhe turned ſo elegantly into Latin, that it was difficult to determine which of them was the beſt.

(*d*) *Vid.* Life of Sir T. More by his ſon-in-law, W. Roper, in the Britiſh Muſeum, Harleian MSS. No. 7030. Fol. 300.

(*e*) "One may conclude (ſays Dr. Warner) from this circumſtance, that if the ferocity of the King's temper upon any oppoſition from a ſubject wanted a ſpur upon this occaſion, the Queen had importuned him to put Sir Thomas More to death, as the Hiſtorians of his Life affirm ſhe did. I apprehend that they affirm it, however, only from this circumſtance; and though I am far from thinking the Queen entirely innocent of the charge, yet I believe her guilt conſiſted rather in approving his execution, than importuning the King to it."

She alſo wrote a treatiſe of the "FOUR LAST THINGS," with of much piety, judgment, and ſtrength of reaſoning, that her at her declared it was a better performance than a diſcourſe which he had written himſelf upon the ſame ſubject. She had a very happy talent at correcting antient authors; and John Coſterius, in his notes on Vincentius Lirinenſis, gives us an emendation of her's on a paſſage of Cyprian, not inferior, Le Clerc ſays, in his opinion, to thoſe of the ableſt critics, of Scaliger, Turnebus, or Salmaſius (*f*). Eraſmus wrote an epiſtle to her, as to a woman famous, not only for her manners and virtue, but for true and ſolid learning (*g*). She was a great miſtreſs of the Greek and Latin tongues, and had great ſkill in muſic and the mathematics, aud was complimented by the greateſt men of the age, on account of her learning and accompliſhments. And Cardinal Pole was ſo charmed with the elegance of her Latin ſtyle, that it was long before he could be brought to believe that what he read of her's was really written by a woman. This accompliſhed Lady died in 1554, and was buried in St. Dunſtan's church in Canterbury, with her father's head in her arms, according to her deſire. Of five children, which ſhe brought Mr. Roper, there was a daughter Mary, who was almoſt as famous for parts and learning as herſelf. This Lady was one of the gentlewomen, as they were then called, of Queen Mary's Privy Chamber. She tranſlated into Engliſh part of a Latin treatiſe of her grandfather's, and alſo Euſebius's Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory from the Greek into Latin, but the latter was never publiſhed.

Sir Thomas More was the author of many and various works, though ſcarce any of them but his UTOPIA has been long read. The reaſon of which is, that his other pieces were chiefly tracts in controverſial divinity, and written in defence of a cauſe which could not be ſupported, that of the Romiſh Church. It is ſaid of his anſwer to Luther, that it gained him no other reputation, than that of having the beſt knack of any man in Europe, at calling bad names in good Latin. His Engliſh works were collected and publiſhed by the order of Queen Mary, in 1557; his Latin at Baſil, in 1563, and at Louvain in 1566.

His UTOPIA, which was his moſt celebrated work, was written by him in Latin; but an Engliſh tranſlation of it was publiſhed ſoon after, which Biſhop Burnet, from the freedom taken in the tranſlation, conjectured to have been made by Sir Thomas More himſelf. The beſt Engliſh tranſlation of this work is that of Biſhop Burnet; a new and correct edition of which, with notes, and the Life of Sir Thomas, was publiſhed in 1758, by the learned

(*f*) *Vid.* Dr. Jortin's Life of Eraſmus.

(*g*) "When Eraſmus, towards the end of the dialogue *Albatis et Eruditæ*, mentions ſome learned Ladies of England and Germany, thoſe whom he calls Moricæ are the daughters of Sir Thomas More, Margaret, Elizabeth, and Cicely."——*Vid.* Dr. Jortin's Life of Eraſmus.

learned Dr. Warner. This work is the deſcription of an imaginary Common-wealth, in which the author delivers his ſentiments concerning government with great freedom. He feigned this country, UTOPIA, to be one of thoſe which were then lately diſcovered in America; and that the account of it was given him by one Hythlodius, a Portugueſe, who ſailed in company with Americus Veſputius. Many perſons, who were pleaſed with the deſcription of the climate and manners of the people, and who had no ſuſpicion of the truth, out of a fervent zeal, wiſhed that ſome Divines might be ſent thither to preach Chriſtianity, and ſeveral were very deſirous to take the voyage for that purpoſe. We have already given ſeveral extracts from this work, in the courſe of our account of the Life of its author.

Before Sir Thomas finiſhed his UTOPIA, he began the Hiſtory of King Richard the Third, but it was never finiſhed, and is eſteemed none of the beſt of his pieces. It is inſerted in the Complete Hiſtory of England. He wrote it alſo in Latin, which was printed at Louvain in 1566. Voſſius obſerves, that this is far inferior to his other writings, in the elegance of the Latin ſtyle.

As we have repeatedly mentioned Sir Thomas More's natural turn to pleaſantry and wit, an inſtance or two more of it may not be diſagreeable to the reader.

His ſecond wife, it has been already obſerved, was not of a very amiable or agreeable temper, though a very notable woman in the management of domeſtic affaairs. "As ſhe was a "good houſe-wife," ſays Camden, "ſo was ſhe not void of "the fault that often followeth that virtue, ſomewhat ſhrewd to "her ſervants." One day Sir Thomas, being wearied with her continual rating of her ſervants, told her, that if nothing elſe would reclaim her, yet the conſideration of the time, it being then Lent, ſhould reſtrain her. "Tuſh, tuſh, Sir Thomas," ſaid ſhe, "look here is one ſtep to Heaven-ward;" ſhewing him a Friar's girdle. "Ay," ſaid Sir Thomas, "but I very much "fear that one ſtep will not bring you up a ſingle ſtep higher."

One day, when ſhe came from ſhrift, ſhe ſaid merrily to him, "Be merry, Sir Thomas; for this day, I thank GOD, I was "well ſhriven; and have now, therefore, left off all my old "ſhrewdneſs." "Yea," ſaid Sir Thomas, "and are ready "to begin afreſh."

When he was Lord-Chancellor, he enjoined a gentleman to pay a conſiderable ſum of money to a poor widow, who had been oppreſſed by him. Upon which the gentleman ſaid to him, "Then I hope your Lordſhip will give me a good long day to "pay it in." "You ſhall have your requeſt,' ſaid Sir Thomas; "Monday next is St. Barnabas's day, the longeſt day in

159208

" all the year; do you pay her then, or elſe you ſhall kiſs the " Fleet."

An acquaintance of his having taken great pains in writing a book, which he intended to publiſh, brought it to Sir Thomas More for his opinion. Sir Thomas having looked it over, and finding it to be a fooliſh and trifling performance, told the writer, with a very grave face, that " it would be worth more if " it was in verſe." The man upon this carried his book home again, and immediately ſet about turning it into verſe. When he had finiſhed it, he carried it again to Sir Thomas, who, having looked at it, ſaid to him, " Ay, marry, now it is ſome- " what; for now it is rhime, but before it was neither rhime " nor reaſon."

The Life of RICHARD PACE.

RICHARD PACE was born at, or near Wincheſter, as is generally ſuppoſed, and about the year 1482. He was educated at the charge of Thomas Langton, Biſhop of that dioceſe, who employed him, whilſt he was a youth, as his amanuenſis. The Biſhop was much pleaſed with his proficiency in learning, and particularly delighted with the ſkill he diſplayed in muſic; and obſerved to thoſe about him, that it was manifeſt from the eaſe with which young Pace maſtered the ſcience of muſic, that he had a genius equal to greater ſtudies. The Prelate, therefore, ſent him to Padua, to improve himſelf in good literature, and allowed him an yearly penſion to defray his expences. He there met with Cuthbert Tonſtall, afterwards Biſhop of Durham, and William Latimer, from whoſe inſtructions he derived great advantage.

After his return home, he ſettled at Queen's College in Oxford, of which his patron, Biſhop Langton, had been Provoſt; and he was ſoon after taken into the ſervice of Dr. Chriſtopher Bainbridge (*b*), who ſucceeded his firſt patron in the Provoſtſhip, and became a Cardinal. He attended him to Italy, and continued there till the Cardinal's death; after which, returning home, he was ſent for to Court; where his abilities and accompliſhments ſo much recommended him to the favour of King Henry VIII. that he was appointed Secretary of State, and employed in matters of high concern, and in ſeveral foreign Embaſſies, and important negociations.

But though Pace was ſo much employed in political affairs, he notwithſtanding went into holy orders. In the beginning of the year 1514, he was admitted Prebendary of Bugthorp, in the Church of York, in the room of Thomas, afterwards Cardinal Wolſey, then conſecrated Biſhop of Lincoln. And on the 20th of May, the ſame year, he was promoted to the Archdeaconry of Dorſet.

In 1515, Pace was diſpatched to the Court of Vienna, with a view of engaging the Emperor Maximilian to endeavour to diſpoſſeſs the French King, Francis the Firſt, of the Dutchy of Milan,

(*b*) CHRISTOPHER BAINBRIDGE was born at Hilton near Appleby, in Weſtmoreland. He was educated in Queen's College, Oxford, of which he became Provoſt before the year 1495, being about that time made Doctor of Laws. After having gone through ſeveral lower preferments, he

Milan, Henry VIII. being alarmed at the progreſs of that Prince's arms in Italy. He was commiſſioned to propoſe ſome conſiderable payments to the Emperor, in order to induce him to undertake the intended expedition; and having by that means prevailed upon him, Pace made a journey from Vienna into Switzerland, and by like motives engaged ſome of the Cantons to furniſh Maximilian with troops. The Emperor's expedition was, however, an unſucceſsful one; and he ſoon after made a peace with France. But Maximilian, being very neceſſitous, propoſed ſhortly after to make a reſignation of the Imperial Crown in Henry's favour. But Pace being perfectly well acquainted with the Emperor's motives and character, gave the King his maſter timely warning, that the ſole view of that Prince, in making him ſo liberal an offer, was to draw money from him.

In 1519, the Emperor Maximilian died, upon which the Kings of France and Spain immediately declared themſelves candidates for the Imperial Throne. And Henry was alſo encouraged to offer himſelf as a candidate; and the Pope declared, that he would eſpouſe the intereſt of the King of England, in preference both to the French and Spaniſh Monarchs. Upon which Secretary Pace, who was eſteemed the ſhrewdeſt negociator of the Court of England, was immediately ordered to attend Henry's intereſt at the Diet of the Empire, and to inform himſelf how the Electors ſtood affected towards him. But Pace ſoon convinced the King, that he had begun to ſolicit too late, and that he had now no ſucceſs to hope for; though he acquainted him, that the Electors of Mentz, Cologn, and Triers, ſeemed diſpoſed to favour him, and expreſſed their regret that they were pre-engaged. However, the King of Spain, Charles V. was elected Emperor. The ſame year Pace was made Dean of St. Paul's,

he was, in 1503, inſtalled Dean of the cathedral church of York. In 1505, he was made Dean of Windſor, Maſter of the Rolls, and one of the King's Privy Council. In 1507, he was made Biſhop of Durham, and the following year Archbiſhop of York. In 1511, he was made a Cardinal, on account of ſome ſervices which he had rendered to the Pope. He died of poiſon at Rome in 1514. The Cardinal was, it is ſaid, of a very paſſionate temper; and one Rinaldo de Modena, an Italian Prieſt, whom he had taken into his ſervice, having diſobliged him, the Cardinal ſtruck him. Upon which the Prieſt, in reſentment of this treatment, watched all opportunities to be revenged of his maſter; and this he ſhortly afterwards effected by poiſoning him.—*Vid.* Wood's Athenæ Oxonienſis, Vol. I. Col. 556. Ed. 1691.

Pace was in the Cardinal's ſervice, and with him at Rome, at the time of his death; and tranſmitted to the King an account of the manner of it, and of the meaſures which had been taken to diſcover thoſe who were concerned in it. And he lamented ſome reproaches which had been thrown on his dead maſter by the Biſhop of Worceſter. "Though my Lord (ſaid Pace) had ſome failings, yet he was the moſt faithful man to his Prince that ever was born, and ever watchful for the good of the King's Highneſs, and his native country, notwithſtanding the inſinuations that have been made to the contrary."

Paul's, in the room of Dr. Colet; and about the ſame time he was alſo made Dean of Exeter.

In 1521, he was alſo made Prebendary of Combe and Harnham, in the church of Sarum. And at the cloſe of the ſame year Pope Leo X. died; upon which Cardinal Wolſey, thinking he had a fair opportunity of offering himſelf as a candidate for the Papal chair, diſpatched Pace with proper inſtructions upon that head to Rome. But before he arrived there, the election was over, and Adrian, Biſhop of Tortoſa, had been choſen Pope. In 1523, Pope Adrian VI. died, upon which Pace was again employed to negociate for Wolſey, but without ſucceſs, Clement VII. being elected. And ſome time after Pace was directed by the Cardinal to ſolicit the Pope for an enlargement of his legatine powers, with which requeſt his Holineſs complied.

Pace was afterwards ſent Ambaſſador to Venice, where he carried with him Thomas Lupſet (*c*), as his Secretary. And this employment he ſo well diſcharged, that "it is hard to ſay "(ſays Wood) whether he procured more commendation or ad- "miration among the Venetians, both for dexterity of his wit, "and eſpecially for his ſingular promptneſs in the Italian "tongue; wherein he ſeemed nothing inferior, neither to "P. Vannes here in England, the King's Secretary for the Ita- "lian tongue, nor yet to any other, which were the beſt for that "tongue in all Venice." But notwithſtanding his qualifications, and abilities as a negociator, during his ſtay at Venice, he experienced, and very much ſuffered by, the diſpleaſure of Cardinal Wolſey. Two reaſons were aſſigned for this. Firſt, that he had ſhewed a readineſs to aſſiſt Charles, Duke of Bourbon, with money, for whom the Cardinal had no great affection; and, ſecondly, that he had not forwarded the Cardinal's deſign of

(*c*) THOMAS LUPSET was the ſon of William Lupſet, citizen and goldſmith of London, and was born there, in the pariſh of St. Mildred, Bread-ſtreet. Whilſt a boy, he was taken into the care and protection of Dean Colet, and educated in his ſchool, under William Lily. He was from thence removed to Pembroke-Hall in Cambridge; and after ſome time he went to Paris, and returning about the year 1519, ſettled in Corpus-Chriſti College in Oxford, and ſucceeded John Clement in Cardinal Wolſey's rhetoric lecture, which he read both in Greek and Latin. In 1521, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts; ſoon after which he went to Venice, as Secretary to Pace in his Embaſſy there, agreeable to what is ſaid above. He was at Paris in 1525, with Reginald Pole; and coming back to England, was ſoon after ſent again, at the requeſt of Wolſey, to Paris, as tutor to Thomas Winter, where they were both maintained at the Cardinal's expence. He was in Orders, but obtained only a Prebend in the church of Sariſbury, two years before his death. He publiſhed ſeveral pieces, and aſſiſted Linacre and More in reviſing and correcting their works at the preſs; and the latter makes very honourable mention of him. He died on the 27th of December, 1532, aged only thirty-ſix years, leaving a widow, who was buried in 1545, near him, in the church of St. Alphage, within Cripplegate, London.

of obtaining the Papacy, ſo much as Wolſey thought he might have done.

For theſe reaſons, it is ſaid, Wolſey became much inflamed againſt Pace, and ordered matters in ſuch a manner, that for the ſpace of near two years he had no inſtructions from the King or Council how to proceed in his buſineſs at Venice, nor any allowance for his expences there, notwithſtanding he had ſent letters very often for the ſame to England. Upon this, and eſpecially on account of ſome private intimations of his friends at home concerning the Cardinal's uſage of him, he took it ſo much to heart, that he became bereft of his ſenſes. It is ſaid, that the Venetian Ambaſſador reſiding in London, repaired to the Cardinal, and deſired to know of him, whether he had any commands for the Engliſh Ambaſſador at Venice; to which Wolſey made anſwer, PACEUS DECIPIT REGEM; with which Pace being acquainted, was very much affected.

In conſequence of Pace's diſorder, Andrew Gritt, Duke of Venice, wrote to Cardinal Wolſey, acquainting him, that Secretary Pace, who had reſided there for ſome time in quality of the King's orator, and had been eſpecially recommended by letters from the Cardinal, was preparing to return to England; that nothing could have been more agreeable to him, than a licence to that end from his Majeſty, he having been for ſome time in a very ill ſtate of health; and the phyſicians who had attended him, all concurring in opinion, that nothing would contribute ſo much to reſtore him, as a change of air, eſpecially for that of his native country. And the Duke, in his letter, expreſſed great ſolicitude for Pace's recovery; and gave a very honourable teſtimony of him, with reſpect to his great abilities, excellent qualities, and diligence and fidelity in executing his commiſſion.

Pace's diſorder being hereupon made known to the King, he was ordered home; and being carefully attended by the phyſicians at the King's command, he was reſtored in a ſhort time to his ſenſes, and ſtudied the Hebrew language, with the aſſiſtance of Robert Wakefield.

In theſe lucid intervals ſome of his friends found means to introduce him to the King, then reſiding at Richmond; and Henry expreſſed much ſatisfaction at his recovery, and admitted him to a private audience, which he made uſe of to remonſtrate againſt the Cardinal's unjuſt treatment of him. But Wolſey was too hard for him; for the Cardinal being urged by Henry to purge himſelf of Pace's charge againſt him, ſummoned Pace before him, and "ſitting in judgement (ſays Wood) with the Duke of "Norfolk, and other States of the Realm, not as a defendant, "but as a Judge in his own cauſe, did ſo bear out himſelf, and "weigh down Pace, that he was forthwith commanded to the "Tower of London as priſoner; where he continuing for the "ſpace of two years, or thereabouts, was at length by the King's "command diſcharged."

This ſevere treatment which Pace received, increaſed his malady; ſo that in all the time of his impriſonment in the Tower, and after his releaſe, till his death, he never recovered his ſenſes, except at intervals, when he was able to read, and to diſcourſe very rationally. He reſigned his Deaneries of St. Paul and Exeter a little before his death; and retiring to Stepney, died there, in 1532, and was buried in the chancel of that church, being not quite fifty years old.

Richard Pace was much eſteemed by the learned men of his time, eſpecially Sir Thomas More, and Eraſmus, who ſtiles him UTRIUSQUE LITERATURÆ CALENTISSIMUS, and wrote more letters to him, than to any one of his learned friends and correſpondents. He had a great opinion of Pace for his candour and ſweetneſs of temper; ſo that he was much afflicted at his misfortunes, and could never forgive the man who had been the cauſe of them. Mr. Stow gives Pace the character of a right worthy man, and one that gave in Council faithful advice. Learned he was alſo, ſays that antiquarian, and endowed with many excellent parts and gifts of nature; courteous, pleaſant, and delighting in muſic; highly in the King's favour, and well heard in matters of weight. There is extant a letter of his to King Henry, written in the year 1527, in which he very honeſtly gives his opinion concerning the divorce; and it has been obſerved, that his always uſing a faithful liberty to Wolſey, was one of the cauſes which at laſt brought him to confinement and diſtraction.

Camden, in his REMAINS, tells us, that a certain Nobleman having ſaid, in contempt of learning, in Pace's hearing, that "it was enough for Noblemen's ſons to wind their horn, and "carry their hawk fair; and that they ſhould leave ſtudy and "learning to the children of mean men;" Pace ſaid to his Lordſhip, by way of reply, "Then you and other Noblemen "muſt be content, that your children may wind their horns, "and keep their hawks, while the children of mean men ma-"nage affairs of State."----He wrote the following pieces:

I. DE FRUCTU QUI EX DOCTRINA PERCIPITUR LIBER, Baſil 1517, 4to. dedicated to Dean Colet. This was written by Pace at Conſtance, while he was Ambaſſador in Helvetia; but as he had in it inveighed much againſt drunkenneſs, as a great obſtacle to the attainment of knowledge, the people there conſidered it as deſigned to reflect upon them, and therefore wrote a ſharp anſwer to it. Eraſmus was alſo much offended with Pace for ſome paſſages in this piece, in which he had ſpoken of him, between jeſt and earneſt, in a manner with which Eraſmus was not pleaſed. But they were ſoon reconciled.

II. Oratio Pace nuperrime compoſita et fœdere percuſſo inter Henricum Angliæ regem, et Francorum reg. Chriſtianiſs. in æde Pauli Lond. habitæ, Lond. 1518. 4to.

III. Epiſtolæ ad Edw. Leeum, et epiſtolæ ad Eraſmum, Lond. 1520. Theſe epiſtles are in a book, intituled, Epiſtolæ aliquot eruditorum virorum.

IV. Præfatio in Eccleſiaſticen recognitum ad Hebraicam veritatem, & collatum cum tranſlatione LXX Interpretum et manifeſta explicatione cauſarum erroris ubicunque incidit. This piece was printed in Quarto; and it is ſaid that he was aſſiſted in it by Robert Wakefield.

V. EXEMPLUM LITERARUM AD REGEM HEN. 8. AN. 1526. Inſerted in a piece, intituled, SYNTAGMA DE HEBRÆORUM CODICUM INTERPRETATIONES, by Robert Wakefield.

He alſo wrote a book concerning the unlawfulneſs of the King's marriage with Queen Catherine, in 1527. And made ſeveral tranſlations; among others, one from Engliſh into Latin of the ſermon of Fiſher, Biſhop of Rocheſter, preached on the day when the writings of Luther were publicly burnt, Camb. 1521. 4to. And a tranſlation from Greek into Latin, of Plutarch's piece, De commodo ex inimicis capiendo.

THE

The Life of THOMAS CROMWELL, Earl of Eſſex.

THOMAS CROMWELL was the ſon of a blackſmith at Putney, near London. The year of his birth is not known. His father, in the latter part of his life, practiſed the trade of a brewer; after whoſe deceaſe, his mother was married to a ſheerman in London. All the education which he received was at a private ſchool, where he learned reading, writing, and a little Latin. He diſcovered, however, in his early years, a very promiſing genius, and great vigour and activity of mind; and when he was grown up, having a great inclination for travelling, he went into foreign countries; though in what manner he did this, or at whoſe expence, is unknown. By this means he had an opportunity of ſeeing the world, of gaining a more extenſive acquaintance with men and manners, and of learning ſeveral languages, which proved afterwards extremely advantageous to him.

In the courſe of his travels he came to Antwerp, where there was then a very conſiderable Engliſh factory, by whom he was retained as their clerk, or ſecretary. His love of travelling, and inclination to ſee various countries, did, however, ſtill continue; he, therefore, embraced an opportunity which offered itſelf, in 1510, of taking a journey to Rome. That opportunity was the following. There was at that time a famous gild of our Lady in the church of St. Botolph's at Boſton in Lincolnſhire, to which ſeveral Popes had granted very large indulgences, or pardons; which being held in the greateſt veneration, and very much reſorted to, the brethren and ſiſters of that gild were very deſirous of having thoſe indulgences renewed and confirmed by the then Pope. They, therefore, diſpatched Geoffrey Chambers, and another perſon, who was joined with him in the commiſſion, to Rome, with a conſiderable ſum of money, in order to procure the deſired confirmation. Theſe perſons taking Antwerp in their way, became there acquainted with Thomas Cromwell; and being ſomewhat diffident of their own abilities for the taſk they had undertaken, and conceiving an high opinion of the talents of Cromwell, they prevailed upon him to go along with them. And accordingly he was of conſiderable ſervice to them. For being informed that his Holineſs was ſomewhat of an epicure, and addicted to pampering his palate,

he preſented him with ſome fine diſhes of jelly, made after the Engliſh faſhion, which was then unknown at Rome. And theſe delicacies put the Holy Father into ſuch good humour, that he very readily granted Cromwell and his companions what they came about (*b*).

Cromwell appears to have continued a very conſiderable time in Italy; for we are told, that he ſerved for ſome time as a ſoldier under the Duke of Bourbon, and was preſent at the ſacking of Rome (*i*); an event which did not happen till the year 1527, which was ſeventeen years after the time fixed for his obtaining the confirmation of the indulgences which he ſolicited from the Pope. But ſcarce any particulars of this period of his life are tranſmitted down to us; though it appears that, in conſequence of the wandering life he led, he was frequently reduced to great diſtreſſes. We are indeed told, as a proof of his application, and love of knowledge, that in his journey to and from Rome he committed to memory Eraſmus's Latin tranſlation of the New Teſtament. And being at Bologna, he found means to aſſiſt John Ruſſel, Eſq; afterwards Earl of Bedford, in making his eſcape; that gentleman, who was there privately employed in managing ſome of King Henry's affairs, being in very imminent danger of being betrayed into the hands of the French.

How long he continued in a military capacity, is uncertain. He returned, at length, however, to his native country, and was taken into the family and ſervice of Cardinal Wolſey; who obſerving him to be a man of conſiderable abilities, and great application, made him his Solicitor, and often employed him in buſineſs of great importance. And the Cardinal particularly entruſted him with the ſettling affairs relative to the foundation of his two Colleges at Oxford and Ipſwich, and in ſuppreſſing ſome ſmall Monaſteries for the endowment of them. Upon the Cardinal's diſgrace in 1529, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to ſerve his maſter under his misfortunes. And when articles of high treaſon againſt the Cardinal were ſent down to the Houſe of Commons, of which Cromwell had previouſly found means to get himſelf elected a Member, he defended the Cardinal with ſo much eloquence and ability, that the articles againſt him were thrown out. This tranſaction was of conſiderable ſervice to Cromwell, and gained him great reputation; for it placed his abilities in a more conſpicuous point of view; and thoſe who were enemies to Wolſey, both as a man, and as a Miniſter, did notwithſtanding applaud Cromwell for his ſteady attachment to his maſter in adverſity.

Cardinal Wolſey's houſhold being now diſſolved, he was taken into the King's ſervice, upon the recommendation of Sir Chriſtopher Hales, Maſter of the Rolls, and Sir John Ruſſel, the ſame

(*b*) *Vid.* Fox's Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. P. 498, 499. Edit. 1643.
(*i*) *Vid.* P. 41. of this Volume.

ſame gentleman whom he had ſo eminently ſerved at Bologna; who repreſented him to the King, as the fitteſt perſon to manage the diſputes which his Majeſty then had with the Pope. And being thus introduced at Court, he ſoon obtained a very conſiderable ſhare of the King's favour and confidence.

Cromwell, as to his religious ſentiments, favoured the principles of the Reformation; and was, therefore, no friend to the Papal power. In one of his conferences with the King, he repreſented to his Majeſty, that his princely authority was abuſed within his own Realm, by the Pope and his Clergy, who being ſworn to him, were afterwards diſpenſed from the ſame, and ſworn again to the Pope; ſo that his Majeſty was but a half King, and they but half ſubjects; which, he repreſented to Henry, was derogatory to his Crown, and contrary to the laws of his kingdom. But the Clergy, he told him, had by this illegal ſubmiſſion to the Pope, incurred the penalties of the act of Premunire: from which his Majeſty, if he thought proper, might derive great profit and advantages. Henry giving ear to this, and being pleaſed with the hint, aſked him, if he could make the truth of what he ſaid appear. Cromwell affirmed that he could. And thereupon ſhewed the King the oath which the Biſhops took to the Pope at their conſecration; wherein they ſwore "to help, retain, and defend AGAINST ALL MEN, the "Popedom of Rome, the rules of the Holy Fathers, and the re"galities of St. Peter, &c."

In conſequence of this conference with Cromwell, Henry, whilſt the Convocation was ſitting, took his ring, or ſignet, off his finger, and ſent Cromwell with it to the Houſe of Convocation, in order to acquaint the Clergy that they had all fallen into a Premunire. Cromwell, thus deputized by the King, placed himſelf among the Biſhops, and began to repreſent to them the extent of the regal authority, and the duty of ſubjects, and eſpecially the obedience which Biſhops and Churchmen owed to the laws of the kingdom. Theſe laws, however, he told them, the whole body of the Clergy had violated, to the diſhonour of the King, by tranſgreſſing againſt the act of Proviſors and Premunire; in that, they had not only conſented to the legatine power of Cardinal Wolſey, but alſo becauſe they had all ſworn to the Pope, contrary to their allegiance to the King, and therefore had forfeited to his Majeſty all their goods, chattles, lands, poſſeſſions, and whatſoever livings they had. The Prelates were exceedingly alarmed at this, and at firſt began to deny the fact. But after Cromwell had ſhewn them the very copy of the oath which they took to the Pope at their conſecration, the matter was ſo plain, that they could not deny it. Accordingly an indictment was brought againſt the whole body of the Clergy in the Court of King's Bench, and they were found guilty of falling within the ſtatute of Premunire. However, the Clergy preſenting a petition to the King, in which he was ſtiled Protector and Supreme

Head

Head of the Church of England, he granted the Clergy of the Province of Canterbury a pardon for one hundred thouſand pounds; and the Province of York compounded for nineteen thouſand. This affair was agreeable to Henry, becauſe it brought money into his coffers; and Cromwell chearfully forwarded it, becauſe as the Clergy in general were extremely averſe to every ſtep towards a Reformation, whatever contributed to weaken their influence and power, and their connections with the See of Rome, had a tendency to promote it.

The ſame year in which this tranſaction happened, 1531, Cromwell was knighted, made Maſter of the King's jewel-houſe, with a ſalary of fifty pounds *per annum*, and conſtituted a Privy Counſellor. And he continued to exert himſelf to the utmoſt in promoting, both by his influence in the Parliament and with the King, every meaſure which was favourable to the Reformation. The Parliament were well diſpoſed to this; and in 1532, an act was paſſed againſt levying the Annates, or Firſt-Fruits, which was a tax impoſed by the Court of Rome for granting Bulls to the new Prelates. From the ſecond year of Henry the VIIth's reign, one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds had been tranſmitted to Rome on account of this claim; which the Parliament, therefore, reduced to five *per cent.* of all the epiſcopal benefices. And the better to keep the Pope in awe, it was voted, that any cenſures which ſhould be paſſed by the Court of Rome, on account of this law, ſhould be utterly diſregarded; and that maſs ſhould be ſaid, and the Sacraments adminiſtered, as if no ſuch cenſures had been iſſued.

This year Sir Thomas Cromwell was made Clerk of the Hanaper, a profitable office in the Court of Chancery; and before the cloſe of the year he was alſo appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer. And the following year, 1533, an act was paſſed againſt all appeals to Rome in cauſes of matrimony, divorces, wills, and other ſuits cognizable in Eccleſiaſtical Courts. In the preamble to this act it was affirmed, That the Crown of England was imperial, and that the nation was a complete body within itſelf, with a full power to give juſtice in all caſes, ſpiritual as well as temporal.

In 1534, Sir Thomas Cromwell was appointed Principal Secretary of State, and Maſter of the Rolls; and about the ſame time he was choſen Chancellor of the Univerſity of Cambridge. Soon after which followed a general viſitation of that Univerſity; whereupon the ſeveral Colleges delivered up their charters, and other inſtruments, to Sir Thomas Cromwell. Anne Boleyn, who had now been ſolemnly crowned Queen of England, greatly favoured the progreſs of the Reformation. The Court of Rome had, however, pronounced the marriage of Henry and Catherine to be valid; and had declared Henry to be excommunicated, if he refuſed to adhere to it. An open and abſolute rupture with the Court of Rome was the conſequence. And it was this year enacted

enacted by the Parliament, that all payments made to the Apoſtolic Chamber, and all proviſions, bulls, and diſpenſations, ſhould be aboliſhed; Monaſteries were ſubjected to the viſitation and government of the King alone; the law for puniſhing Heretics was moderated; and it was declared, that to ſpeak againſt the Pope's authority was no Hereſy; and the Convocation were prevailed upon to concur in theſe meaſures.

In 1535, Sir Thomas Cromwell was appointed Viſitor-General of all the Monaſteries, and other privileged places, throughout England. Several perſons were employed under him in the exerciſe of this office. And the proceedings and behaviour of theſe viſitors has been much cenſured by the Roman Catholics. But it is no wonder, Biſhop Burnet obſerves, "that men who had "traded ſo long in lies as the Monks had done, ſhould load "thoſe whom they eſteemed the inſtruments of their ruin with "many calumnies." And it is certain, that in the courſe of theſe viſitations of what were called religious houſes, a ſcene was opened of the moſt ſhameful lewdneſs, and of other vile enormities, ſuch as were a diſhonour not only to religion, but to humanity.

On the 2d of July, 1536 (*k*), Sir Thomas Cromwell was conſtituted Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, at which time he reſigned his maſterſhip of the Rolls. On the 9th of the ſame month he was advanced to the dignity of a Baron, by the title of Lord Cromwell of Okeham in Rutlandſhire; and ſix days after he took his ſeat in the Houſe of Peers. The 18th of the ſame month he was conſtituted Vicar-General, and Vicegerent, over all the Spirituality, under the King, who was now declared Supreme Head of the Church. This was a very high dignity, for it gave him precedence next to the Royal Family; and in the Convocation which was held this year, he ſat above the Archbiſhops, as the King's Repreſentative.

A ſhort time before Lord Cromwell's elevation to this new dignity, an event happened, which was by no means favourable to the

(*k*) This year died Queen Catherine of Arragon, at Kimbolton in the county of Huntingdon, in the fiftieth year of her age. Orders had been given by King Henry, after his marriage with Anne Boleyn, that Catherine ſhould only be ſtiled Princeſs-Dowager of Wales, and treated as ſuch. But ſhe could never be prevailed upon to relinquiſh the title of Queen; and would accept of no ſervice from any perſon who did not approach her with the accuſtomed ceremonial. She was more hardly treated on that account than ſhe otherwiſe would have been, but without its producing the deſired effect. A little before ſhe expired, ſhe wrote a very tender letter to the King, in which ſhe gave him the appellation of *her moſt dear Lord, King, and huſband.* She recommended her daughter Mary to him, and ſolicited his protection for her maids and ſervants. She concluded her letter with theſe words, "I make this vow, that mine eyes deſire you above all things." Henry was ſo much touched as to ſhed tears at this laſt proof of Catherine's affection for him; but Queen Anne Boleyn is ſaid to have expreſſed her joy for the death of her rival, in a manner that was not quite conſiſtent with humanity and decency.

the Reformation. This was the fall of Queen Anne Boleyn, who had very much exerted her influence over the King in favour of the Reformers. But Henry was now become enamoured of a new object. This was Jane Seymour, daughter to Sir John Seymour, and one of Queen Anne's attendants. A charge of incontinence was accordingly trumped up againſt the Queen, in conſequence of which ſhe was tried, and moſt unjuſtly condemned to die. It appeared, indeed, that there had been ſome levities in her conduct; but nothing like a crime could be fairly proved againſt her. The unfortunate Queen, however, was beheaded; and the unfeeling Monarch was married the very next day to Jane Seymour (*l*).

The death of Queen Anne Boleyn was an agreeable event to the Romiſh party, and gave them freſh hopes that an accommodation might be brought about between the King and the Court of Rome. Lord Cromwell, however, continued to exerciſe the powers with which he was inveſted, in promoting and advancing the Reformation. He was, however, obliged to proceed with warineſs and caution; for the King was known in his heart to be ſtrongly attached to the Principles of Popery, notwithſtanding his preſent breach with the Court of Rome; and the Popiſh party in the nation were alſo very formidable. Some articles of Religion were, however, publiſhed this year, in which, inſtead of the ſeven Sacraments received in the Church of Rome, three only were mentioned, the Sacrament of Baptiſm, the Sacrament of Penance, and the Sacrament of the Altar. The ſtandard of faith was alſo declared to conſiſt in the Scriptures, and the three Creeds, the Apoſtolic, the Nicene, and the Athanaſian. And the doctrine of Purgatory was declared to be uncertain from Scripture.

In September this year, Lord Cromwell, in virtue of his office as the King's Vicegerent, publiſhed ſome injunctions to all Deans, Parſons, Vicars, and Curates, wherein they were ordered to preach up the King's Supremacy; and not to employ their rhetoric in extolling images, relics, miracles, or pilgrimages; but rather exhort the people to ſerve GOD, and take care of their families; to put parents, and other directors of youth in mind, to teach their children the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, in their mother tongue. He likewiſe encouraged the tranſlation of the Bible into Engliſh; and when it was finiſhed and printed, he publiſhed an injunction, that an Engliſh Bible (*m*) ſhould be provided for every pariſh church, at the joint charge of the Parſon and pariſhioners. Notwithſtanding

(*l*) An act was ſoon after paſſed, by which the iſſue of Anne Boleyn were declared to be illegitimate.

(*m*) The firſt tranſlation of any part of the Holy Scriptures into Engliſh which was committed to the preſs, was the New Teſtament, tranſlated from the Greek by William Tyndal, with the aſſiſtance of John Fry and William Roye, and printed firſt

Notwithſtanding the high rank and dignity to which Lord Cromwell was now raiſed, he was not ſo elated with his proſperity as to be unmindful of his former condition, or forgetful of thoſe whoſe kindneſs he had experienced in a ſtate of adverſity and diſtreſs. As a remarkable inſtance of this, the following incident is related. In his youth, in the courſe of his peregrinations, Cromwell happened to be at Florence, in a moſt deſtitute condition, and in want of the common neceſſaries of life. In this deplorable ſituation, he was taken notice of by an Italian merchant, who frequently traded with England, and whoſe name was Francis Freſcobald. This merchant, after enquiring into the particulars of young Cromwell's ſtory, being pleaſed with his air and manner, took him into his houſe, and kindly entertained him; and, at his departure, furniſhed him with a horſe, and new clothes, and ſixteen ducats of gold, in order to carry him again into his own country. It happened that many years after, when Cromwell was advanced to the high ſtation in which we have ſeen him, this merchant, who in conſequence of many loſſes in trade was become very poor, came over into England, in order to recover a conſiderable ſum of money which was due to him. During his reſidence in London for this purpoſe, Lord Cromwell, being one day riding towards Court, accidentally caſt his eyes upon Freſcobald, who happened to be paſſing through the ſtreet. The merchant had entirely forgotten the perſon of Cromwell, and was altogether unacquainted with his advancement: but the grateful Cromwell, recognizing the features of his old benefactor, regardleſs of the ſpectators, and to the great ſurprize of his attendants, haſtily alighted from his horſe, and very affectionately embraced him. After ſome converſation in the ſtreet, Lord Cromwell, who was then obliged to repair to Court, aſſuring the merchant of his friendſhip, and of his grateful ſenſe of his obligations to him, inſiſted upon his coming that day to dine with him at his houſe. He accordingly did ſo; and at dinner Lord Cromwell related to the Lord High Admiral, and other perſons

firſt in 1526, in Octavo. Tyndal publiſhed afterwards, in 1530, a tranſlation of the Pentateuch; and of Jonas, in 1531, in Octavo. It is ſaid that he alſo tranſlated Joſhua, Judges, Ruth, Nehemiah, and the books of Kings and Chronicles; but it does not appear that theſe were ever printed. An Engliſh tranſlation of the Pſalms, done from the Latin of Martin Bucer, was alſo publiſhed at Argentine in 1530 by Francis Foye. And the ſame book, together with Jeremiah, and the Song of Moſes, were likewiſe publiſhed in 1534, in 12mo, by George Joye, ſome time Fellow of Peterhouſe in Cambridge.

But the firſt time the whole Bible was printed and publiſhed in Engliſh was in the year 1535, in Folio. It was publiſhed by Miles Coverdale, afterwards Biſhop of Exeter, who revited Tyndal's verſion, compared it with the originals, and ſupplied what had been left untranſlated by Tyndal. It was printed at Zurich, and dedicated by Coverdale to King Henry VIII. And this was the Bible which by Lord Cromwell's injunctions in 1536, was ordered *to be laid in churches*.

of rank who were preſent, the friendſhip which had been formerly ſhewn him by Freſcobald. And all the time the merchant continued in England, Lord Cromwell lodged and entertained him in his own houſe; he alſo gave him ſixteen hundred ducats, in return for the ſixteen which he had received of him at Florence; and he exerted himſelf ſo warmly in his behalf, that Freſcobald by his means ſoon recovered the money which was due to him in England. And Lord Cromwell behaved in the ſame grateful and generous manner to ſeveral other perſons, who though in low circumſtances, had behaved kindly to him when he was in a more humble ſituation.

The alterations which had been made in religion, together with the diſſolution of ſuch a number of Monaſteries (n), ſo exceedingly irritated the Romiſh Clergy, who began to give up all for loſt, that they excited inſurrections againſt the Government, particularly in Lincolnſhire, Yorkſhire, Durham, and Lancaſhire. And the Roman Catholic party were ſo inveterate againſt Lord Cromwell, that the rebels in Yorkſhire demanded, amongſt other things, that he ſhould be brought to "condigne "puniſhment, as one of the ſubverters of the good laws of the "Realm." However, theſe inſurrections were at length quelled (o), though not without much bloodſhed.

In 1537, the King conſtituted Lord Cromwell Chief Juſtice itinerant of all the foreſts beyond Trent; and on the 26th of Auguſt the ſame year, he was elected a Knight of the Garter. In October Queen Jane Seymour was delivered of a young Prince, who afterwards aſcended the Throne by the name of Edward VI. But in about twelve days after her delivery Queen Jane died, to the great regret of Henry, who is ſaid to have been ſo much afflicted with her loſs, that for ſome days after her death, he ſhut himſelf up from all company (p). Queen Jane was a favourer of the Reformation.

About this time a new viſitation of religious houſes was ſet on foot; and the viſitors were enjoined to enquire into the impoſtures which had been practiſed, to excite the people to ſuperſtitious adorations of images, relics, and other pretended miraculous

(n) An act was paſſed, in 1536, by which three hundred and ſeventy-ſix Monaſteries were ſuppreſſed, and their revenues, together with their goods, chattles, and plate, were granted to the King.

(o) The rebels, among other things which they complained of, alledged that the King employed improper and mean perſons for his Miniſters, which was particularly aimed at Lord Cromwell. But the King publiſhed a manifeſto in anſwer to their ſeveral complaints, couched in very lofty terms, in which he told them, that they ought no more to pretend giving a judgment with regard to government, than a blind man with regard to colours. 'And we,' ſaid he, 'with our whole Council, 'think it right ſtrange, that ye, who 'be but brutes and inexpert folk, do 'take upon you to appoint us, who 'be meet or not for our Council.'

(p) There is no foundation for the ſtory ſometimes told, that the life of the young Prince was ſaved in preference to that of the Queen, by the command

lous things. And in the courſe of this viſitation a ſcene was opened of the moſt bare-faced impoſture, and the moſt ridiculous ſuperſtition. At Boxley in Kent, there was a crucifix which ſometimes moved its head and eyes, and bent its whole body, to expreſs the receiving of prayers; and other geſtures were at other times made, in order to ſignify the rejection of them. Many and great were the offerings made to this wondrous image; but it appeared, upon examination, that all its movements were cauſed by concealed ſprings; and the whole cheat being thus diſcovered, the image was ordered to be burnt. At Hales, in the county of Glouceſter, the blood of CHRIST was ſhewn in a vial of chryſtal, which the people ſometimes could ſee, and ſometimes could not. And they were made to believe, that they could not be bleſſed with the ſight of the blood, though the vial was ſet before them, whilſt they were in mortal ſin. They continued, therefore, to make preſents, till they had bribed Heaven to give them the ſight of this bleſſed relic. But this, upon examination, was diſcovered to be nothing more than the blood of a duck, which they renewed every week; and one ſide of the vial was ſo thick, that there was no ſeeing through it, whilſt the other was clear and tranſparent. And it was placed in ſuch a manner near the altar, that a perſon concealed behind it could turn either ſide of the vial outward; and when they had drained thoſe who came to ſee it of what money they could, they then made them happy by turning the clear and tranſparent ſide towards them (q).

Many ſuperſtitious images were publicly broken at St. Paul's croſs. And a great variety of curious relics were diſcovered in different parts of the kingdom. At Reading, there was an Angel with one wing, that brought over the ſpear's head that pierced our SAVIOUR's ſide. At Edmondſbury, there was found ſome of the coals that roaſted St. Laurence; the parings of St. Edmund's toes; and St. Thomas Becket's penknife and boots (r). A piece of St. Andrew's finger was pledged by the Houſe of Weſtacre for forty pounds; but the viſitors, when they ſuppreſſed that Houſe, not thinking fit to redeem it at that rate, the Saint's finger was ſtill left in pawn.

But to return to Lord Cromwell. In 1538, he obtained a grant from the King of the caſtle and Lordſhip of Okeham, in

command of the King; who gave orders, it is ſaid, for the Queen's body to be opened for the birth. The whole ſtory is a forgery of Sanders. *Vid.* Guthrie's Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. P. 1074.

(q) *Vid.* Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Edit. 1679. Vol. I. P. 242, 243.

(r) However ridiculous theſe things may appear to a Proteſtant reader, the ingenious Mr. Hume thinks proper to inform us, that "ſuch fooleries, as they are to be found in all ages and nations of the world, and even took place during the moſt refined periods of antiquity, form no peculiar nor violent reproach on the Catholic religion." Hiſtory of England, Vol. IV. P. 195. 8vo. Edit.

the county of Rutland; and was alſo made Conſtable of Careſbrook caſtle in the Iſle of Wight. And in September this year, he iſſued forth new injunctions, directed to all Biſhops and Curates, in which he ordered, among other things, that the Clergy ſhould, every Sunday and holiday, openly and plainly recite to their pariſhioners, twice or thrice together, one article of the LORD's Prayer, or Creed, in Engliſh, that they might learn the ſame by heart; that they ſhould make, or cauſe to be made, in their churches, one ſermon every quarter of a year at leaſt, in which they ſhould purely and ſincerely declare the very Goſpel of CHRIST, and exhort their hearers, not to pilgrimages, kiſſing and worſhipping of images, and other ſuperſtitions of that kind, but to the performance of works of faith, mercy, and charity. It was alſo ordered by him, that all who were in poſſeſſion of benefices upon which they did not reſide, ſhould appoint able Curates; and that the Clergy ſhould not diſcourage the people from reading the Scriptures, but on the contrary exhort and excite them to it.

This year was demoliſhed, by the King's command, the ſhrine of Thomas Becket, commonly ſtiled St. Thomas of Canterbury (s). This ſhrine was of ineſtimable value. The gold of it, when broken down, loaded two cheſts, which required eight ſtrong men to carry it out of the church. This act of ſacrilege, as it was termed, ſo exceedingly exaſperated the Holy See, that it is mentioned in the preamble to the bull ſoon after iſſued forth by Pope Paul the Third, againſt King Henry, as the principal inducement for haſtening that denunciation of the vengeance of the Church, which had been for ſome time ſuſpended. By this bull, if the King did not appear at Rome within ninety days, by himſelf or proxy, to anſwer for his proceedings, he was declared to be depoſed from his Crown, and the kingdom laid under an interdict. All his ſubjects and vaſſals were abſolved from their allegiance; all Clergymen were ordered to depart the kingdom, within five days after the expiration of the time prefixed, under the pains of excommunication and deprivation; leaving only ſo many Prieſts as would be neceſſary for baptizing infants, and giving the Sacrament to ſuch as died in penitence. All Noblemen and others in the King's dominions were commanded, under the ſame penalties, to take up arms againſt him, and to drive him out of his dominions; and all Princes and military perſons were commanded to make war upon him, in order to force him to return to the obedience of the Apoſtolic See. They were alſo commanded to ſeize upon all goods and merchandize belonging to the King or his accomplices; and ſuch of his ſubjects as were ſeized on, were to be made ſlaves. It was alſo declared that whoever ſhould attempt to oppoſe the execution of any of the particulars contained in this bull, ſhould incur the indignation

(s) See Vol. I. P. 189.

tion of Almighty GOD, as well as of the holy Apoſtles. Such was the power modeſtly aſſumed by the Succeſſor of St. Peter! but Henry paid little regard to theſe eccleſiaſtical thunders.

In 1539, the King beſtowed upon Lord Cromwell ſeveral noble manors and conſiderable eſtates, which had belonged to ſome of the religious Houſes that were now diſſolved. And on the 17th of April the ſame year, he was raiſed to the dignity of Earl of Eſſex, and ſoon after conſtituted Lord High Chamberlain of England. King Henry had now been for ſome time looking about for a new wife, and at length entered into a treaty of marriage with the Princeſs Anne, daughter to the Duke of Cleves. Cromwell was very zealous to promote this match, becauſe that Lady and her family were all in the Lutheran intereſt. But this in the event proved his ruin. For the King conceived a violent diſlike to her at the very firſt ſight; and though, as the Princeſs was arrived in England, and the matter carried ſo far, he was married to her, yet it was not without great reluctance. His averſion to her, however, every day encreaſed; and he became eager to procure the diſſolution of his marriage. The concern which the Earl of Eſſex had in promoting a match which was ſo much the King's averſion, weakened the King's attachment to him. The ſhare which he had in forwarding the Reformation, had procured him many powerful enemies, particularly the Duke of Norfolk, and Stephen Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter. And they ſpared no opportunity of increaſing any prejudice which the King might have conceived againſt him; and as the Roman Catholics in general raiſed a violent clamour againſt him, Henry began to be diſpoſed to ſacrifice Cromwell to their fury. The King had now fixed his affection on Catherine Howard, niece to the Duke of Norfolk; and that Nobleman made uſe of her inſinuations to incenſe Henry againſt the Earl of Eſſex. Accordingly he obtained a commiſſion from the King to arreſt him at the Council-table, on the 10th of June, when he had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of it. He was immediately committed priſoner to the Tower; and on the 17th of the ſame month a bill of attainder againſt him was brought into the Houſe of Lords. He was accuſed both of hereſy and treaſon. It was alledged againſt him, that he had ſet at liberty, without the King's command or aſſent, ſeveral perſons convicted of miſpriſion of treaſon, and others who were impriſoned on ſuſpicion of it. That he had received ſeveral bribes, and granted licences for them to carry money, corn, horſes, and other things, out of the kingdom, contrary to the King's proclamations. That, being an Heretic, he had diſperſed many erroneous books among the King's ſubjects, particularly ſome that were contrary to the belief of the Sacrament. That having entertained many of the King's ſubjects about himſelf, whom he had infected with hereſy, and imagining he was by force able to defend his treaſons and hereſies, when ſome of them complained to him of the new preachers,

preachers, he ſaid, " their preaching was good;" and ſaid alſo, among other things, " That if the King would turn from it, " yet he would not turn; and if the King did turn, and all his " people with him, he would fight in the field in his own per- " ſon, with his ſword in his hand, againſt him and all others." And then he pulled out his dagger, and ſwore that he would do what he had before declared. Several other things were alledged againſt him; but they were improbable and trifling, as well as ſome of the foregoing. He was not, however, ſuffered even to be heard in his own defence. And the bill of attainder at length paſſed both Houſes, though it ſtuck ten days in the Houſe of Commons.

The Earl of Eſſex had in his fall, as Biſhop Burnet obſerves, the common fate of all diſgraced Miniſters, to be forſaken by his friends, and inſulted over by his enemies. Archbiſhop Cranmer, however, intereſted himſelf warmly in his favour; and in a letter which he ſent to the King, he expreſſed himſelf thus concerning Cromwell. " Who," ſaid he, " cannot but " be ſorrowful and amazed, that he ſhould be a traitor againſt " your Majeſty? He that was ſo advanced by your Majeſty; he " whoſe ſurety was only by your Majeſty; he who loved your " Majeſty, as I ever thought, no leſs than GOD; he who ſtudied " always to ſet forwards whatſoever was your Majeſty's will and " pleaſure; he that cared for no man's diſpleaſure to ſerve your " Majeſty. He that was ſuch a ſervant, in my judgment, in " wiſdom, diligence, faithfulneſs, and experience, as no Prince " in this Realm ever had. He that was ſo vigilant to preſerve " your Majeſty from all treaſons, that few could be ſo ſecretly " conceived, but he detected the ſame in the beginning. If " the Princes of noble memory, King John, Henry II. and " Richard II. had had ſuch a Counſellor about them, I ſuppoſe " they ſhould never have been ſo traiterouſly abandoned, as thoſe " good Princes were." He proceeds, " I loved him as my " friend, for ſo I took him to be; but I chiefly loved him for " the love which I thought I ſaw him bear ever towards your " Grace, ſingularly above all other: but now, if he be a tray- " tor, I am ſorry that ever I loved, or truſted him; and I am " very glad that his treaſon is diſcovered in time. But yet " again, I am very ſorrowful; for who ſhall your Grace truſt " hereafter, if you might not truſt him? Alas! I bewail and la- " ment your Grace's chance herein! I wot not whom your " Grace may truſt. But I pray GOD continually night and " day, to ſend ſuch a Counſellor in his place, whom your Grace " may truſt, and who for all his qualities can and will ſerve " your Grace like to him; and that will have ſo much ſolici- " tude and care to preſerve your Grace from all dangers, as I " ever thought he had."

The Earl of Eſſex, during his impriſonment, wrote to the King, to clear himſelf from the charge of treaſon, and to implore

plore his Majeſty's clemency; which he did in terms that do no great honour to his magnanimity. But it was without effect; for the Duke of Norfolk and the Popiſh party prevailed. And accordingly, in purſuance of his attainder, he was ordered to be beheaded on Tower-hill, on the 28th of July, 1540. When he was brought to the ſcaffold, his tenderneſs for his ſon (*t*) made him avoid any earneſt proteſtations of his innocence, or complaints of his ſentence; for he feared that any thing of that kind would exaſperate Henry, and induce him to wreak his vengeance on his ſon. He ſaid, that as he was by law condemned to die, he thanked GOD for bringing him to that death for his offences. He acknowledged his ſins againſt GOD, and his offences againſt his Prince, who had raiſed him from a low degree. He declared that he died in the Catholic faith (*u*), not doubting of any article of faith, or of any Sacrament of the Church; and denied that he had been a ſupporter of thoſe who believed ill opinions. He deſired the ſpectators to pray for the King, for the Prince, and for himſelf; and then prayed with great fervour for the remiſſion of his paſt ſins, and admittance into eternal glory. He then gave the ſignal to the executioner, who performed his office; but was ſo inexpert at it, that he very much mangled the unfortunate Nobleman.

Thus fell THOMAS CROMWELL, Earl of Eſſex, who was worthy of a better maſter, and a better fate. He was a Miniſter of great ability, and uncommon application. He had a high ſenſe of public good, and an open and generous heart. His greateſt fault was too much obſequiouſneſs to the King's will; and his eagerneſs to pull down the Papal authority, made him ſometimes advance the regal authority higher than was conſiſtent with a proper regard to the intereſts of civil liberty. But though raiſed from the loweſt ſituation in human life, to a ſtate of great power, and elevated rank, he behaved with uncommon moderation. He was courteous and affable to perſons of all ranks. He was very ready to aſſiſt the poor in any of their ſuits, and to ſupport them againſt the oppreſſions of the powerful and wealthy. He was very hoſpitable, and ſo charitable

(*t*) He left one ſon, Gregory Cromwell, created Baron Cromwell of Wimbleton, in his father's life-time; but he did not ſucceed to the title of Earl of Eſſex, on account of his father's attainder.

(*u*) "By what he ſpoke at his death, (ſays Biſhop Burnet) he left it much doubted of what religion he died. But it is certain he was a *Lutheran*. The term *Catholic faith* uſed by him in his laſt ſpeech, ſeemed to make it doubtful; but that was then uſed in England in its true ſenſe, in oppoſition to the novelties of the See of Rome. So that his profeſſion of the Catholic faith was ſtrangely perverted, when ſome from thence concluded that he died in the communion of the Church of Rome. But his praying in Engliſh, and that only to GOD through CHRIST, without any of thoſe tricks that were uſed when thoſe of that Church died, ſhewed he was none of their's." Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. P. 285.

ritable to the poor, that upwards of two hundred perſons were ſerved twice every day with a ſufficient quantity of bread, meat, and drink, at the gate of his houſe in Throgmorton-ſtreet. He was remarkably grateful to thoſe from whom he had received any obligations, and extremely kind and generous to his ſervants and dependents.

THE

The Life of Sir EDWARD HOWARD, Lord High Admiral of England.

THIS gallant Admiral was ſecond ſon to Thomas, Earl of Surrey, and afterwards Duke of Norfolk. We have no account of the exact time of his birth. He began very early to teſtify his inclination to the ſea-ſervice; for in 1492, when he was a very young man, he went out in a fleet commanded by Sir Edward Poynings, with a view of acquiring ſkill in naval affairs, and in the art of war. The fleet which Poynings commanded, which conſiſted of twelve ſail, was ſent by King Henry VII. to aſſiſt the Duke of Burgundy againſt his rebellious ſubjects. In conſequence of this aſſiſtance from the King of England, the Duke was enabled to regain poſſeſſion of the town and port of Sluys, which had been ſeized by his enemies. And in the courſe of this expedition, our young and noble ſeaman gave proofs of extraordinary bravery, and had on that account the honour of Knighthood conferred on him. He gave frequent inſtances of his courage during the ſame reign; and on the acceſſion of Henry VIII. that Monarch made choice of him for his ſtandard-bearer; which in thoſe days, ſays Dr. Campbell, was not only a mark of particular favour, but of the higheſt confidence and reſpect.

In 1511, Sir Andrew Barton, a Scotch ſeaman, with two ſtout veſſels, committed piracy on the Engliſh coaſts, and greatly interrupted the trade and navigation of the kingdom. His pretence was, letters of repriſal granted him againſt the Portugueſe, by James III. late King of Scotland; and under colour of this he ſeized and plundered what ſhips he pleaſed, alledging that they had Portugueſe goods on board. Complaint being made of theſe grievances to the Privy Council of England, Sir Edward Howard's father, the Earl of Surrey, declared, "That the narrow ſeas ſhould not be ſo infeſted, whilſt he had "an eſtate that could furniſh a ſhip, or a ſon who was capable "of commanding one." And accordingly two ſhips were immediately fitted out by Sir Edward Howard and his elder brother Sir Thomas, and probably at their father's expence (*w*). Sir Thomas Howard, it is ſaid, ſerved under his younger brother on this occaſion, on account of the ſuperior ſkill and experience

(*w*) *Vid.* Dr. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Edit. 1742. Vol. I. P. 321.

rience of the latter. Theſe two gallant brothers having been ſome days at ſea, were ſeparated by a ſtorm, which gave Sir Thomas Howard an opportunity of coming up with Sir Andrew Barton in the Lyon. An obſtinate engagement immediately enſued, the ſucceſs of which was long doubtful. For the Scotch Commander, Barton, who was a bold and experienced ſeaman, having under him a determined crew, made a very deſperate defence; but he was at length killed, having to the laſt encouraged his men with his whiſtle. And the Commander being now dead, the ſhip was ſurrendered to Sir Thomas Howard. In the mean time, Sir Edward Howard came up with Barton's other ſhip, which was named the Jenny Perwin, and was a very ſtrong veſſel, and exceedingly well manned. After a ſharp engagement, Sir Edward Howard made himſelf maſter of this ſhip alſo. And both the Scotch veſſels, with the ſurviving part of their crews, which were in number one hundred and fifty men, were triumphantly brought into the river Thames, by the two noble brothers. The priſoners, having been ſome time confined, were afterwards ſet at liberty. James IV. then King of Scotland, highly reſented this action, and ſent Ambaſſadors to the King of England, to demand ſatisfaction. But Henry returned him this anſwer, "That puniſhing Pirates was never "conſidered as a breach of peace among Princes."

The character of Sir Edward Howard for courage and naval abilities, was now ſo well eſtabliſhed, that in 1512, he was appointed Lord High Admiral of England (*x*). And King Henry having entered into a war with France, the Marquis of Dorſet was ſent with a conſiderable army into Biſcay, in order to penetrate that way into the Province of Guienne. The Marquis and his troops were convoyed by Sir Edward Howard; and when the forces were landed, the Lord Admiral put to ſea again with his ſquadron. He arrived on the coaſts of Brittany, and having firſt cleared the ſea of the enemy, he landed ſome of his men about Conquet and Breſt, who burnt ſeveral towns, and laid waſte the country for ſome miles round. The French endeavoured to repreſent this as a mean way of making war upon helpleſs women, and defenceleſs villages. But Sir Edward Howard replied "That it was the duty of brave men to be guardians to both; "and that he ſhould not be directed by an enemy in his man-"ner of making war." The French Monarch, alarmed at the Engliſh Admiral's ſucceſs, immediately aſſembled a powerful fleet to oppoſe his progreſs. King Henry, having information of this, ordered five and twenty ſhips of war to be fitted out without delay, to go to the aſſiſtance of the Lord Admiral; and he

(*x*) He had ten ſhillings a day for his pay; each of his Captains eighteen-pence; and every ſoldier, mariner, and gunner, ten ſhillings every lunar month, for wages and victuals.

he went down himſelf to Portſmouth to haſten the armament. Among theſe ſhips were two of a very large ſize, the one called the Regent, which was commanded by Sir Thomas Knevet; and the other, named the Sovereign, by Sir Charles Brandon, afterwards Duke of Suffolk. When Sir Edward Howard had received this reinforcement, his fleet conſiſted of forty-five ſail. He immediately determined to attack the enemy, who were now ready to come out of the harbour of Breſt. The French fleet, according to Lord Herbert, conſiſted of thirty-nine ſhips. The French Admiral, whoſe name was Primauget, or, as ſome ſay, Porſmoguer, was a very brave man; and the ſhip he commanded, which was called the Cordelier, was ſo large as to be able to carry twelve hundred men, excluſive of mariners. Sir Thomas Knevet, however, in the Regent, which was a much leſs ſhip, attacked and boarded the French Admiral. The action was maintained for ſome time with great bravery on both ſides. But at length the French ſhip took fire; and that and the Regent being cloſely grappled together, they both blew up, and ſixteen hundred gallant men, beſides the two Commanders, periſhed in an inſtant (*y*). This fatal ſtroke ſeems to have thrown both fleets into conſternation; ſo that though they had been for ſome time engaged, they ſoon after ſeparated, without proceeding to any further hoſtilities on either ſide.

In 1513, Sir Edward Howard put to ſea again, with forty-two ſhips of war, beſides ſmall veſſels, and forced the French into the harbour of Breſt. He alſo made frequent deſcents upon the coaſts of France, and ravaged the country round about. The French King, therefore, ordered Pregent, one of his ableſt ſea Officers, to ſail from Toulon with a ſquadron of gallies; and, after joining the Breſt fleet, to come out and fight the Engliſh. Sir Edward Howard had information of this deſign, and formed a plan for burning the French ſhips in the harbour. He was ſo ſanguine of his ſucceſs in this affair, that he acquainted the King with it, and invited him to be preſent at ſo glorious an action; deſiring that the King ſhould rather have the honour of deſtroying the French naval force, than himſelf. But Sir Edward's letter being laid before the Council, they were of very different ſentiments, conſidering the affair as by much too hazardous for his Majeſty's perſon to be expoſed in it. They, therefore, wrote to the Admiral, commanding him not to ſend excuſes, but to do his duty. Sir Edward Howard was extremely piqued at this language; and he thought that, from his well known bravery, he ought not to have been ſubjected to ſuch a reproof. However, he immediately prepared to enter the harbour. And for this purpoſe he ordered about fifteen hundred men into his boats,

(*y*) According to ſome writers, the French Admiral ſet fire to his ſhip on purpoſe, chuſing rather to blow up his own ſhip and that of the enemy together, than to ſubmit to the Engliſh Commander.

which brought the French, to the number of ten thouſand, down to line the ſhore; but the Admiral at length found his deſign to be impracticable; for the French ſhips lay under the cover of their fortifications, and of a line of twenty-four large hulks laſhed together, and which they intended to have ſet on fire, if the Engliſh had forced them to an engagement. Sir Edward put the beſt face he could upon this diſappointment; and in the mean time received information that Pregent, with ſix gallies, and four tenders, was arrived in Conquet bay, a little below Breſt, and only waited for an opportunity of entering that harbour. The Lord Admiral hereupon ſent a frigate to reconnoitre the ſituation of the enemy, whom they perceived at an anchor between two rocks, on each of which ſtood a ſtrong fort, and ſo far up the bay, that it was not poſſible to bring any of the Engliſh ſhips of force to bear upon them. Sir Edward Howard, however, determined to attack them; and accordingly he manned the only two gallies he had in his fleet with ſome of his braveſt men; and with two row-barges, and two tenders, he entered the bay. One of the gallies was commanded by himſelf, the other by Lord Ferrers. The chief Officers under them were Sir Thomas Cheney, Sir John Wallop, Sir Henry Shireburn, and Sir William Sidney. As there was a briſk gale of wind, they ſoon came up with the enemy; and Sir Edward Howard immediately attacked the French Admiral. Armed with his ſword and target, he fearleſsly entered the ſhip of his enemy, having only eighteen Engliſhmen and one Spaniard attending him. But he had no ſooner boarded the French veſſel, than the grappling-tackle, which faſtened his galley to that of the enemy, either ſlipped, or was cut aſunder. Thus was the brave Admiral left to the mercy of the enemy. But he diſdained that ſafety which could only be purchaſed by captivity. He, therefore, took his whiſtle (which in thoſe days, we are told, was the badge of ſupreme command at ſea), from his neck, and threw it into the ſea; into which he himſelf, with ſeventeen of his followers, was immediately puſhed by the pikes of his enemies (*z*).

Such was the immature death, on the 25th of April, 1513, of Sir Edward Howard, Knight of the Garter, and Lord High Admiral of England. He had great ſkill in maritime affairs, and poſſeſſed an extraordinary degree of bravery. It was his avowed maxim, "That a ſeaman never did good, who was not reſolute to a degree of madneſs." He was a warm friend to the intereſt of his country, and at all times ready to hazard his life and

(*z*) The death of the Lord Admiral ſo diſcouraged the ſeamen, that the Engliſh fleet ſoon after returned home, without any further attempts upon the enemy.

and fortune in its defence. He was, however, not for promoting war on every trivial occaſion; for he was an able Stateſman, and a free ſpeaker, as well as a great ſeaman.

Sir Edward Howard married Alice, widow to Sir William Parker, Knight, and daughter of William Lovell, Lord Morley, but had no iſſue by her.

THE

The Life of THOMAS HOWARD, Earl of Surrey, Duke of Norfolk, and Lord High Admiral of England.

THOMAS HOWARD was the eldeſt ſon of Thomas, Earl of Surrey, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, and brother to the brave Lord Admiral, who is the ſubject of the preceding Life. We began with the younger brother firſt, for the ſame reaſon which is aſſigned by Dr. Campbell; namely, becauſe though the junior ſon, he was the elder Admiral; and alſo becauſe the occurrences in the Life of the elder brother carry us down to a much later period than thoſe of the younger. Sir Thomas Howard early diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his courage, and thirſt for military glory. He engaged in the expedition againſt Sir Andrew Barton, in conjunction with his brother Sir Edward, as related in the preceding Life; and had himſelf the honour of taking Barton's ſhip. He attended the Marquis of Dorſet in his expedition againſt Guienne, which was rendered unſucceſsful by the inſincerity of Ferdinand, King of Spain: and the Marquis falling ſick, Sir Thomas Howard ſucceeded him, and ſhewed great conduct in bringing home the remainder of the Engliſh army.

A few months after Sir Thomas Howard's arrival in England, he received the ill news of his brother the Lord Admiral's death; whereupon the King immediately appointed him his ſucceſſor. This promotion was very agreeable to Sir Thomas, as he was extremely deſirous of revenging his brother's death upon the enemy. And before he ſet out to take upon him the command of the fleet, he petitioned that each ſhip ſhould have a larger complement of men. In the mean time Pregent, the French Admiral, encouraged by the death of Sir Edward Howard, and the conſequent return of the fleet which had been under his command, had made a deſcent upon the coaſt of Suſſex, and committed ſome diſorders there; but receiving information that the Engliſh fleet was again putting to ſea, he made the beſt of his way to the coaſt of France. And Sir Thomas Howard was ſo active, and ſcoured the ſeas of French veſſels in ſuch a manner, that not a bark of that nation durſt appear. And on the firſt of July, 1513, he landed in Brittany, ravaged a part of the country, and burnt a conſiderable town.

King

King Henry was now in France, employed in the ſiege of Teroüenne (*a*). And James IV. King of Scotland, took this opportunity of invading England, ſuppoſing he ſhould find that kingdom unprepared for its defence. But he ſoon found his miſtake. The Earl of Surrey, father to the Lord Admiral, marched againſt him with a conſiderable army; and Sir Thomas Howard, receiving information of the Scottiſh King's invaſion, immediately landed five thouſand veteran troops, and marched at the head of them to join his father. The Earl of Surrey, having received this reinforcement, ſent an Herald to the King of Scotland, to offer him battle: and Sir Thomas Howard ſent him word at the ſame time, that he was come to anſwer for the death of Sir Andrew Barton. The Scottiſh King had in all his manifeſtoes mentioned the death of Barton, as one of the cauſes of the war. Sir Thomas Howard, therefore, ſeems to have thought himſelf obliged, in point of honour, to give ſome ſatisfaction for that affair in perſon. This defiance from the Earl of Surrey and his ſon, produced the famous battle of Flodden field, which was fought on the eighth of September, 1513. Sir Thomas Howard commanded the van-guard, and greatly contributed to the glorious victory which the Engliſh then obtained, by the valour and military ſkill which he exerted on that important occaſion (*b*). And in conſideration of the great merits and ſervices of the Earl of Surrey and his ſon, King Henry, in 1514, created the Earl Duke of Norfolk, and his ſon, the Lord Admiral, Earl of Surrey, and he accordingly took his ſeat in the Houſe of Peers, not as a Duke's ſon, but according to his creation.

A peace being now concluded with France, the martial talents of the new Earl of Surrey lay for ſome time unemployed. His father, the Duke of Norfolk, was Lord High Treaſurer, but at great variance with Cardinal Wolſey; and as to the Earl of Surrey, his animoſity againſt him was ſo great, that we are told he one day drew his dagger upon the haughty Prelate. In 1519, the Earl of Surrey was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland. That kingdom was at this time in ſuch diſorder, and the Iriſh Chiefs were ſo exceedingly turbulent, that this was a very troubleſome poſt. However, the Earl of Surrey, by his vigilance and activity, ſuppreſſed Deſmond's rebellion, humbled the O'Neals and O'Carrols, and without practiſing ſeverity, brought the affairs of Ireland into good order. He gained the affections of the people, and held a Parliament at Dublin in 1521; after which he was recalled; but on his quitting the iſland, he left it in great tranquility.

In 1522, King Henry again entered into a war with France; and having at the ſame time engaged in an alliance with the Emperor

(*a*) *Vid.* P. 10. of this Volume. (*b*) *Vid.* Vol. I. P. 409.

Emperor Charles V. that Prince, in conſequence of this alliance, joined his naval force with that of England. The Emperor's fleet conſiſted of one hundred and eighty ſail; and the Lord Admiral, the Earl of Surrey, by eſpecial permiſſion from King Henry, received the Emperor's commiſſion to be Admiral alſo of the Imperial fleet (*c*). With theſe united fleets, the Earl of Surrey ſailed over to the coaſt of Normandy. He landed ſome of his troops at Cherburgh, and ravaged all the adjacent country; after which, re-embarking his men, he returned to Portland. In a few days after, he ſet ſail again, and landed a very large body of troops on the coaſt of Brittany. He attacked the town of Morlaix, took it by ſtorm, and plundered it. He alſo burnt ſeventeen ſail of French ſhips on the coaſt, and then returned, with a very rich booty, to Southampton. But he previouſly detached a ſquadron, under the command of Vice-Admiral Fitz-williams (*d*), with orders to continue cruizing, and ſcouring

(*c*) This commiſſion is dated at London, June the 8th, 1522, and is very honourable to the Lord Admiral. Part of it runs in the following terms: "Charles V. by the Divine favour and clemency elected moſt auguſt Emperor of the Romans, King of Germany, Spain, both Sicilies, Jeruſalem, Hungary, &c. Whereas the moſt ſerene and powerful Prince, Henry VIII. King of England and France, our moſt dear brother, uncle, and confederate, ——hath moſt juſtly proclaimed war againſt Francis, King of France; —— and to carry this on more effectually, hath, among other warlike preparations, fitted out a fleet which he hath put under the command of the moſt illuſtrious Thomas, Earl of Surrey, our moſt dear couſin, Knight of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, Lord High Admiral of England, Wales, Ireland, Normandy, Gaſcoigne, and Acquitain: We likewiſe, with the ſame reaſon, have decreed to infeſt and invade the ſaid common enemy, the King of France, with our forces at ſea, by joining our fleet, with that of our aforeſaid moſt ſerene uncle, both in conſideration of the valour, ſkill, and courage, and other ſingular virtues of the ſaid Admiral; whereby he is rendered capable, not only of this, but even of a greater truſt; as alſo becauſe whatſoever is undertaken by confederate forces and united arms, may be better executed, by being under the conduct of one Captain General than many:——Therefore, by theſe our letters patent, we grant and give to the ſaid moſt illuſtrious Thomas, Earl of Surrey, Lord High Admiral, and Captain General of the navy of our moſt ſerene uncle, the ſame authority, full and plenary power, over our Royal navy, the Captains, ſoldiers, and ſeamen thereof, of what degree, title, or rank ſoever, which the ſaid Admiral hath in the King his maſter's fleet: both in promoting the officers, in conferring the honour of Knighthood on perſons of merit, in puniſhing malefactors, in giving out fitting orders, judging and trying all cauſes, as alſo in executing and appointing all and every thing under his command, according to the authority by the aforeſaid King to him granted, and as the ſingular ſkill and prudence of him, as Captain General and Commander in Chief of the fleet, ſhall, on all occaſions, judge needful or expedient to be done." *Vid.* Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, Vol. I. P. 99, 100.

(*d*) Sir WILLIAM FITZ-WILLIAMS, afterwards Earl of Southampton, was ſecond ſon to Sir Thomas Fitz williams, and Lucia, daughter of John Nevil, Marquis Montacute. He early addicted himſelf to arms, and particularly to the ſea-ſervice. In the ſecond year of the reign of Henry VIII. he was appointed one of the Eſquires of the King's body.

ſcouring the ſea. On the Earl of Surrey's arrival at Southampton, he found the Emperor Charles there, ready to embark for Spain, he having been ſome time in England on a viſit to King Henry. The Lord Admiral, therefore, took the Emperor

body. In 1513, he had a command in the fleet which fought the French off Breſt, and behaving very bravely there, received a dangerous wound in the breaſt by a broad arrow. This, however, did not prevent him from being preſent at the ſiege of Tournay the ſame year, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in an extraordinary manner in the ſight of the King, and was on that account honoured with knighthood.

In 1520, he executed the office of Vice-Admiral during the abſence of the Earl of Surrey, then Lord deputy of Ireland; and he conveyed the King over to France, when he went thither to have an interview with Francis I. And two years after, on the breaking out of a war with that Prince, Sir William Fitz-williams was ſent with a good fleet to protect our trade, and to annoy the enemy, a ſervice which he effectually performed. In the 16th year of Henry VIII. he was appointed Captain of Guiſnes caſtle in Picardy. The following year he was ſent Ambaſſador into France, and executed his commiſſion with ſo much ability and ſucceſs, that he thenceforward greatly advanced in the King's favour. After the fall of Cardinal Wolſey, to whom he was no friend, we find him an active man in Parliament. In the 27th of the ſame reign he was again employed on an Embaſſy to France; and in the following year, being already Treaſurer of the Houſhold, Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaſter, and Knight of the Garter, the King, by letters patent, raiſed him to the dignity of Admiral of England, Ireland, Wales, Normandy, Gaſcoigne, and Aquitain; and ſoon after created him Earl of Southampton. He was afterwards appointed Lord Privy Seal, in which quality we find that, with John, Lord Ruſſel, who ſucceeded him as High Admiral, he went over into France, where the war was again broke out, with two troops of horſe; which ſhews, ſays Dr. Campbell, his martial ſpirit, and how loth he was to quit the ſervice of his country in a military way. He was now far advanced in years, and his conſtitution much broken by continual fatigues. However, on the breaking out of a war with Scotland, to which his old friend and Commander, Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, was immediately ordered with a numerous army, our veteran Chief would not remain behind, but with a body of horſe and foot briſkly led the van. This, however, proved the laſt flaſhings of his heroic flame; for at Newcaſtle, overcome with fatigue and diſeaſe, he breathed his laſt, to the great regret of the King, as well as of his General, who commanded his banner to be borne, as it had hitherto been, in the front of the army, all the reſt of the expedition, as a mark of reſpect to his memory. He married Mabel, daughter of Henry, Lord Clifford, by whom he had no iſſue; but he left behind him a natural ſon, Thomas Fitz-williams, alias Fiſher.

Sir William Fitz-williams, Earl of Southampton, was a very able man, and a brave and vigilant officer. It has been obſerved of him, that there was not a ſerviceable man under him whoſe name he knew not, not a week paſſed but he paid his ſhips, and not a prize taken by him which his ſeamen did not ſhare in as well as himſelf: it being a maxim with him, That none fought well, but thoſe who did it for a fortune.

It was in the reign of Henry VIII. that the ſea ſervice became a diſtinct and regular profeſſion in England, King Henry having a Navy Office, Commiſſioners, &c. which his predeceſſors had not. He alſo fixed regular ſalaries for his Admirals, Vice-Admirals, Captains, and ſeamen: ſo that under him naval affairs underwent a great change, and we have had a conſtant ſeries of Officers in the Royal Navy ever ſince.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. I. P. 328, 329.

on board his ſhip, and ſafely convoyed him to the port of St. Andero in Biſcay.

In the fourteenth of King Henry's reign, the old Duke of Norfolk being wearied with the fatigue of public buſineſs, reſigned his office of Lord Treaſurer, and the King thereupon conferred it upon his ſon the Earl of Surrey. He was alſo entruſted by the King with the army raiſed to invade Scotland, and in the ſtation of General did conſiderable ſervice againſt the Duke of Albany. And before that Nobleman's arrival in Scotland (*e*), he ravaged all Tweedale and March with great ſeverity (*f*). But a truce being concluded with the Scots in 1523, the Earl of Surrey returned home, and diſmiſſed his troops.

About this time died Thomas, Duke of Norfolk (*g*), father to our Earl of Surrey, in conſequence of which the latter became Duke of Norfolk. He was afterwards alſo conſtituted Earl Marſhal of England; and attended King Henry into France, and was ſent principal Ambaſſador to the French King, when that Monarch was proceeding to an interview with the Pope. In the twenty-eighth year of this reign, he aſſiſted the Earl of Shrewſbury in ſuppreſſing a formidable rebellion. And in

(*e*) The Duke of Albany was for ſome time Regent of Scotland, during the minority of James V. *Vid.* Vol. I. P. 409, 410, 411.

(*f*) In a letter of Cardinal Wolſey's, there is the following deſcription of the devaſtation made by the Earl of Surrey, and of the diſtreſſes to which many of the Scots were at this time reduced. "The Earl of Surrey (ſays the Cardinal) hath ſo devaſted and deſtroyed all Tweedale and March, that there is left neither houſe, fortreſs, village, tree, cattle, corn, or other ſuccour for man; inſomuch that ſome of the people that fled from the ſame, afterwards returning, and finding no ſuſtenance, were compelled to come into England, begging bread, which oftentimes when they do eat, they die incontinently for the hunger paſt; and with no impriſonment, cutting off their ears, burning in the faces, or otherwiſe, can be kept away." Guthrie's Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. P. 944.

(*g*) THOMAS, Duke of NORFOLK, father to our Lord Admiral, was ſon of John, Duke of Norfolk, who was killed in the battle of Boſworth. He did not, however, ſucceed to his father's title on his death, becauſe both himſelf and his father had joined with Richard III. and he alſo forfeited the title of earl of Surrey, which had been conferred on him by the Uſurper. But notwithſtanding Henry VII. afterwards ſo far reſtored him to favour, as to appoint him to be one of his privy council; and in the fourth year of the ſame reign he was reſtored to the title of Earl of Surrey. King Henry alſo employed him in reſtraining the incurſions of the Scots, and ſuppreſſing ſome northern inſurrections. In the 16th of Henry VII. he was conſtituted Lord-Treaſurer of England, which was renewed to him in the firſt of Henry VIII. being likewiſe made one of that prince's privy council, and the year following, Earl Marſhal of England for life. He attended Henry VIII. at the taking of Terouenne and Tournay; and was afterwards ſent General againſt the Scots, and routed their army in the famous battle of Flodden field, in which the Scottiſh king, James IV. was ſlain. He was attended in this battle by two of his ſons, Thomas, the Lord Admiral, and Lord Edmund, a third ſon. For theſe ſervices he was reſtored to his father's title of Duke of Norfolk. He alſo had a grant from the crown of ſeveral manors and lordſhips. He was a public-ſpirited Nobleman, of conſiderable abilities, and great bravery.

in 1542, he was again appointed to command an army againſt the Scots, in which expedition he acquitted himſelf with his uſual ability and bravery.

The Duke of Norfolk had by many important ſervices proved himſelf to be an honeſt and able ſervant to the Crown. But notwithſtanding this, the enemies of the Norfolk family found means to work the King up into a perſuaſion, that the Duke of Norfolk, and his ſon Henry, Earl of Surrey, were in a plot to ſeize upon his perſon, and to engroſs the Government into their own hands. And ſome private diſſentions which at this time prevailed in the Duke of Norfolk's family, contributed greatly to forward the deſigns of his enemies. His preſent Dutcheſs, who was daughter of Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, who had ſuffered in this reign, had long ſuſpected her huſband of infidelity to her bed; and the Duke by his behaviour, we are told, ſeemed to be at no great pains to remove her jealouſy. The Dutcheſs, therefore, deſirous of revenge, gave information to the Duke's enemies of whatever ſhe could diſcover, either of his ſecrets or reſentments. Elizabeth Holland alſo, a miſtreſs of the Duke's, was prevailed upon to give all the information ſhe could both againſt the father, and the ſon, who hated her. There were miſunderſtandings alſo among other branches of the Duke's family; and his enemies took advantage of this, to collect together whatever they could againſt him. But when they had done, the whole ſcarce amounted to the colour of an accuſation. However, the Duke of Norfolk, and his ſon, the Earl of Surrey, were both committed to the Tower. But the evidence of the Dutcheſs of Norfolk againſt her huſband, amounted to little more than complaints of the Duke's infidelity, and his uſing her ill. As to Mrs. Holland, ſhe depoſed, that the Duke had in confidence told her, that he was hated by the King's Council, many of whom were not born Noblemen, and becauſe of his affection to the Popiſh doctrine of the Sacrament. And that he had complained that he was not in the Cabinet Council; and had ſaid, that the King was now ſo corpulent and diſeaſed, that he was let up and down ſtairs by an engine (*b*). She alſo declared, that the Duke had ſaid, that his Majeſty was ſickly, and could not hold out long; and that the Realm was likely to be in an ill caſe through diverſity of opinions. And that he had alſo ſaid, that the King loved him not, becauſe he was too much loved in his country; but that he would follow his father's leſſon, which was, That the leſs others ſet by him, the more he would ſet by himſelf (*i*).

The Duke of Norfolk was ſo cloſely confined, that he was obliged to petition the Lords of the Council, to be allowed ſome books; for (ſaid he) "unleſs I may have books to read

(*b*) *Vid.* Guthrie's Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. P. 1121.

(*i*) *Vid.* Lord Herbert's Hiſt. of King Henry VIII. edit. 1683. P. 624, 625.

" 'ere I fall on ſleep, and after I wake again, I cannot ſleep, nor " did not this dozen years." Nay, ſo little regard was paid to the merits or dignity of the noble Duke, that he was obliged to petition even for SHEETS! He wrote a pathetic letter to the King, in which he pleaded his paſt ſervices, and proteſted his innocence. But this by no means pacified Henry. And the Duke was at length prevailed upon, in hopes of appeaſing Henry, to make a ſubmiſſion, and ſign a confeſſion; in which, however, the greateſt crime he acknowledged, was, his having concealed the manner in which his ſon bore his coat armour. As to the Earl of Surrey, he was brought to his trial, and, on very trivial pretences, condemned and executed. And a bill of attainder againſt the Duke of Norfolk was brought into the Houſe of Peers, and they paſſed it without his being ſuffered to ſpeak in his own defence, and ſent it down to the Commons. The King was now in a dangerous ſituation, and haſtening faſt towards his end; and having harboured a notion that the Duke of Norfolk might diſturb the tranquility of his young ſucceſſor, Prince Edward, and fearing leſt the Duke ſhould eſcape him, he ſent a meſſage to the Commons, by which he deſired them to haſten the bill. The Commons accordingly complied, and paſſed the bill; and the King, having given the Royal aſſent to it by Commiſſioners, iſſued orders for the execution of the Duke of Norfolk on the morning of the 29th of January, 1547. But the King himſelf expired early in the morning of the preceding day. The Lieutenant of the Tower, therefore, deferred the execution of the warrant; and it was not thought expedient by the Council, to begin a new reign by the death of the greateſt Nobleman in the kingdom, and who had been condemned by an unjuſt and tyrannical ſentence (*k*).

In conſequence of this narrow eſcape, the Duke of Norfolk's life was ſome years prolonged; he was, however, continued in his confinement in the Tower, during the whole reign of King Edward VI. but on the acceſſion of Queen Mary, he was ſet at liberty, and his attainder taken off. And he ſoon after commanded a body of troops, which were ſent to ſuppreſs the inſurrection of Sir Thomas Wyat (*l*). But he died, in an advanced age, in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign.

The Duke of Norfolk was a brave and experienced Admiral, an able General, and a great Stateſman. But he was a great enemy to the Reformation, and to all who promoted it. He was twice married; firſt, to the Lady Anne, daughter of King Edward IV. by whom he had iſſue only one ſon, Thomas, who died young. His ſecond wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Edward, Duke of Buckingham; by whom he had iſſue two ſons, Henry,

(*k*) *Vid.* Hume's Hiſt. of England, Vol. IV. P. 285.

(*l*) *Vid.* Speed's Hiſt. of Great Britain, P. 1112, edit. 1632.

Henry, Earl of Surrey, who was beheaded in his life-time; and another named Thomas, afterwards created Viſcount Howard of Bindon. He had alſo by the ſame Lady one daughter, named Mary, who was married to Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, natural ſon to King Henry VIII.

THE

The Life of HENRY HOWARD, Earl of Surrey.

THIS brave and accompliſhed Nobleman was the ſon of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, the ſubject of our preceding life, and Elizabeth, daughter of Edward, Duke of Buckingham. He received his education at Windſor with Henry Fitz-roy, Duke of Richmond, natural ſon to King Henry VIII (*m*). He gave early indications both of valour, and of genius; and becoming violently enamoured of a young Lady, who was Maid of Honour to one of King Henry's Queens, (probably Queen Catherine Howard), he diſplayed his poetical abilities, by celebrating her under the name of Geraldine. This is ſuppoſed to have been Lady Elizabeth Fitz-gerald, daughter of Gerald Fitz-gerald, Earl of Kildare (*n*). Our young Nobleman was ſo tranſported with his paſſion for this Lady, that he made a tour to the moſt elegant Courts in Europe, to maintain her peerleſs beauty againſt all oppoſers, and every where made good his challenge with honour. He particularly went to Florence, a city which had been the dwelling place of ſome of the Lady's anceſtors, and there publiſhed a challenge againſt all comers, whether Chriſtians, Turks, Jews, or Saracens, in defence of his miſtreſs's beauty. And in the courſe of his combats for his miſtreſs, he ſo much engaged the regard of the Duke of Tuſcany, by his valour and ſkill in arms, that he offered him the higheſt preferments, if he would continue at his Court. This propoſal, however, he declined; and was about to proceed to ſome other cities of Italy, in order to maintain in like manner the beauty of the fair Geraldine; but his deſign was fruſtrated by letters being ſent him by King Henry VIII. commanding his ſpeedy return into England.

In 1544, the Earl of Surrey was made Field-Marſhal of the Engliſh army in France; and having greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf

(*m*) This young prince, who was but ſeventeen years of age when he died, was much celebrated by the writers of his own time for his accompliſhments both of body and mind. He was married to the ſiſter of our earl of Surrey, as hath been before obſerved in another place. He was made duke of Richmond and Somerſet, and earl of Nottingham; and, notwithſtanding his youth, Lord High Admiral of all Henry's dominions, Engliſh, French, and Iriſh.

(*n*) *Vid.* Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England, by the Hon. Mr. Horace Walpole, Vol. I. P. 105-109.

ſelf there, was, after the taking of Boulogne, being then Knight of the Garter, conſtituted the King's Lieutenant, and Captain-General of all his army, within the town and county of Boulogne. During his Command there in 1546, hearing that a convoy of proviſions for the enemy was coming to the fort at Outre-Eau, he reſolved to intercept it. But the convoy being ſupported by a very conſiderable body of French and Germans, and making an obſtinate defence; the Engliſh were routed; Sir Edward Poynings, Marſhal of Calais, and a very brave and experienced Officer, with ſeveral other perſons of note, were killed in the action; and the Earl of Surrey was forced to make a precipitate retreat into Boulogne. This diſgrace, however, he ſoon repaired; but he could never after regain the King's favour, "in whoſe eyes (as Mr. Walpole obſerves) a moment "could cancel an age of ſervices." (*o*)

The Earl of Surrey's ill ſucceſs in this affair having thus brought on him the diſpleaſure of the King, the Earl of Hertford was ſent over to command in his place. Surrey, who appears to have been of a warm temper, being exaſperated at this, is ſaid to have let fall ſome expreſſions, which favoured of diſlike to the King, and of hatred to his Miniſters; and which is ſuppoſed to have been one of the cauſes of his ruin. The King had alſo conceived prejudices againſt the Earl of Surrey on another account. The Duke of Norfolk, who diſcovered the growing power of the Seymours, and the influence which they were likely to have in the next reign, (on account of their relationſhip to Prince Edward, by the mother's ſide), was deſirous of making an alliance with them: he had, therefore, preſſed his ſon Surrey to marry the Earl of Hertford's daughter (*p*); and had alſo propoſed to marry his own daughter, the Dutcheſs Dowager of Richmond, to Sir Thomas Seymour. But the Earl of Surrey abſolutely refuſed marrying Hertford's daughter; and as neither of the propoſed marriages took effect, the Seymours and Howards became thenceforward open enemies. And the

(*o*) Cibber, in his Lives of the Poets, mentions Henry Earl of Surrey's diſtinguiſhing himſelf at the battle of Flodden field. But that is a miſtake. The General who commanded the Engliſh army in that battle, was Thomas, Earl of Surrey, (afterwards Duke of Norfolk) and grandfather to the Nobleman of whom we are now treating. And there were alſo preſent in that battle, Thomas, the father of our Earl of Surrey, and Edmund, his uncle, as may be ſeen in the preceeding life.

(*p*) It appears from this circumſtance, that the Earl of Surrey muſt have been at this time a widower; for he had been married to Frances, daughter to John, Earl of Oxford, by whom he had two ſons, and three daughters. His eldeſt ſon, Thomas, ſucceeded his Grandfather, the duke of Norfolk, in his honours & eſtates, upon the death of the latter, in the beginning of the reign of queen Mary. The Earl's ſecond ſon, Henry, was afterwards created Lord Howard, and Earl of Northampton. No account is tranſmitted down to us, of the cauſes which prevented the Earl of Surrey's gallantries for the fair Geraldine, from terminating in a marriage with her.

the enemies of the Norfolk family inſtilled into the King apprehenſions of the ambitious deſigns of the Duke of Norfolk and his ſon; and inſinuated to him, that the reaſon of the Earl of Surrey's refuſing to marry Hertford's daughter, was becauſe he had entertained views of eſpouſing the Princeſs Mary.

Some accuſations were about this time brought both againſt the Duke of Norfolk and his ſon; and the deſigns of their enemies were greatly advanced, as we have before obſerved in the preceding life, by the diſſenſions in the Norfolk family. Sir Richard Southwell appeared before a Committee of the Council, and declared, that he had ſome matters of treaſon to diſcloſe againſt the Earl of Surrey. The Earl diſclaimed the charge with great warmth, and offered to fight his accuſer in his ſhirt, according to the law of arms; but the Council would not permit this, and both the Earl and his father were committed to the Tower.

On the 15th of January, 1547, the Earl of Surrey was tried at Guildhall, on a charge of high treaſon, by a Jury of Commoners, before the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Mayor, and other Commiſſioners appointed for the purpoſe. The principal accuſation againſt him, was his quartering the arms of Edward the Confeſſor on his ſcutcheon, from which it was inferred, that he aſpired to the Crown; though he juſtified what he had done, by the opinion of the heralds. The Dutcheſs of Richmond, the Earl's ſiſter, who had been ſome time at variance with him, depoſed, that her brother had a coronet to his arms, which to her judgment ſeemed a cloſe crown, and a cypher which ſhe took to be the King's; and that he diſſuaded her from going too far in reading the Scriptures. Other charges were brought againſt him, equally trifling, particularly that he had entertained in his family ſome Italians who were ſuſpected to be ſpies. The Earl defended himſelf with great eloquence and ſpirit (*q*); but the Jury, notwithſtanding, found him guilty (*r*). And the unfortunate

(*q*) "The Earl (ſays Lord Herbert) as he was of a deep underſtanding, ſharp wit, and deep courage, defended himſelf many ways; ſometimes denying their accuſations as falſe, and together weakening the credit of his adverſaries; and ſometimes interpreting the words he ſaid, in a far other ſenſe than that in which they were repreſented.——When a witneſs was brought againſt him *viva voce*, who pretended to repeat ſome high words of the Earl's by way of diſcourſe, which concerned him nearly, and that thereupon the ſaid witneſs ſhould return a braving anſwer: the Earl replied no otherwiſe to the jury, than that he left it to them to judge, whether it were probable that this man ſhould ſpeak thus to the Earl of Surry, and he not ſtrike him again." Hiſt. of King Henry p. 626, 627.

(*r*) "Lord Herbert (ſays Mr. Walpole) inſinuates, that the Earl would not have been condemned, if he had not been a Commoner, and tried by a Jury. On what could he ground this favourable opinion of the Peers? What twelve tradeſmen could be found more ſervile than almoſt every court of Peers, during that reign? Was the Duke of Buckingham, was Anne Boleyn, condemned by a Jury, or by great Lords?" Catal. of Royal and Noble Authors, vol. I. p. 100.

fortunate Nobleman was by the King's command, a few days after, beheaded on Tower-Hill (*a*).

Thus fell, in the prime of his life, HENRY, Earl of SURREY: "a man," who, (as Sir Walter Raleigh obſerves) was "no leſs valiant than learned, and of excellent hopes." He excelled in all the military exerciſes of that age, and encouraged literature and the fine arts, both by his patronage and example. He cultivated the friendſhip of learned men, particularly Eraſmus and Sir Thomas More; and Sir Thomas Wyat, the elder, was among the number of his friends (*r*). He was univerſally acknowledged to be the moſt gallant man, the moſt polite lover, and the moſt accompliſhed gentleman of his time. And his poetical talents have been celebrated by Drayton, Dryden, Fenton, and Pope.

It is ſaid, that one of King Henry's Courtiers having aſked him why he was ſo zealous in taking off the Earl of Surrey;

(*a*) He was firſt interred in the chapel of the Tower, and afterwards in the reign of King James I. his remains were removed to Farmingham in Suffolk, by his ſecond ſon Henry, Earl of Northampton.

(*r*) Sir THOMAS WYAT, was ſon to Sir Henry Wyat, of Allington-caſtle in Kent. He received the rudiments of his education at Cambridge, and was afterwards ſent to Oxford to finiſh it. He afterwards travelled into foreign countries for further improvement, and particularly continued ſome time in Italy. And he made ſuch good uſe of his time, and proſecuted his ſtudies with ſo much ſucceſs, perfecting himſelf in the mean while in all the manly and military exerciſes of the age, that at his return to his native country he was eſteemed a very accompliſhed Gentleman, and a very fine Scholar. He was introduced at court, where his endowments both of body and mind recommended him to the favour of King Henry VIII. who conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and employed him in ſeveral foreign embaſſies, which he diſcharged with great ability. He was highly eſteemed by the Earl of Surrey, who greatly admired his poetical performances. Sir Thomas Wyat wrote ſeveral poems of love and gallantry, ſome of which were publiſhed together with thoſe of the Earl of Surrey. He alſo tranſlated the Pſalms of David into Engliſh verſe. He publiſhed likewiſe Letters to John Poynes and Sir Francis Bryan, which (Mrs. Cooper ſays) "argue him a man of great ſenſe and honour, a critical obſerver of manners, and very well qualified for an elegant and genteel Satiriſt."

Sir Thomas Wyat, according to ſome writers, died of the plague, as he was going on an embaſſy to the emperor Charles V. But Anthony Wood informs us, that he was ſent by King Henry towards Falmouth in Cornwall, to conduct a Spaniſh Miniſter from thence to London. And being deſirous of making great expedition, he ſo over-fatigued himſelf, that he was thrown into a fever, and was obliged to put up at Sherborne in Dorſetſhire, where he a few days after died, in the 38th year of his age; "to the great reluctancy," ſays Wood, "of the king, kingdom, his friends, and all that knew the great worth and virtues of the perſon." He was buried in Sherborne-church in 1541. He left behind him a ſon of the ſame name, who loſt his head for exciting a rebellion in the reign of Queen Mary; from whom our Poet is commonly diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Sir Thomas Wyat the elder.

Vid. Athen. Oxon. vol. I. fol. 49, 50

I have observed him (ſaid Henry) to be an enterprizing 'youth; his ſpirit was too great to brook ſubjection; and tho' "I could manage him, yet no ſucceſſor of mine would ever "be able to do ſo; for which reaſon I have diſpatched him in "my own time."

We have extant a ſmall volume of elegant and tender ſonnets compoſed by the Earl of Surrey. He was a great refiner of the Engliſh language, and is much celebrated for the ſweetneſs and armony of his numbers. Bale and Tanner aſcribe likewiſe to ord Surrey the following tranſlations and poems.

Eccleſiaſtes and ſome Pſalms.

One book of Virgil, in blank verſe.--Wood ſays he tranſlated two.

Poems, addreſſed to the Duke of Richmond.

Satires on the citizens of London, in one book.

Juvenile Poems. And a tranſlation of "Boccace's conſola-"tion to Pinus on his exile (*s*)."

The author of "The Art of Engliſh Poetry" obſerves, that "Sir Thomas Wyat the elder, and Henry, Earl of Surrey, were "the two chieftains, who having travelled into Italy, and "there taſted the ſweet and ſtately meaſures and ſtile of the "Italian poetry, greatly poliſhed our rude and homely manner "of vulgar poetry, from what it had been before; and there-"fore may be juſtly called, The Reformers of our Engliſh "Poetry and Stile." It muſt, however, be obſerved, that the poetical productions of Sir Thomas Wyat were not equal, either with reſpect to imagination, or harmony of numbers, to thoſe of the Earl of Surrey. The ingenious Mrs. Elizabeth Cooper ſays of the latter, that "in purity of language, and "ſweetneſs of ſound, he far ſurpaſſed his cotemporaries, and all "that had preceded him. Nay, I believe no writer that fol-"lowed him for many years, can juſtly vie with him in either "of theſe beauties. In a word, he broke through the faſhion "of ſtanzas, and wrote ſo much in the manner of the preſent "times, that many of his lines would do honour to the moſt "elegant of the moderns (*t*)."

Before we conclude, we ſhall lay before our readers a ſpecimen or two of Lord Surrey's poetry.

THE RESTLESS CONDITION OF A LOVER DESCRIBED.

When youth had led me half the race,
That Cupid's ſcourge had made me run;
I looked back to meet the place,
From whence my weary courſe begun:

And

(*s*) Vid Catal. of Royal and Noble Authors, Vol. I. P. 110v

(*t*) Vid. the Muſes Library, edit. 1738. P. 56.

And then I ſaw how my deſire,
Miſguiding me, had led the way,
Mine eyne too greedy of their hire,
Had made me loſe a better prey.
For when in ſighs I ſpent the day,
And could not cloak my grief with gain;
The boiling ſmoke did ſtill bewray,
The preſent heat of ſecret flame:
And when ſalt tears do bayne my breaſt,
Where love his pleaſant traynes hath ſown,
Her beauty hath the fruits oppreſt,
Ere that the buds were ſprung and blown.
And when mine eyne did ſtill purſue,
The flying chaſe of their requeſt;
Their greedy looks did oft renew,
The hidden wound within my breaſt.
When ev'ry look theſe cheeks might ſtain,
From deadly pale to glowing red;
By outward ſigns appeared plain,
To her for help my heart was fled.
But, all too late, Love learneth me,
To paint all kind of colours new;
To blind their eyes that elſe ſhould ſee
My ſpeckled cheeks with Cupid's hue.
And now the covert breaſt I claim,
That worſhipt Cupid ſecretly;
And nouriſhed his ſacred flame,
From whence no blairing ſparks do fly.

ON THE DISCONTENT OF MEN, IN EVERY AGE AND CONDITION OF LIFE.

Laid in my quiet bed, in ſtudy as I were,
I ſaw within my troubled head, a heap of thoughts appear,
And every thought did did ſhew ſo lively in mine eyes,
That now I ſigh'd, and then I ſmil'd, as cauſe of thoughts did riſe.
I ſaw the little boy, in thought how oft that he,
Did wiſh of GOD, to ſcape the rod, a tall young man to be.
The young man eke, that feels his bones with pains oppreſt,
How he would be a rich old man, to live and lie at reſt.
The rich old man that ſees his end draw on ſo ſore,
How he would be a boy again, to live ſo much the more.
Whereat full oft I ſmil'd, to ſee how all theſe three,
From boy to man, from man to boy, would chop and change degree.
And muſing thus, I think, the caſe is very ſtrange,
That man from wealth, to live in woe, doth ever ſeek to change:

Thus, thoughtful as I lay, I ſaw my withered ſkin,
How it doth ſhew my dented jaws, the fleſh was worn ſo thin,
And eke my toothleſs chaps, the gates of my right way,
That opes and ſhuts, as I do ſpeak, do thus unto me ſay:
The white and hoariſh hairs, the meſſengers of age,
That ſhew, like lines of true belief, that this life doth aſſwage,
Bids thee lay hand, and feel them hanging on thy chin;
The which doth write to ages paſt, the third now coming in:
Hang up, therefore, the bit of thy young wanton time,
And thou that therein beaten art, the happieſt life define.
Whereat I ſigh'd, and ſaid, Farewell my wonted toy,
Truſs up thy pack, and trudge from me to every little boy;
And tell them thus from me, their time moſt happy is,
If to their time they reaſon had, to know the truth of this.

THE

The Life of HUGH LATIMER, Biſhop of Worceſter.

HUGH LATIMER was born at Thirkeſſon, or Thurcaſton, in Leiceſterſhire, about the year 1470 (*x*). His father was a reputable yeoman, who had no land of his own, but rented a ſmall farm, on which he maintained a large family, ſix daughters, and a ſon (*w*). He was brought up with his parents in his younger years, and diſcovering a promiſing genius, his friends reſolved to make a ſcholar of him. Accordingly, after he had acquired as much learning as he could at the common ſchools in his own country, he was ſent, at the age of fourteen, to Chriſt's College in Cambridge, where he applied himſelf cloſely to his ſtudies, took the degree of Maſter of Arts, and entered into holy orders.

Mr. Latimer had very ſtrongly imbibed the principles of the Romiſh religion, and was very warm in oppoſing the progreſs of Lutheraniſm. He inveighed publicly and privately againſt the Reformers. If any read lectures in the ſchools ſuſpected of their tenets, Mr. Latimer, we are told, was ſure to be there to drive out the ſcholars; and having an opportunity, when he commenced Batchelor of Divinity, to give an open teſtimony of his diſlike to their proceedings, he made an oration againſt Melancthon, whom he treated with great ſeverity for his impious innovations in religion. In ſhort, Mr. Latimer's zeal for the doctrines of the Church was ſo much taken notice of in the Univerſity,

(*x*) So Mr. Gilpin ſays; but, according to ſome writers, he was not born till about 1475, or 1480. Vid. BIOGR. BRIT. Vol. V. P. 2879.

(*w*) Mr. Latimer, in one of his court ſermons in King Edward's time, inveighing againſt the oppreſſion then exerciſed in the country by the nobility and gentry, and ſpeaking of the moderation of landlords a few years before, and the plenty in which their tenants lived, tells his audience, in his familiar way, "That upon a farm of four pounds a year at the utmoſt, his father tilled as much ground as kept half a dozen men; that he had it ſtocked with an hundred ſheep, and thirty cows; that he found the King a man and horſe, himſelf remembering to have buckled on his father's harneſs, when he went to Blackheath; that he gave his daughters five pounds a-piece at marriage; that he lived hoſpitably among his neighbours, and was not backward in his aims to the poor." An entertaining picture of an old Engliſh yeoman! Vid. Life of Biſhop Latimer, edit. 1755. P. 1, 2. by William Gilpin, M. A. a gentleman to whoſe ingenious pen the public are alſo indebted for ſeveral other valuable biographical compilations.

Univerſity, that he was elected into the office of Croſs-bearer in all public proceſſions; an employment which he accepted with reverence, and diſcharged with becoming ſolemnity.

Among thoſe in Cambridge, who at this time favoured the Reformation, the moſt conſiderable was Thomas Bilney. He was a man of a virtuous and exemplary life; and having long obſerved the diſſolute lives of the Monks and Clergy, he was led to doubt, whether their principles might not be as corrupt as their practice; and whether the new opinions, which were then gaining ground, might not be more than plauſible. Time encreaſed his ſuſpicions. He read the writings of Luther, and approved them. He converſed with Proteſtants, and found many of them to be men of temper and learning. And he could not help obſerving among the Papiſts, a prevailing bitterneſs and rancour of ſtyle, which ill became a good cauſe. In ſhort, he examined with care and attention many of the capital doctrines of the Romiſh Church; and of courſe became convinced, that they were at once irrational and unſcriptural.

Mr. Latimer had the good fortune to be well acquainted with this worthy perſon. And Mr. Bilney had long conceived very favourable ſentiments of Mr. Latimer. He knew that his life in the Univerſity was devout and irreproachable; he aſcribed his failings to the genius of his religion; and notwithſtanding his great zeal in the profeſſion of that religion, he obſerved in him an open and candid temper, and much honeſty of heart. Encouraged by theſe favourable appearances, Mr. Bilney ſuggeſted to Mr. Latimer, as opportunities offered, many things about corruptions in religion; and would frequently hint to him, that there were ſome things in the Romiſh Church not quite conſonant to primitive Chriſtianity. Thus, by ſtarting objections, and infuſing ſuſpicions, Mr. Bilney prepared the way for his whole creed, which at length he opened; and, by degrees, he in the end fully convinced Mr. Latimer of the numerous errors of the Romiſh Church, and of the great neceſſity of a Reformation (*x*).

As Mr. Latimer was naturally of a warm temper, he no ſooner ceaſed from being a zealous Papiſt, than he became a zealous Proteſtant. And accordingly he was now very active in ſupporting and propagating the reformed opinions; and laboured with great aſſiduity to make converts, both in the town, and in the Univerſity. He preached in public, he exhorted in private; and every where preſſed the neceſſity of a holy life, in oppoſition to the ſuperſtitious ceremonies and obſervances which prevailed in the Romiſh religion.

This behaviour in Mr. Latimer, a man who had been hitherto diſtinguiſhed by his zealous attachment to the doctrines of the Church, made a conſiderable noiſe at Cambridge; and Mr. Latimer,

(*x*) *Vid.* Gilpin's Life of Latimer, P. 3, 4, 5.

mer ſoon perceived how obnoxious he had rendered himſelf to the generality of his brother Eccleſiaſtics. But the firſt remarkable oppoſition that he met with from the Popiſh party, was occaſioned by a courſe of ſermons preached by him before the Univerſity during the Chriſtmas holidays; in which he ſpoke his ſentiments with great freedom upon many of the opinions and uſages of the Romiſh Church.

In theſe ſermons, Mr. Latimer ſhewed the impiety of indulgences, the uncertainty of tradition, and the vanity of works of ſupererrogation. He inveighed againſt that multiplicity of ceremonies with which religion was in thoſe days incumbered; and the pride and uſurpation of the Romiſh hierarchy. But what he moſt inſiſted upon was, that great abuſe of locking up the Scriptures in an unknown tongue; and he gave his reaſons why it ought to be put into every one's hands, without the leaſt reſerve. And he endeavoured to ſhew what true religion was; that it was ſeated in the heart; and that, in compariſon with it, external appointments were of no value.

Great was the outcry raiſed againſt Mr. Latimer on account of theſe diſcourſes. He was now a preacher of ſome eminence, and began to diſplay an uncommon addreſs in accommodating himſelf to the capacities of the people. And the orthodox Clergy obſerving him to be much followed, thought it was high time to oppoſe him openly. This taſk was undertaken by Dr. Buckenham, Prior of the Black Friars, who appeared in the pulpit a few Sundays after, and with great pomp and prolixity, ſhewed the dangerous tendency of Mr. Latimer's opinions: and he particularly inveighed againſt his heretical notions of having the Scriptures publiſhed in Engliſh, laying open the ill conſequences which would reſult from ſuch an innovation. "If that hereſy (ſaid he) ſhould prevail, we ſhould ſoon ſee an "end of every thing uſeful among us. The plowman reading, "that if he put his hand to the plough, and ſhould happen to "look back, he was unfit for the kingdom of GOD, would "ſoon lay aſide his labour. The baker likewiſe reading, that "a little leaven will corrupt the lump, would give us very inſi-"pid bread. The ſimple man likewiſe finding himſelf com-"manded to pluck out his eyes, in a few years we ſhould have "the nation full of blind beggars (*y*)."

Mr. Latimer determined to expoſe this ſolemn trifler. It may, perhaps, be thought, that the Prior's arguments were too abſurd to require a ſerious confutation. But it ſhould be remembered, that arguments which in more enlightened times would only excite laughter, might not be entirely without effect in an age of greater darkneſs and ignorance. At that time, therefore, an examination of the force of Prior Buckenham's reaſonings, might not be without its uſe. However, the whole Univer

(*y*) *Vid.* Gilpin's Life of Latimer, P. 7, 8.

met together on Sunday, when it was known Mr. Latimer would preach. There was a certain vein of pleaſantry and humour which ran through all his words and actions; and which, it was imagined, would here have full ſcope. And to ſay the truth, ſays Mr. Gilpin, the preacher was not a little conſcious of his own ſuperiority. To complete the ſcene, juſt before the ſermon begun, Prior Buckenham himſelf entered the church, with his cowl about his ſhoulders; and with an important air ſeated himſelf before the pulpit.

Mr. Latimer, with great gravity, recapitulated the learned Prior's arguments, placed them in the ſtrongeſt light, and then rallied them with ſuch a flow of wit, and at the ſame time with ſo much good humour, that he made his adverſary in the higheſt degree ridiculous. He then, with great addreſs, appealed to the people, deſcanted upon the low eſteem in which their holy guides had always held their underſtandings; expreſſed the utmoſt offence at their being treated with ſuch contempt, and wiſhed his honeſt countrymen might be permitted to have the uſe of the Scriptures, till they ſhewed themſelves to be ſuch abſurd interpreters. He concluded his diſcourſe with a few obſervations upon Scripture-metaphors. A figurative manner of ſpeech, he ſaid, was common in all languages: repreſentations of this kind were in daily uſe, and generally underſtood. Thus, for inſtance, ſaid he, (addreſſing himſelf to that part of the audience where the Prior was ſeated) when we ſee a fox painted in a Friar's hood, no body imagines that a fox is meant, but that craft and hypocriſy are deſcribed, which are ſo often found diſguiſed in that garb. In ſhort, our preacher's triumph over his adverſary was complete. "Friar Buckenham," ſays Fox, "with this ſermon was ſo daſhed, that never after he durſt peep "out of the pulpit againſt Mr. Latimer (*z*)."

He was ſoon after attacked by one Venetus, a foreigner, who treated him in a moſt ſcurrilous and provoking manner. Mr. Latimer, however, anſwered him in a graver ſtrain than he had uſed towards his former antagoniſt. Whether, however, he ridiculed or reaſoned, we are told, that with ſo much of the ſpirit of true oratory, conſidering the times, were his harangues animated, that they ſeldom failed of their intended effect: for as his raillery had before ſhut up the Prior within his Monaſtery, ſo his arguments now drove Venetus from the Univerſity.

Theſe advantages encreaſed the credit of the Proteſtant party in Cambridge, of which Bilney and Latimer were at the head. The meekneſs, gravity, and unaffected piety of the former, together with the chearfulneſs, good humour, and eloquence of the latter, contributed greatly towards giving the younger ſtudents a favourable idea of the reformed opinions. Theſe things greatly alarmed the orthodox Clergy; and of this ſort were all the heads

(*z*) Acts and Monuments, Vol. III. P. 455. Edit. 1641.

heads of Colleges, and the ſenior part of the Univerſity. Frequent Convocations were held, to prevent the progreſs of hereſy; tutors were admoniſhed to have a ſtrict eye over their pupils, and academical cenſures of all kinds were inflicted. But academical cenſures were found inſufficient; for Mr. Latimer ſtill continued to preach, and hereſy to ſpread (*a*).

At length Dr. Weſt, Biſhop of Ely, hearing of Mr. Latimer's heretical preaching, and having application made to him for ſome exerciſe of his authority in the affair, determined himſelf to come to Cambridge to hear him preach. But he reſolved to do this ſo ſuddenly, that Latimer ſhould have no previous information that he was to be one of his auditors. Hearing, therefore, that Mr. Latimer was to preach a Latin ſermon at the Univerſity church, he came there ſuddenly from Ely, attended by ſome perſons of diſtinction, and entered the church when Mr. Latimer had proceeded a little way in his ſermon. Mr. Latimer, ſeeing the Prelate and his company enter the church, deſiſted from ſpeaking till they were all quietly ſeated. He then obſerved, that as he had now ſome new, and very honourable auditors, he thought it might not be improper to change his theme. He, therefore, took a new text, and began to treat of CHRIST under the character of the Shepherd and Biſhop of ſouls; and to ſhew how neceſſary it was that thoſe who undertook the epiſcopal office, ſhould imitate the example of their great Lord and Maſter; and he proceeded, through the remainder of his ſermon, to explain the nature of the office, and of the duties, of a Chriſtian Biſhop. When he had ended his ſermon, the Biſhop thanked him very heartily for it; and told him, that he had never before heard the duties of the Prelacy ſo eloquently and judiciouſly explained. And the Biſhop added, that he would kneel down, and kiſs his foot, if he would grant him one requeſt. "What is that, my Lord?" ſaid Mr. Latimer. "That you will," ſaid the Prelate, "preach in this place "a ſermon againſt Martin Luther, and his doctrines." Mr. Latimer, in anſwer, told the Biſhop, that he was not ſufficiently acquainted with Luther's writings to undertake to refute them. "We are not," ſaid he, "permitted here even to read his "writings: how abſurd then would it be for me to undertake to "anſwer them?" He then told the Prelate, that he was convinced, that in his ſermon that day before his Lordſhip, he had ſaid nothing contrary to the doctrines contained in the Scriptures; and if the writings of Luther contained no other tenets, they neither required, nor would admit of any confutation. The Biſhop, upon this, departed in ſome diſpleaſure, telling Mr. Latimer, that he would one day repent his having imbibed ſuch

(*a*) *Vid.* Gilpin, P. 10, 11, 12.

notions (*b*). And the Prelate ſoon after himſelf preached againſt Mr. Latimer at Barwell Abbey, and prohibited him, by virtue of his epiſcopal authority, from preaching any more in any of the churches belonging to the Univerſity, or within his dioceſe.

This, however, was no great check to Mr. Latimer: for there happened at that time to be a Prior in Cambridge, Dr. Barnes, of the Auſtin Friars, who favoured the principles of the Reformers. His Monaſtery was exempt from epiſcopal juriſdiction, and being a great admirer of Mr. Latimer, he boldly licenſed him to preach there. Hither his party followed him; and as the late oppoſition had greatly excited the curioſity of the people, the Friars chapel was ſoon unable to contain the crowds who aſſembled there.

The credit to the Proteſtant cauſe which Mr. Latimer had thus gained by his preaching, he maintained by the exemplarineſs of his life. Mr. Bilney and he did not ſatisfy themſelves with acting unexceptionably; but were daily giving inſtances of active goodneſs and benevolence, which malice could not ſcandalize, nor envy miſinterpret. They ſpent much of their time together in friendly converſe, in concerting how to advance the intereſts of true religion, and in forming ſchemes to promote the happineſs of others. The place where they uſed to walk, was long afterwards known by the name of the Heretics Hill. Cambridge at the time was full of their good actions; their charities to the poor, and friendly viſits to the ſick and unhappy, were common topics.

But the virtuous and amiable lives of theſe excellent men had no merit with their adverſaries. With them it mattered little what a man's life was, if his opinions were orthodox. They could give great allowances for the former; but the leaſt miſtake in the latter was unpardonable. Such, Mr. Gilpin juſtly obſerves, is the true ſpirit of Bigotry and Prieſtcraft; that phariſaical ſpirit, which, inverting the tables of the law, places points of leaſt importance uppermoſt.

This ſpirit now greatly prevailed at Cambridge; and heavy complaints were carried from thence to Court of the increaſe of hereſy; and Mr. Latimer was charged with being one of the chief promoters of it. Accuſations againſt him of this kind, and in particular that he infected the youth of the Univerſity with ſeditious doctrine, at length reached the ears of Cardinal Wolſey. The Cardinal had never diſcovered much inclination to promote perſecution for opinions; however, he ſent for Mr. Latimer to appear before him, and examined him himſelf at York-Houſe. But after ſome converſation with him, he diſmiſſed

(*b*) *Vid.* Harleian M.S. No. 422. Fol. 84, 85. in the *British Muſeum*.

miſſed him courteouſly, and granted him his licence to preach throughout England (*c*).

Mr. Latimer afterwards returned to Cambridge; but he ſometimes preached in other parts of the country, and had once or twice the honour to preach before the King at Windſor. And he had on thoſe occaſions been taken notice of by Henry, in a manner more than ordinarily gracious. Encouraged by theſe tokens of Royal favour, Mr. Latimer took the liberty of writing a very bold letter to the King on an occaſion of great importance to the Proteſtant cauſe. A Royal proclamation had been juſt publiſhed, forbidding the uſe of the Bible in Engliſh, and other books on religious ſubjects Ever ſince the Reformation had any footing in the kingdom, the promoters of it had propagated among the people a variety of tracts, ſome on the points then in controverſy, and many others on the corruptions of the Clergy (*d*). Theſe books were printed abroad, and ſent over in conſiderable quantities. Among other works, a tranſlation of the New Teſtament was diſperſed. Great were the clamours of the Clergy againſt publications of ſo dangerous a tendency. But as the Government did not interfere, the Biſhops could only employ the authority of the laws then in force, in guarding each his Dioceſe from theſe invaſions of hereſy. Epiſcopal injunctions were accordingly publiſhed, and all poſſible care was taken. But theſe meaſures not being thought ſufficient for the purpoſe, the Clergy prevailed upon the King to iſſue out a moſt ſevere proclamation againſt heretical books, commanding that all ſuch books ſhould be delivered up within fifteen days; and impowering the Biſhops to impriſon at pleaſure all perſons ſuſpected of having them, till the party had purged himſelf, or abjured: it impowered the Biſhops likewiſe to ſet an arbitrary fine upon all perſons convicted. It further forbid all appeals from Eccleſiaſtical Courts; and obliged all civil Officers, by oath, to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to extirpate he-

 reſy,

(*c*) *Vid.* the Manuſcript before referred to, Fol. 85, 86.

(*d*) Among other pieces againſt the Clergy, one which more particularly exaſperated them, and made them eager to procure a ſuppreſſion of ſuch writings, was entitled, "The Supplication of the Beggars." It was written by one Simon Fiſh, of Gray's Inn. In this work, "the beggars complained to the King, that they were reduced to great miſery, the alms of the people being intercepted by companies of ſtrong and idle Friers, for ſuppoſing that each of the five mendicant orders had but a penny a quarter from every houſhold, it did riſe to a vaſt ſum, of which the indigent and truly neceſſitous beggars were defrauded. Their being unprofitable to the Commonwealth, with ſeveral other things, were alſo complained of. The author alſo taxed the Pope for cruelty and covetouſneſs, that he did not deliver all perſons out of purgatory; and that none but the rich who paid well for it, could be diſcharged out of that priſon. This was written in a witty and taking ſtyle, and the King had it put in his hands by Anne Bolcyn, and liked it well, and would not ſuffer any thing to be done to the author." Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. P. 160.

reſy, and aſſiſt the Biſhops, Juſtices were to enquire, at their quarterly ſeſſions, into the ſtate of religion in their counties; and Sheriffs were to arreſt all ſuſpected perſons, and deliver them to the Biſhops.

It was againſt this proclamation, which the zeal and induſtry of the Clergy rendered productive of very ſevere effects (*e*), that Mr. Latimer ventured to remonſtrate. And his letter to the King on this occaſion, which is the genuine picture of a ſincere and honeſt heart, was chiefly intended to point out to his Majeſty the bad intention of the Biſhops in procuring the proclamation. The ſubſtance of part of what he ſays is as follows. "St. Auguſtine, in an epiſtle to Caſulanus, tells us, "That he who through fear hideth the truth, provoketh the "wrath of Heaven, as a perſon who fears man more than GOD. "And St. Chryſoſtom, to the ſame effect, gives it as his opinion, "That a perſon may betray the truth, as well by concealing it, "as diſguiſing it. Theſe ſentences, great King, occurred to "me very lately; and have had ſuch an effect upon me, that I "muſt either open my conſcience to your Majeſty, or rank my"ſelf among ſuch perſons as theſe two holy Fathers cenſure. "The latter I cannot think of.---But, alas! there are men upon "whom ſuch ſevere cenſures have no effect. There are men, "who pretending to be guides and teachers in religion, not "only conceal the truth, but prohibit others to ſet it forth. "Blind guides, who ſhut up the kingdom of Heaven from men, "and will neither enter in themſelves, neither ſuffer them to "enter that would. And not content with obſtructing the "word of GOD to the utmoſt of their own authority, they have "contrived by their ſubtle practices to draw in to their aſſiſtance "the Civil Power in almoſt all the States in Chriſtendom. In "this nation eſpecially, they have long impoſed upon their "ſubjects by their deluſions, and kept them in awe by their "ſpiritual cenſures; and when they ſaw the truth likely to "prevail, and gather ſtrength from their oppoſition, they have "at length obtained your Majeſty's proclamation in their fa"vour, and have got it declared treaſon to read the Scripture in "Engliſh.---Hear me, I beſeech your Majeſty, a few words, and "let me intreat you to call to mind the example of CHRIST "and his Apoſtles, their manner of life, preaching, and whole "behaviour; that comparing them with the ſpiritual guides of "theſe days, you may the better judge whether they are the true "followers of CHRIST.

"It is evident, that ſimplicity of manners, and hearts ſequeſ"tered from the world, were the ſtriking characteriſtics of the "firſt

(*e*) "It would (ſays Mr. Gilpin) ſurprize the good people of England at this day to hear, that many of their forefathers were then burnt for reading the Bible, and teaching their children the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer, in Engliſh. Such things were then called hereſy." Life of Latimer, P. 29.

" firſt preachers of the Goſpel, and of our bleſſed LORD him-
" ſelf. Poverty in ſpirit was then practiſed as well as preached.
" Alas! it is ſince thoſe days that Chriſtian teachers, maſking
" their worldly hearts under a pretence of voluntary poverty,
" and an excluſion from carnal things, have wormed themſelves
" into more than regal wealth; and have wickedly kept what
" they have craftily obtained, by fomenting foreign or domeſ-
" tic ſtrife, in all places, as their purpoſes were beſt ſerved;
" and by blaſphemouſly dealing out even the puniſhments of
" Heaven againſt all who had reſolution enough to make any
" ſtand againſt their corruptions. By what arts they have
" evaded a late act of Parliament againſt their encroachments,
" your Majeſty well knows.---Think not, gracious Sovereign,
" that I exceed the bounds of charity in what I ſay: I only of-
" fer to your Majeſty's conſideration a rule, which was once pre-
" ſcribed by a greater maſter, BY THEIR FRUITS YOU SHALL
" KNOW THEM."

After taking notice that the true followers of CHRIST, and of truth, have in different ages been obliged to ſuffer perſecution, he proceeds to the following effect. " As for a notion,
" which has been infuſed into your Majeſty, that the Scriptures
" in the hands of the people might move them to rebellion,
" your Majeſty may judge of the falſhood of this likewiſe by the
" ſame rule, BY THEIR FRUITS YOU SHALL KNOW THEM.
" How is it poſſible that a book, which inculcates obedience to
" Magiſtrates with the greateſt earneſtneſs, can be the cauſe of
" ſedition? The thing ſpeaks itſelf, and diſcovers only how
" much their malice is at a loſs for topics of invective.

" Would your Majeſty know the true cauſe of this confede-
" racy, as I may well call it, againſt the word of GOD; ex-
" amine the lives of thoſe who are the leaders of it, and conſi-
" der whether there may not be ſome private reaſons inducing
" ſuch perſons to keep a book in concealment, which cries out
" loudly againſt all kinds of vice. And if your Majeſty
" wants to know the ſource of rebellions, I think a much fairer
" one may be conjectured at, than the uſe of an Engliſh Bible.
" For my own part, I have long been of opinion, that a greater
" encouragement of all kinds of civil diſorder could hardly
" have been invented, than the church trade of pardons and
" indulgences. To which may be added, the bad examples of
" the Clergy, and the little care they are generally thought to
" take in the diſcharge of their duty.

" Accept, gracious Sovereign, without diſpleaſure, what I
" have written. I thought it my duty to mention theſe things
" to your Majeſty. No perſonal quarrel, as GOD ſhall judge
" me, have I with any man: I wanted only to induce your Ma-
" jeſty to conſider well what kind of perſons you have about
" you, and the ends for which they counſel. Indeed, great
" Prince, many of them, or they are much ſlandered, have very

" private

" private ends. GOD grant your Majeſty may ſee through all " the deſigns of evil men: and be in all things equal to the " high office with which you are entruſted !"

He concluded his letter with the following emphatic words: " Wherefore, gracious King, remember yourſelf: have pity " upon your own ſoul; and think that the day is at hand, " when you ſhall give account of your office, and of the blood " that hath been ſhed by your ſword. In the which day, that " your Grace may ſtand ſteadfaſtly, and not be aſhamed, but " be clear and ready in your reckoning, and have your pardon " ſealed with the blood of our SAVIOUR CHRIST, which only " ſerveth at that day, is my daily prayer to him who ſuffered " death for our ſins. The ſpirit of GOD preſerve you !" (*f*)

With ſuch freedom did the primitive Latimer addreſs a Prince of Henry the VIIIth's character. But the Popiſh party were then ſo prevalent, that his letter produced little effect. The King, however, was no way diſpleaſed; and received it not only with temper, but with great condeſcenſion, graciouſly thanking him for his well-intended advice. For Henry, notwithſtanding his many vices, would frequently indulge a very generous manner of thinking. He was himſelf of an open temper, and was a great lover of ſincerity in others. Haſty and violent as he naturally was, and impatient of controul, he would often patiently hear the truth ſpoken with great freedom, from thoſe of whoſe ſincerity he was thoroughly convinced. Mr. Latimer's plain and ſimple manner had made a very favourable impreſſion upon him; and this letter did not a little contribute towards ſtrengthening that good opinion.

When the affair of the King's ſupremacy came upon the carpet, Mr. Latimer very much exerted himſelf at Cambridge, in forwarding his Majeſty's deſigns. Dr. Butts, Henry's phyſician, was ſent thither to procure the opinions of Divines and Canoniſts in favour of the King's views. And that gentleman, on his arrival at Cambridge, began immediately to pay his court to the Proteſtant party, from whom the King expected moſt unanimity in his favour. Among the firſt, he made his application to Mr. Latimer, as a perſon the moſt likely to ſerve him; begging that he would collect the opinions of his friends in the caſe, and to do his utmoſt to bring over thoſe of moſt eminence, who were ſtill inclined to the Papacy. Mr. Latimer, being a thorough friend to the cauſe which he was to ſolicit, undertook it with a zeal which was natural to him; and diſcharged himſelf ſo much to the ſatisfaction of Dr. Butts, who ſeems to have been a perſon of great honeſty, learning, and humanity, that when he returned to Court, he took Mr. Latimer along with him, with a view of procuring him ſomething anſwerable to his merit.

About

(*f*) *Vid.* Gilpin's Life of Latimer, P. 30——37.

About this time Lord Cromwell, afterwards Earl of Eſſex, was riſing into power. As this great man was a friend to the Reformation, he of courſe encouraged ſuch of the Clergy as were favourably diſpoſed towards it. Among others, Mr. Latimer was one of thoſe for whom he entertained an high eſteem, and he took all opportunities of ſhewing his regard for him; and he preſented him to the Rectory of Weſtkinton in Wiltſhire.

Mr. Latimer immediately reſolved to repair to his benefice, and to reſide upon it. His friend, Dr. Butts, ſurprized at his reſolution, endeavoured to diſſuade him from it. "You are de-"ſerting," ſaid he, "the faireſt appearances of making your "fortune. The Prime Miniſter intends this only as an earneſt "of his future favours; and will certainly in time do great "things for you. But it is the manner of Courts to conſider "thoſe as provided for, who ſeem to be ſatisfied: and you may "depend upon it, that an abſent claimant ſtands but a poor "chance among rivals, who have the advantage of being pre-"ſent."

Mr. Latimer was not a man on whom arguments of this kind had any weight. He had no other notion of making his fortune, than that of putting himſelf in a way of promoting the happineſs of his fellow creatures, and advancing the intereſts of true religion. He knew that his friend's advice was well meant; but he alſo knew, that a man may be as eaſily deceived by the kindneſs of his friend, as by the deceit of his enemy. Beſides, he was heartily tired of a Court, the manners of which were ſo little ſuited to the ſimplicity of his temper. He was grieved at the vices which he found there; and the more ſo, becauſe he found himſelf unable to oppoſe them: for he had neither authority, nor, as he thought, talents, to reclaim the Great. He left the Court, therefore, and immediately entered upon the duties of his parochial care; hoping to be of ſome uſe in the world, by faithfully exerting, in a private ſtation, ſuch abilities as GOD had given him (*g*).

Mr. Latimer's behaviour in this ſituation was ſuitable to his reſolutions. He thoroughly conſidered the nature of the office, and the importance of the duties, of a Chriſtian Miniſter; and he diſcharged them in the moſt conſcientious manner. Nor was he ſatisfied with diſcharging his duty in his own pariſh, but extended his labours throughout the county, and chiefly in thoſe places where he had obſerved the paſtoral care to be moſt neglected. He had for this purpoſe obtained a general licence from the Univerſity of Cambridge.

His preaching, which was in a ſtrain entirely different from the preaching of the times, made him very acceptable to the people; among whom he ſoon eſtabliſhed himſelf in great credit,

(*g*) Gilpin, P. 40——46.

dit. He was likewiſe treated with much civility by the neighbouring gentry; and at Briſtol, where he often preached, he was countenanced by the Magiſtrates. The reputation he was thus daily gaining, preſently alarmed the Popiſh Clergy in thoſe parts. Their oppoſition to him appeared firſt on this occaſion. The Mayor of Briſtol had appointed him to preach there on an Eaſter-Sunday: of this public notice had been given, when ſuddenly there came out an order from the Biſhop of Briſtol, prohibiting any one to preach there without his licence. Upon this the Clergy of the place waited on Mr. Latimer, informed him of the Biſhop's order, and, knowing that he had no ſuch licence, "were extremely ſorry that they were by that means deprived of the pleaſure of hearing an excellent diſcourſe from him." Mr. Latimer received their civility with a ſmile; for he had been apprized of the affair, and well knew, that theſe were the very perſons who had written to the Biſhop againſt him.

The Clergy in this part of the country ſoon oppoſed him in a more public manner. Some of them, in the warmth of their zeal, aſcended the pulpit, and there inveighed againſt him with great indecency of language. Of theſe the moſt forward was one Hubberdin, an empty and ignorant Prieſt, whoſe principal talent was aſſurance, who could ſay nothing of his own, but any thing that was put into his mouth. Through this inſtrument, and others of the ſame kind, ſuch liberties were taken with Mr. Latimer's character, that he at length thought it incumbent upon him to juſtify himſelf; and accordingly he called upon his traducers to accuſe him publicly before the Mayor of Briſtol. And with all men of candour he was juſtified; for when that Magiſtrate ſummoned both parties to appear before him, and put the accuſers upon producing legal proof of what they had advanced againſt Mr. Latimer, nothing of that kind appeared; but the whole accuſation was left to reſt upon the uncertain evidence of ſome hearſay information.

His enemies, however, were not thus ſilenced; they became daily more and more inflamed againſt him; and at length drew up a ſet of articles, extracted chiefly from his ſermons, in which they charged him with ſpeaking lightly of the worſhip of Saints; with ſaying that there was no material fire in Hell; and that he would rather be in Purgatory than in Lollard's tower. Theſe articles, in the form of an accuſation, were laid before Stokeſley, Biſhop of London. This Prelate immediately cited Mr. Latimer to appear before him. But Mr. Latimer, inſtead of obeying the citation, appealed to his own ordinary; thinking himſelf wholly exempt from the juriſdiction of any other Biſhop. Stokeſley, upon this, making a private cauſe of it, was determined at any rate to get him into his power. He applied, therefore, to Archbiſhop Warham, who was prevailed upon to cite Mr. Latimer to appear forthwith in his own court; where the

the Biſhop of London, and ſome other Biſhops, were commiſſioned to examine him.

Mr. Latimer obeyed the Archbiſhop's citation. His friends would have had him leave the country; but their perſuaſions were in vain. It was the depth of winter when Mr. Latimer ſet out for London (*b*); and he laboured at the ſame time under a ſevere fit, both of the ſtone and cholic. But his greateſt diſtreſs was, the conſideration of leaving his pariſh ſo expoſed; as he knew that the Popiſh Clergy would exert themſelves to undo, in his abſence, what he had hitherto done.

On his arrival at London, he found a court of Biſhops and Canoniſts aſſembled to receive him; where, inſtead of being examined, as he expected, about his ſermons, a paper was put into his hands, which he was ordered to ſubſcribe, declaring his belief in the doctrine of Purgatory, and the efficacy of maſſes for the ſouls therein; of prayers to the Saints; of pilgrimages to their ſepulchres and relics; the Pope's power to forgive ſins; the doctrine of merit; the ſeven Sacraments: and the worſhip of images. This paper being offered to Mr. Latimer, he read it over, and returned it again, refuſing to ſign it. The Archbiſhop, with a frown, bid him conſider what he did. "We "intend not," ſaid he, "Mr. Latimer, to be hard upon you:

(*b*) Before he ſet out upon his journey, he wrote the following letter to a friend.

"I marvel not a little, that my Lord of London, having ſo large a Dioceſe committed to his care, and ſo peopled as it is, can have leiſure either to trouble me, or to trouble himſelf with me, ſo poor a wretch, a ſtranger to him, and nothing pertaining to his cure. Methinks it were more comely for my Lord, if it were comely for me to ſay ſo, to be a preacher himſelf, than to be a diſquieter of preachers. If it would pleaſe his Lordſhip to take ſo great labour and pain, as to come and preach in my little Biſhopric at Weſtkinton, whether I were preſent or abſent, I would thank his Lordſhip heartily for helping to diſcharge me in my cure, as long as his predication was fruitful, and to the edification of my pariſhioners. But he may do as he pleaſeth: I pray GOD he may do as well as I would wiſh him to do: and as to my preaching, I truſt in GOD, my Lord of London cannot juſtly reprove it, if it be taken as I ſpake it; elſe it is not my preaching. *Quem recitas meus eſt, O Fidentine, libellus; ſed mala cum recitas, incipit eſſe tuus.* Either my Lord of London will judge mine outward man, or mine inward man. If he will have to do only with mine outward man, how I have ordered my life, I truſt I ſhall pleaſe both my Lord GOD, and alſo my Lord of London; for I have taught but according to the Scriptures, and the antient interpreters of Scripture; and with all diligence moved my auditors to faith and charity; and as for voluntary things, I reproved the abuſe, without condemning the things themſelves. But if my Lord will needs invade my inward man, and break violently into my heart, I fear then, indeed, I may diſpleaſe my Lord of London. Finally, as you ſay, the matter is weighty, even as weighty as my life is worth, and ought to be well looked to; how to look well to it I know not, otherwiſe than to pray to my Lord GOD night and day, that as he hath boldened me to preach the truth, ſo he will ſtrengthen me to ſuffer for it. And I truſt that GOD will help me; which truſt, if I had not, the ocean ſea ſhould have divided my Lord of London and me by this time."

" we diſmiſs you for the preſent: take a copy of the articles; " examine them carefully; and GOD grant, that at our next " meeting, we may find each other in better temper."

At the next meeting, and at ſeveral ſucceeding ones, the ſame ſcene was acted over again; for both ſides continued inflexible. The Prelates, however, being determined, if poſſible, to bring him to compliance, began to treat him with more ſeverity. Of one of theſe examinations he gives us himſelf the following account. " I was brought out," ſays he, " to be examined in a " chamber, where I was wont to be examined; but at this time " it was ſomewhat altered. For whereas before there was a fire " in the chimney, now the fire was taken away, and an arras " hanged over the chimney; and the table ſtood near the chim- " ney's end. There was among theſe Biſhops that examined " me, one with whom I have been very familiar, and whom I " took for my great friend, an aged man, and he ſat next the " table-end. Then among other queſtions he put forth one, a " very ſubtil and crafty one; and when I ſhould make anſwer, " I pray you, Mr. Latimer, ſaid he, ſpeak out, I am very thick " of hearing, and here be many that ſit far off. I marvelled at " this, that I was bidden to ſpeak out, and began to miſdeem, " and gave an ear to the chimney; and there I heard a pen " plainly ſcratching behind the cloth. They had appointed " one there to write all my anſwerss, that I ſhould not ſtart " from them. GOD was my good LORD, and gave me an- " ſwers, I could never elſe have eſcaped them."

The Biſhops thus continued to diſtreſs Mr. Latimer, regularly ſending for him three times every week, with a view either to draw ſomething from him by captious queſtions, or at length to teaze him into compliance. By theſe means he was ſo tired out, that his ſpirit could no longer bear the uſage he met with. Accordingly, when he was next ſummoned, inſtead of going himſelf, he ſent a letter to the Archbiſhop, in which with great freedom, he told him, " that the treatment he had of late met with, had fretted him into ſuch a diſorder, as rendered him unfit to attend them that day; that, in the mean time, he could not help taking this opportunity to expoſtulate with his Grace, for detaining him ſo long from the diſcharge of his duty; that it ſeemed to him moſt unaccountable, that they, who never preached themſelves, ſhould hinder others; that as for the examination of him, he really could not imagine what they aimed at; they pretended one thing in the beginning, and another in the progreſs; that if his ſermons were what gave offence, which he perſuaded himſelf were neither contrary to the truth, nor to any Canon of the Church, he was ready to anſwer whatever might be thought exceptionable in them; that he wiſhed a little more regard might be had to the judgment of the people, and that a diſtinction might be made between the ordinances of GOD and man; that if ſome abuſes in religion did prevail, (as was then com-

monly ſuppoſed) he thought preaching was the beſt means to diſcountenance them; that he wiſhed all paſtors might be obliged to perform their duty, but that at leaſt liberty might be given to thoſe who were willing to do ſo; that as for the articles propoſed to him, he begged to be excuſed from ſubſcribing them; whilſt he lived, he never would abet ſuperſtition; and that, laſtly, he hoped the Archbiſhop would excuſe what he had written; he knew his duty to his ſuperiors, and would practiſe it; but in that caſe, he thought a ſtronger obligation laid upon him."---No account is handed down to us of the particular effect which this letter produced; the Biſhops, however, ſtill continued their perſecution. But, by an unexpected incident, their ſchemes were ſuddenly fruſtrated. The King, being informed of the perſecution Mr. Latimer met with, probably by the Lord Cromwell's means, interpoſed in his behalf, and reſcued him out of the hands of his enemies (*i*).

Mr. Latimer's great merit, and ſteady attachment to the principles of the Reformation, occaſioned Queen Anne Boleyn, who favoured the ſame cauſe, to appoint him, in 1534, to be her Chaplain; and through her intereſt, and that of Lord Cromwell, he was, in 1535, promoted to the Biſhopric of Worceſter. He diſcharged the duties of this new ſtation with great zeal and piety, and with uncommon diligence. In overlooking the Clergy of his dioceſe, which he thought the chief branch of the

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(*i*) "Mr. Fox (ſays Mr. Gilpin) leaves it in doubt whether he was not at length prevailed upon to ſubſcribe the Biſhop's articles: but I think it paſt diſpute that he did not; for if he had, what occaſion had the King to interpoſe?"

About the year 1528, Latimer's friend, Mr. THOMAS BILNEY, with ſome others, was charged with hereſy, and cited to appear before a court of Biſhops, Divines, and Canoniſts, of which Cuthbert Tonſtal, then Biſhop of London, was appointed Preſident. As Mr. Bilney was conſidered as one of the principal propagators of hereſy, againſt him the rigour of the court was chiefly levelled. His examination was accordingly ſevere: every witneſs againſt him was heard with ſo much attention, and every depoſition enlarged upon with ſo much bitterneſs, that Tonſtal, who, though a Papiſt, was a Prelate of great moderation and humanity, deſpaired of mixing any temper with the proceedings of his collegues. The proceſs came to an end, and Mr. Bilney was condemned as an obſtinate Heretic. Tonſtal, who could not effectually ſerve him in a judicial way, now laboured to ſave him by all the means in his power. He firſt ſet his friends upon him, to perſuade him to recant; and when that would not do, he joined his intreaties to their's; had patience with him day after day, and with all the tenderneſs of humanity, begged he would not oblige him, contrary to his inclinations, to treat him with ſeverity. The good Biſhop in the end prevailed: Bilney could not withſtand the winning rhetoric of Tonſtal, though he had withſtood all the menaces of his leſs humane perſecutors. He recanted, bore a faggot on his ſhoulder by way of penance, as a token of his ſubmiſſion, and was diſmiſſed.

He afterwards returned to Cambridge, together with ſeveral others, who had alſo been under a perſecution for hereſy, and who were received with open arms by their friends. Amidſt this mutual joy, Bilney

the epiſcopal office, exciting in them a zeal for religion, and obliging them at leaſt to a legal performance of their duty, he was remarkably active, warm, and reſolute. He preſided over his eccleſiaſtical court with the ſame ſpirit; and he was frequent and obſervant in his viſitations. In ordaining he was ſtrict and wary, carefully enquiring into the morals and abilities of thoſe who offered themſelves as candidates for holy orders. He was far from relaxing his labours on account of his promotion in the Church; on the contrary, he conſidered his duties as increaſing with his dignity. He was, therefore, indefatigable in preaching; and exerted himſelf to the utmoſt in promoting the cauſe of virtue, and of true religion.

In many particulars in which Biſhop Latimer exerted himſelf in advancing the intereſts of real religion, he was ſupported by the

Bilney alone ſeemed unaffected. He ſhunned the ſight of his acquaintance, and received their officious congratulations with confuſion and bluſhes. Reflection had now brought him to himſelf; and Remorſe of conſcience had ſeized him for what he had done. Reſtleſs nights, frightful dreams, and other effects of a mind that preys upon itſelf, in a ſhort time diſturbed his reaſon; and it was feared he might have committed ſomething horrid, if thoſe about him had not cloſely attended him. In the agonies of his deſpair, his pathetic and eager accuſations of his friends, of the Biſhop of London, and above all, of himſelf, were very affecting. Thus he continued for ſome time one of the moſt ſhocking ſpectacles that human nature can exhibit. His paſſion having had its courſe, at length ſubſided, and by degrees gave place to a profound melancholy. In this ſtate he continued about three years, reading much, avoiding company, and in all reſpects obſerving the ſeverity of an Aſcetic. During this time, and eſpecially towards the latter part of it, he would frequently be throwing out obſcure hints of his meditating ſome extraordinary deſign. He would ſay, that he was now almoſt prepared; that he would ſhortly go up to Jeruſalem; and that GOD muſt be glorified in him. After keeping his friends a while in ſuſpence by this myſterious language, he told them at laſt, that he was fully determined to expiate his late ſhameful abjuration by his death. What they could oppoſe, had no weight. He had taken his reſolution; and breaking at once from all his attachments in Cambridge, he ſet out for Norfolk, which was the place of his nativity, and which, for that reaſon, he choſe to make the ſcene of his death. When he came there, he went about the country, confeſſing his guilt in abjuring a faith, in which he was now determined to die; and exhorting the people with great warmth againſt the errors of Popery.

The report of this extraordinary preacher ſoon reached the ears of the Biſhop of Norwich, who watched over thoſe parts with the zeal of an inquiſitor. Mr. Bilney was ſoon apprehended, and ſecured in the county goal. While he lay there waiting the arrival of the writ for his execution, as a relapſed Heretic, he gave very ſurprizing inſtances of a firm and collected mind. He began now to recover from that abject ſtate of melancholy, which had for theſe laſt three years oppreſſed him; and, like an honeſt man, who had long lived under a difficult debt, he began to reſume his ſpirits, when he thought himſelf in a ſituation to diſcharge it. Some of his friends found him eating a hearty ſupper the night before his execution; and expreſſing their ſurprize, he told them, he was but doing what they had daily examples of in common life: he was only keeping his cottage in repair, while he continued to inhabit it. The ſame compoſure ran through his whole behaviour; and his converſation was that evening more agreeable than his friends almoſt ever remembered it.

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the authority of his epiſcopal character. But in ſome other things he found himſelf under great difficulties. The ceremonies of the Popiſh worſhip gave him great offence; and yet, in times ſo dangerous and unſettled, he neither durſt lay them entirely aſide; nor, on the other hand, could he well reconcile to himſelf the retaining them. In this dilemma he ſhewed great addreſs. He enquired into the origin of theſe ceremonies; and when he found any of them, as ſome of them were, derived from a good meaning, he took care to inculcate the original meaning, though itſelf a corruption, in the room of a more corrupt practice. Thus he put the people in mind, when holy bread and water were diſtributed, that theſe elements which had long been thought endowed with a kind of magical influence, were nothing more than appendages to the two Sacraments of the LORD's Supper, and Baptiſm. The former, he ſaid, reminded us of CHRIST's death, and the latter was only a ſimple repreſentation of our being purified from ſin (*k*).

Whilſt the endeavours of our good Prelate towards a Reformation were thus confined within his own Dioceſe, he was called upon to exert his talents in a more public manner, having received a ſummons to attend the Parliament and Convocation. This ſeſſion, which was in the year 1536, was thought a kind of criſis by the Proteſtants, who had now a conſiderable party in the Convocation, at the head of whom were Lord Cromwell, the King's Vicegerent, Cranmer, now Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Biſhop Latimer, Goodrick, Biſhop of Ely, Barlow, Biſhop of St. David's, Fox, Biſhop of Hereford, Hilſey, Biſhop of Rocheſter, and Shaxton, Biſhop of Saliſbury. The Prelates at the head of the Popiſh party were Lee, Archbiſhop of York, Stokeſley, Biſhop of London, Tonſtal, Biſhop of Durham, Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, Longland, Biſhop of Lincoln, Sherburn, Biſhop of Chicheſter,

[*Vid.* Mr. Gilpin's Life of Latimer, P. 21——25.]

"When the day of execution came, being the 10th of November, (1531), as he was led out, he ſaid to one that exhorted him to be patient and conſtant, that as the mariners endured the toſſing of the waves, hoping to arrive at their deſired port, ſo though he was now entering into a ſtorm, yet he hoped he ſhould ſoon arrive at the haven, and deſired their prayers. When he came to the ſtake, he repeated the Creed, to ſhew the people that he died in the faith of the Apoſtles; then he put up his prayers to GOD with great ſhew of inward devotion; which ended, he repeated the 143d Pſalm, and pauſed on theſe words of it, "Enter not into judgment with thy ſervant, for in thy ſight ſhall no man living be juſtified," with deep recollection: and when Dr. Warner, that accompanied him to the ſtake, took leave of him with many tears, Bilney with a chearful countenance exhorted him to feed his flock, that at his LORD's coming he might find him ſo doing. Many of the begging Friars deſired him to declare to the people, that they had not procured his death; for that was got among them, and they feared the people would give them no more alms: ſo he deſired the ſpectators not to be the worſe to theſe men for his ſake, for they had not procured his death. Then the fire was ſet to, and his body conſumed to aſhes." [Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. P. 164.]

(*k*) Gilpin, P. 59, 60.

Chicheſter, Nix, Biſhop of Norwich, and Kite, Biſhop of Carliſle. The renunciation which had been lately made of the Pope's authority, gave great hopes to the Proteſtant party; a free enquiry into principles and practices, it was hoped, would follow; and a thorough Reformation could not then, it was thought, be at a great diſtance. The Papiſts, on the other hand, were well acquainted with the King's attachment to Popiſh principles; and though, in the preſent circumſtances of things, they could not hope to be able to cloſe up the breach with the See of Rome, they were ſanguine enough to believe they might prevent it from widening farther. Theſe oppoſite hopes animated the two parties; and indeed it is difficult to ſay, whether the Papiſts or the Proteſtants, during this reign, had the greater influence. Henry was entirely governed by his paſſions; and to theſe ſometimes one Miniſter, and ſometimes another, made the moſt dextrous addreſs.

Affairs were in this ſituation when the Convocation met, which was opened by a Latin ſermon, preached by Biſhop Latimer, whoſe eloquence was at this time every where famous. "He was (ſays Biſhop Burnet) the moſt celebrated preacher of that time; the ſimplicity and plainneſs of his matter, with a ſerious and fervent action that accompanied it, being preferred to more learned and elaborate compoſures." This taſk, of preaching the Convocation ſermon, was aſſigned our Prelate by Archbiſhop Cranmer; who knew no man ſo well qualified to lay before the Clergy the corruptions of their order; and to rouze them, if poſſible, into a ſenſe of their duty (*l*). When the Convocation began to proceed to buſineſs, the two parties attacked

(*l*) The ſubſtance of part of what he ſaid in this ſermon, as given by Mr. Gilpin, is as follows. "We are met together, it ſeems, here, brethren, (ſaid the Biſhop) to conſult the eſtabliſhment of religion. A very important truſt is committed to us; and I hope each of us hath brought with him a reſolution to diſcharge it properly. And, indeed, great need is there that ſomething ſhould be done. Superſtition hath had a long reign amongſt us; nor can I yet believe its tyranny at an end, whilſt I ſee our Clergy ſtill immerſed in the corruptions of their fore-fathers; whilſt I ſee even mitred advocates, it becomes me to ſpeak plainly, ſtill eſpouſing this cauſe. What an inundation of folly, to give it the lighteſt appellation, is daily flowing from our pulpits? Is there an abſurdity in the whole Popiſh Creed, is there a corruption in their whole ritual, which is not countenanced, even at this very day amongſt us? Purgatory is ſtill believed; images are ſtill worſhipped. And what is moſt grievous, when external obſervances abound, men begin to lay a ſtreſs upon them; and of courſe the neceſſity of a good life is ſuperſeded.—Rouſe yourſelves, my brethren, rouſe yourſelves at theſe things. Conſider that an amendment of all theſe evils is looked for at our hands. If the Prieſt is remiſs, what can be expected from the people? Imagine you hear, at the laſt day, the Almighty Judge thus reproaching us.—'A cry againſt 'you cometh up into my ears; a 'cry againſt your avarice, your 'actions your tyranny. I com-'manded you with induſtry and 'pains-taking to feed my ſheep: 'inſtead of which you do nothing 'but

attacked each other with great bitterneſs, and very warm debates enſued. In the lower Houſe a bill was drawn up by the Romiſh party, the reſult of much ſecret caballing, which contained a catalogue of ſixty-ſeven heretical opinions. Many of theſe were the tenets of Wickliff; the reſt, of more modern reformers. This bill was ſent up to the higher Houſe, where it was zealouſly defended by the Popiſh party, and vehemently oppoſed by the Proteſtants.

This debate had now laſted ſome days, each day growing warmer than the laſt, when Lord Cromwell entered the Houſe of Convocation, and declared, that "it was the King's pleaſure, that the rites and ceremonies of the Church ſhould be reformed by the rules of Scripture, and that nothing was to be maintained which did not reſt on that authority; for it was abſurd, ſince that was acknowledged to contain the laws of religion, that recourſe ſhould rather be had to gloſſes, or the decrees of Popes, than to theſe (*m*)." This meſſage from the King, greatly encouraged the Proteſtants, and in an equal degree damped the ſpirits of the Popiſh Party, and put a period to the debate in which they were then engaged.

Among other foreign Proteſtants who were at this time entertained by Archbiſhop Cranmer, there was one Alexander Aleſſe, a Scotchman, who was greatly eſteemed for his learning and piety, and who was much conſulted by the heads of the Proteſtant party. This learned man Lord Cromwell brought with him to the Convocation-Houſe, where he ſpoke largely againſt the Sacraments of the Romiſh Church, and proved that only two were of goſpel inſtitution. This ſpeech produced a long and warm debate, which was managed by the Biſhops of York and London, on the part of the Papiſts; and of Canterbury and Hereford on that of the Proteſtants; the latter retorting many things with great freedom againſt tradition and monkery, and

' but gluttonize from day to day,
' wallowing in indolence and plea-
' ſure. I commanded you to preach
' my commandments, and ſeek my
' glory; inſtead of which, you
' preach your own phantaſies, and
' ſeek your own profit. I com-
' manded that all people ſhould dili-
' gently ſearch my word: inſtead of
' which, it is your care to ſhut up
' the books of knowledge.—— Too
' much reaſon have you to fear,
' that reading the people may unde-
' ſtand, and underſtanding they may
' learn to rebuke your ſlothfulneſs.'

"Since then, my brethren, the corruptions of the Clergy are ſo manifeſt: and ſince ſo ſtrict an account will be demanded of our conduct, let us at this time do ſomething to ſhew that we have the intereſt of religion at heart. Let us do ſomething to wipe off prejudices, which I know have been conceived againſt ſome of us without-doors. And as our ſtations in life add a dignity to our characters, ſo let them inſpire us with holineſs, and a zeal for the ſalvation of ſouls, in which alone conſiſts the real dignity of a Chriſtian Biſhop. All men know that we are here aſſembled, and with ardent looks expect the fruit of our conſultation. Oh! my brethren, let us not diſappoint their hopes."

(*m*) *Vid.* Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. P. 214.

and the ignorance of the Popiſh Clergy. The reſult of the debate was, that four Sacraments out of the ſeven were concluded to be inſignificant. And the Convocation at length, with the King's approbation, agreed to certain articles of religion, in which many of the Popiſh doctrines were retained; but the Scriptures and the antient Creeds being made the ſtandards of the Chriſtian faith, and other things advanced favourable to the reformed opinions, encouraged the Proteſtants to hope for a further Reformation (*n*). And ſoon after an Engliſh tranſlation of the Bible was publiſhed, and recommended by authority to a general peruſal: the people were ordered to be inſtructed in the principles of religion in their mother tongue; and the Clergy were enjoined not to extol images or relics for gain, or from ſuperſtition; nor to exhort people to make pilgrimages, as if bleſſings and good things were to be obtained of this or that Saint or image; but to inſtruct the Laity, to apply themſelves to the keeping of GOD's commandments, and to the performance of works of charity; and to believe that GOD was better ſerved by them, when they ſtaid at home, and provided for their families, than when they went on pilgrimages; and that the money laid out in theſe, was better employed in relieving the indigent and diſtreſſed.

During the ſitting of the Convocation, an attempt was made by the Popiſh party to ſtigmatize Archbiſhop Cranmer and Biſhop Latimer by ſome public cenſure. But through their own and Lord Cromwell's intereſt, they were too well eſtabliſhed to fear any open attack from their enemies. And our Prelate, ſoon after the breaking up of the Convocation, repaired to his Dioceſe. He had done all he could to forward the buſineſs of the Reformation; and he therefore made no longer ſtay in London than was neceſſary. For as to State affairs, he had no talents for them, and he knew that he had none, and therefore did not meddle with them. His talents were thoſe of a private ſtation; and

(*n*) When theſe articles were publiſhed, Biſhop Burnet obſerves, they occaſioned variety of cenſures. "Thoſe (ſays he) that deſired Reformation, were glad to ſee ſo great a ſtep once made; and did not doubt, but this would make way for further changes. They rejoiced to ſee the Scriptures, and the antient Creeds, made the ſtandards of the faith, without mentioning tradition, or the decrees of the Church. Then the foundation of Chriſtian faith was truly ſtated, and the terms of the covenant between GOD and man in CHRIST were rightly opened, without the niceties of the ſchools of either ſide. Immediate worſhip of images and Saints was alſo removed, and Purgatory was declared uncertain by the Scripture. Theſe were great advantages to them; but the eſtabliſhing the neceſſity of auricular confeſſion, the corporal preſence in the Sacrament, the keeping up and doing reverence to images, and the praying to Saints, did allay their joy, yet they ſtill counted it a victory, to have things brought under debate, and to have ſome groſſer abuſes taken away.

"The other party were unſpeakably troubled. Four Sacraments were paſſed over, which would encourage

and within that he was determined to confine them. His whole ambition was to diſcharge in an upright and conſcientious manner the duties of his epiſcopal character; and he aimed not to diſplay either the qualifications of the Courtier, or the abilities of the Stateſman.

How ill qualified he was to ſupport the character of a Courtier, will ſufficiently appear from the following ſtory. It was the cuſtom in thoſe days for the Biſhops, upon the coming in of the new year, to make preſents to the King: and many of them would preſent very liberally, proportioning their gifts to their expectances. Among the reſt Biſhop Latimer, being at this time in town, waited upon the King with his offering. But, inſtead of a purſe of gold, which was the common oblation, he preſented a New Teſtament, with a leaf doubled down, in a very conſpicuous manner, to this paſſage, "Whoremongers and "Adulterers, GOD will judge."

Biſhop Latimer had now been about two years reſident on his Dioceſe, when he was called up again to town, in the year 1539, to attend the buſineſs of Parliament. But a new ſpirit had now infuſed itſelf into the counſels of Henry VIII. whoſe whole reign was little more than a continued rotation of violent paſſions; and he amongſt his Miniſters who could make the moſt artful addreſs to the paſſion of the day, carried his point. Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, was now juſt returned from Germany, having ſucceſsfully negociated ſome commiſſions, which the King had greatly at heart. This introduced him with a good grace at Court, and he made uſe of his preſent intereſt with

ill affected people to neglect them. The gainful trade by the belief of Purgatory was put down; for tho' it was ſaid to be good to give alms for praying for the dead, yet ſince both the dreadful ſtories of the miſeries of Purgatory, and the certainty of redeeming ſouls out of them by maſſes, were made doubtful, the people's charity and bounty that way would ſoon abate. And, in a word, the bringing matters under diſpute, was a great mortification to them; for all concluded, that this was but a preamble to what they might expect afterwards."

The Biſhop afterwards obſerves, that theſe articles were by ſome ſtricter perſons much cenſured, "as being a political dawbing, in which, they ſaid, there was more pains taken to gratify perſons, and ſerve particular ends, than to aſſert Truth in a free and unbiaſſed way, ſuch as became Divines. This was again excuſed, and it was ſaid, that all things could not be attained on a ſudden: that ſome of the Biſhops and Divines, who afterwards arrived at a clearer underſtanding of ſome matters, were not then ſo fully convinced about them; and ſo it was their ignorance, and not their cowardice or policy, that made them compliant in ſome things. Beſides, --- the Clergy muſt be brought out of their ignorance by degrees, and then the people were to be better inſtructed; but to drive furiouſly, and do all at once, might have ſpoiled the whole deſign, and totally alienated thoſe who were to be drawn on by degrees; it might have alſo much endangered the peace of the nation, the people being much diſpoſed by the practices of the Friars to riſe in arms. Therefore theſe ſlow ſteps were thought the ſurer and better method."--*Vid.* Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. P. 218, 219.

with the King in favour of the Popiſh cauſe, and perſuaded Henry to put a ſtop to the diverſity of opinions which at preſent prevailed in his dominions. And accordingly Gardiner and the Popiſh party were now employed in framing the bill of the Six Articles.

This was the ſituation of affairs when Biſhop Latimer arrived in town. And in conſequence of the influence which the Romiſh party had now acquired, our Prelate was accuſed before the King of preaching a ſeditious ſermon. The ſermon was preached at Court; and the Biſhop, according to his cuſtom, had expreſſed himſelf with much ſeverity againſt whatever he obſerved amiſs. The King had called together ſeveral of the Biſhops, with a view to conſult them upon ſome points of religion When they had all given their opinions, and were about to be diſmiſſed, one of them kneeled down before the King, and accuſed Biſhop Latimer of preaching the above-mentioned ſermon; which he ſaid was a libel againſt the King and his Miniſters, and tended to alienate the people from their Prince. Who our Prelate's accuſer was, is not certainly known, but it is conjectured to have been the Biſhop of Wincheſter. Biſhop Latimer being called upon by the King, with ſome ſternneſs, to vindicate himſelf, was ſo far from denying, or even palliating what he had ſaid, that he boldly juſtified it; and turning to the King with that noble unconcern which a good conſcience inſpires, made this anſwer: "I never thought myſelf worthy, "nor I never ſued to be a preacher before your Grace; but I "was called to it, and would be willing, if you miſlike me, to "give place to my betters: for I grant there be a great many "more worthy of the room than I am. And if it be your "Grace's pleaſure to allow them for preachers, I could be con-"tent to bear their books after them. But if your Grace al-"low me for a preacher, I would deſire you to give me leave to "diſcharge my conſcience, and to frame my doctrine according "to my audience. I had been a very dolt indeed, to have "preached ſo at the borders of your Realm, as I preach be-"fore your Grace." The openneſs and greatneſs of the Biſhop's behaviour baffled his accuſer's malice; the ſeverity of the King's countenance changed into a gracious ſmile, and Biſhop Latimer was courteouſly diſmiſſed.

About this time the bill of the Six Articles, which had paſſed both Houſes, received the Royal aſſent. By this act, which has been often juſtly ſtiled the Bloody Statute, and which was in general very agreeable to the Popiſh party, it was enacted, that whoever ſhould deny the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, either in ſpeech, or by writing, ſhould be adjudged to be Heretics, be burnt without any abjuration being admitted, and their real and perſonal eſtates be forfeited to the King: and whoever ſhould maintain the neceſſity of communicating in both ſpecies; affirm that it was lawful for Prieſts to marry; that vows of chaſ-

city might be violated; that private maſſes were uſeleſs; or that auricular confeſſion was not neceſſary to ſalvation; were to be adjudged felons, and to ſuffer death as ſuch, without benefit of Clergy.

This act was no ſooner publiſhed, than it gave an univerſal alarm to all the Proteſtant party, who every where cried out, that their proſpect of happineſs was now over: they could not now expect a toleration; for they plainly ſaw, that a ſword was put into the hands of their enemies to deſtroy them. Others exclaimed, that it was difficult to ſay what the King intended; for it was not ſafe to be either of one profeſſion, or the other. The act of Supremacy condemned the Papiſt, and the act of the Six Articles the Proteſtant.

Biſhop Latimer was one of the firſt who took offence at theſe proceedings; and as he could not give his vote for the act, he thought it wrong to hold any office in a church, where ſuch terms of communion were required. He, therefore, reſigned his Biſhopric, on the 1ſt of July, 1539, and retired into the country. There was a vein of pleaſantry and good humour accompanied the moſt ſerious actions of our Prelate's life: and it is ſaid, that when he came from the Parliament Houſe to his lodgings, after his reſignation, he threw off his robes, and leaping up, declared to thoſe who ſtood about him, that "he "thought himſelf lighter than he ever found himſelf before."

When the Parliament broke up, the King nominated Commiſſioners, and ſent them throughout the kingdom, to diſcover all offenders againſt the act of the Six Articles, that they might be puniſhed with all the rigour of the law. In London only, upwards of five hundred perſons were impriſoned on this account, after having been inveigled into confeſſion by the Commiſſioners. Cranmer and Cromwell ſaw this perſecution with great concern, but they could not prevent it. They ſtood alone, and were beſides ſufficiently engaged, in ſtemming a torrent which ran ſtrong againſt themſelves.

During the heat of this perſecution, Biſhop Latimer reſided in the country, where he thought of nothing, for the remainder of his days, but a ſequeſtered life. He knew the ſtorm which was up could not ſoon be appeaſed, and he had no inclination to truſt himſelf in it. But while he hoped himſelf ſecure, an unhappy accident which befel him, brought him within reach of the malice of his enemies. He received a bruiſe by the fall of a tree, and the contuſion was ſo dangerous, that he was obliged to ſeek out for better aſſiſtance than could be afforded him by the unſkilful ſurgeons of thoſe parts. And with this view, he repaired to London.

When he arrived in town, he found the proſpect ſtill more gloomy: the Popiſh party had now triumphed over all their obſtacles; and he had the mortification to ſee his patron, the Lord Cromwell, in the hands of his enemies; and a ſtill more

ſevere perſecution commenced againſt the Proteſtants. And Mr. Latimer was ſoon afterwards found out in his concealment in London, and accuſed of having ſpoken againſt the ſtatute of the Six Articles, and in conſequence committed to the Tower. It does not appear that any formal proceſs was carried on againſt him, or that he was ever judicially examined. However, he ſuffered, under one pretence or other, a long and cruel impriſonment, during all the remainder of King Henry's reign.

In the beginning of the year 1547, King Henry VIII. died; and was ſucceeded by his ſon Edward VI. a young Prince in whom, though he was only in the tenth year of his age at his father's death, there appeared the ſtrongeſt indications of uncommon parts, and a moſt excellent and amiable diſpoſition. He was left, by his father's will, under the care of ſixteen perſons, during his minority; who were alſo entruſted with the management of the affairs of the Kingdom. Theſe were at firſt equal in power, but the lord of Hertford, ſoon after created Duke of Somerſet, being the King's uncle, was raiſed above the reſt, with the title of Protector of the kingdom. And his elevation to this high office was extremely agreeable to the Proteſtant party, becauſe he was known to be a friend to the Reformation.

Mr. Latimer had now been upwards of ſix years impriſoned in the Tower, during which time he had lived in the conſtant practice of every Chriſtian virtue that becomes a ſuffering ſtate. But immediately upon the change of Government, he, and all others who were impriſoned in the ſame cauſe, were ſet at liberty; and as ſome of Biſhop Latimer's old friends were now in power, he was received by them with great cordiality and affection.

Heath, who had been his ſucceſſor in the Biſhopric of Worceſter, obſerving Latimer's credit at Court, was apprehenſive that it might be thought proper to re-inſtate him; and it is certain, that in the preſent ſituation of affairs, Mr. Latimer would have found no difficulty in diſpoſſeſſing Heath (*o*). But he had other ſentiments: age coming upon him, he thought himſelf now unequal to the weight of a Biſhopric, and had no inclination to incumber himſelf with one. He might alſo poſſibly think

(*o*) NICHOLAS HEATH was born in the city of London, and received part of his education in Chriſt Church College, Oxford; but was afterwards removed to Clare Hall in Cambridge, where he took his degrees in arts; and afterwards entering into holy orders, was made Archdeacon of Stafford. In 1539, he was made Biſhop of Rocheſter, being then Almoner to the King, and was afterwards raiſed to the See of Worceſter. But in the 3d year of King Edward VI. he was committed priſoner to the Fleet, becauſe he would not agree with thoſe who were appointed with him to draw up the book for ordinations; and about two years after he was deprived. Burnet ſays, he oppoſed every thing done towards Reformation in Parliament, though he gave an entire obedience to it when it was enacted. But on the acceſſion of Queen Mary, he

think there was ſomewhat of hardſhip and injuſtice in the caſe, with reſpect to Heath. However, it is certain, that he would make no ſuit himſelf, nor ſuffer his friends to make any, for his reſtoration.

The Parliament which was now ſitting had repealed the act of the Six Articles, and ordered images to be removed out of the churches; and alterations were made in the liturgy agreeable to the reformed principles: and the Houſe of Commons alſo ſent up an addreſs to the Protector, deſiring him to reſtore Mr. Latimer to the Biſhopric of Worceſter. The Protector was very well inclined to gratify them in this requeſt, and accordingly he propoſed to Mr. Latimer the reſumption of his Biſhopric; but he perſiſted in declining it, alledging his great age, and the claim he had from thence to a private life.

Having thus rid himſelf of all intreaty on this head, he accepted of an invitation from Archbiſhop Cranmer, and took up his reſidence with him at Lambeth; where his chief employment was to hear the complaints, and to redreſs the injuries of poor people: and the active benevolence of his temper, and his readineſs to perform ſervices of this kind, were ſo univerſally known, that ſtrangers from every part of England would reſort to him; ſo that it is ſaid he had as crowded a levee as that of a Miniſter of State, conſiſting of ſuch as were vexed either by the delays of public courts and offices, which were at *that* time exceedingly out of order; or who were harraſſed by the oppreſſions of the powerful and wealthy (*p*). And, indeed, no one could be better qualified to undertake the office of redreſſing injuries:

he was reſtored again to the Biſhopric of Worceſter, and afterwards advanced to the Archbiſhopric of York, and appointed Lord Chancellor of England. When Queen Elizabeth came to the Throne, Cardinal Pole, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, being dead, Archbiſhop Heath was applied to, to crown the new Queen; but he refuſed, as did alſo ſeveral other Prelates; and afterwards refuſing to take the oath of Supremacy, he was again deprived, and committed to the Tower; but was ſoon after ſet at liberty. He then retired to his eſtate in Surrey, where he quietly paſſed the remainder of his days, and where he was ſeveral times viſited by Queen Elizabeth herſelf, who treated him with great kindneſs; being ſatisfied, it is ſaid, that he acted from a true principle of conſcience. He died about the year 1579.

Biſhop Burnet ſays, that Archbiſhop Heath was 'a man of a gentle 'temper, and great prudence, that 'underſtood affairs of State better 'than matters of religion.' His abilities and integrity are ſpoken of in high terms by ſeveral writers; and it is urged as an argument of his moderation, that in the firſt year of Queen Elizabeth, he was appointed by the Privy Council, one of the moderators in the diſputes between the Papiſts and Proteſtants, Sir Nicholas Bacon being the other.——*Vid.* Lives of the Lords Chancellors, 8vo. Vol. I. P. 85. Lloyd's State Worthies, Vol. I. P. 413. Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. P. 143. and Wood's Athenæ Oxonienſes, Vol. I. Fol. 603.

(*p*) Our good Prelate himſelf, giving an account of theſe avocations, ſays, "I cannot go to my book, for poor folks that come unto me, deſiring that I will ſpeak, that their matters may be heard. Now and then I walk in my Lord of Canterbury's garden, looking in my book; but

injuries: for his free reproofs, joined to the integrity of his life, had a great effect upon thoſe in the higheſt ſtations; whilſt his own independence, and backwardneſs in aſking favours for himſelf, allowed him greater liberty in aſking for others.

In theſe employments he ſpent more than two years, interfering very little in any public tranſaction; though, if he had choſe it, as his friends were now at the helm, he might undoubtedly have had conſiderable weight, at leaſt in eccleſiaſtical affairs. But beſides that he had much diſtruſt of his own judgment, he was a man of ſuch exactneſs in his principles and practice, that he could not make thoſe allowances for men and meaſures, which others thought the corruption of the times rendered neceſſary; and, therefore, he was backward in drawing upon himſelf ſuch engagements as might lead him, more or leſs, into what he thought a deviation from the truth, and the ſimplicity of the Goſpel. It appears, however, that he was employed in aſſiſting Archbiſhop Cranmer to compoſe the Homilies, which were publiſhed by authority in the beginning of King Edward's reign. Theſe Homilies were intended to ſupply the want of preaching, which was now at a low ebb; and as the reformed principles were inculcated in them, it was intended by their publication to keep the Romiſh Clergy out of the pulpits; and to that end the book of Homilies was put into the hands of all Miniſters of pariſhes, who were enjoined by authority to read one every Sunday, inſtead of preaching.

As Mr. Latimer was one of the moſt eloquent and popular preachers of the age in which he lived, he was, during the three firſt years of King Edward's reign, appointed to preach the Lent ſermons before the King. And the choice of him for this purpoſe was generally approved; for as great irregularities prevailed at this time at Court, a ſpirit of corruption, of avarice, and of great licentiouſneſs of manners, being almoſt univerſal among the Great, he was thought one of the fitteſt men in the kingdom to detect, expoſe, and cenſure theſe vices and enormities. And in his Court ſermons in conſequence of this appointment, he attacked the vices of thoſe of the higheſt rank with the greateſt energy, and an unexampled freedom. He charged vice ſo home upon the conſciences of the guilty, ſays Mr. Gilpin, that he left no room for ſelf-deceit, or miſapplication: it being a more neceſſary part, in his opinion, of the preacher's office, to rouze men into a ſenſe of their guilt, than

but I can do but little good at it; for I am no ſooner in the garden, and have read a little while, but by and by cometh ſome one or other knocking at the gate. Anon, cometh my man, and ſaith, Sir, there is one at the gate would ſpeak with you. When I come there, then it is ſome one or other that deſireth me that I will ſpeak, that his matter may be heard; or that telleth me he hath lain this long time at great coſts and charges, or that he cannot once have his matter come to an hearing."

than to diſcourſe them merely in the didactic ſtrain; inaſmuch as moſt men know more than they practiſe.

Upon the revolution which happened at Court after the death of the Duke of Somerſet, of which ſome account will be given in another place, Mr. Latimer ſeems to have retired into the country; and he there made uſe of the King's licence as a general preacher, in thoſe parts where he thought his labours might be the moſt ſerviceable. He was thus employed during the remainder of King Edward's reign, and continued in the ſame courſe, for a ſhort time, in the beginning of that of Queen Mary. But as ſoon as the re-eſtabliſhment of Popery was reſolved on, the firſt ſtep towards it was the prohibition of all preaching throughout the kingdom, and a licenſing only ſuch as were known to be Popiſhly inclined; accordingly, a ſtrict enquiry was made after the more forward and popular preachers, and many of them were taken up, and thrown into priſon.

While this enquiry was carrying on in London, Mr. Latimer was in the country, preaching in his uſual manner, unaffected by the danger of the times. But he was interrupted by the Biſhop of Wincheſter, who ſent him a citation to appear before the Council. He had notice of this deſign ſome hours before the meſſenger's arrival; but he made no other uſe of the intelligence, than to prepare himſelf for his journey. Like other eminent Reformers of that age, he choſe rather to meet, than to fly from the impending ſtorm; thinking it became thoſe who were public advocates for the uncorrupted religion of JESUS, to ſhew that no dangers could deter them from an open and ſteady adherence to the truth.

The meſſenger on his arrival finding him prepared for his journey, expreſſed his ſurprize at it. But Mr. Latimer told him, "That he was as ready to attend him to London, thus called upon to anſwer for his faith, as he ever was to take any journey in his life: and that he doubted not but that GOD, who had already enabled him to ſtand before two Princes, would enable him to ſtand before a third." The meſſenger then acquainting him, that he had no orders to ſeize his perſon, delivered a letter, and departed. From which it appears, that they choſe rather to drive him out of the kingdom, than to bring him to any public trial. "They were afraid (ſays Fox) leſt his conſtancy ſhould deface them in their Popery, and confirm the godly in the truth."

Mr. Latimer, however, having opened the letter, and found it to contain a citation from the Council, determined to obey it; and, accordingly, ſet out immediately for London. As he paſſed through Smithfield, "This place (ſaid he with a chearful air) hath long groaned for me." The next day, which was the 13th of September, 1553, he appeared before the Privy-Council, who having loaded him with many reproaches, ſent him to the Tower.

Mr.

Mr. Latimer, during his impriſonment, ſuffered great hardſhips; but he endured them with the utmoſt chearfulneſs and reſignation. Though the weather was ſeverely cold, he was kept without fire: upon which a ſervant of the Lieutenant of the Tower happening once to come in to him, he, with a facetious air, bid him tell his maſter, "That unleſs he took better care of "him, he ſhould certainly eſcape him." The ſervant reporting his meſſage, the Lieutenant, with ſome diſcompoſure in his countenance, came to Mr. Latimer, and deſired an explanation of what he had ſaid to his ſervant. "Why, you expect, I "ſuppoſe, Maſter Lieutenant," replied Mr. Latimer, "that I "ſhould be burned; but if you do not allow me a little fire, "this froſty weather, I can tell you, I ſhall firſt be ſtarved with "cold."

About the ſame time Archbiſhop Cranmer, and Biſhop Ridley, were alſo committed to the Tower. They appear at firſt to have been all confined in ſeparate rooms, but to have had the opportunity of meeting ſometimes, when they were indulged with the benefit of the air in the garden of the Tower: but at thoſe intervals they were guarded. They, however, communicated their ſentiments to each other with more freedom in writing, particularly Latimer and Ridley. But, at length, theſe three venerable perſons were all confined together in the ſame room. The reaſon of which was, that the Tower, as well as the other priſons, were now much crowded with State priſoners, as well as with thoſe who were confined on a religious account.

But however inconvenient it might be, in ſome reſpects, for ſeveral perſons to be confined in the ſame room, our venerable Latimer, and his two reſpectable fellow ſufferers, were by no means diſpleaſed with this alteration. The enjoyment of each other's company, and friendly converſe, was an high ſatisfaction to them. And now they poſſeſſed this advantage, they prepared themſelves for the conflict which they ſhortly expected, by mutual conferences, and reading over very diligently with one another the New Teſtament.

Some time before this, a Convocation had been aſſembled, in which it was pretended, that the points in controverſy between the Papiſts and the Proteſtants, ſhould be fairly argued. But as the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and the Popiſh party, had now the ſole management of affairs, they had ſo modelled the Convocation, that in the lower Houſe only ſix Proteſtant Divines got admittance; and indeed the ableſt Proteſtants were confined in priſons. However, by this junto of Papiſts, points of Divinity, and articles of faith, were ſettled. The Proteſtants being loud in their clamours againſt the flagrant partiality of theſe proceedings, the Popiſh party at length determined to do ſomething in ſupport of their cauſe, which ſhould have a leſs exceptionable appearance; and they thought ſomething of this kind the more incumbent upon them, becauſe it was ſaid among the people, that though

though the Proteſtants had laboured under ſuch diſadvantages in the late Convocation, they had notwithſtanding the better of the argument. And accordingly it was given out, that the controverſy between the Papiſts and Proteſtants ſhould be finally determined, in a ſolemn diſputation to be held at Oxford, between the moſt eminent Divines on each ſide. And Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, were appointed to manage the diſpute on the ſide of the Proteſtants.

In conſequence of this determination, on the 10th of March, 1554, a letter was ſent to the Lieutenant of the Tower, directing him to deliver the bodies of Dr. Cranmer, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Dr. Ridley, and Mr. Latimer, to Sir John Williams, to be conveyed by him to Oxford. They were not ſuffered to have any thing with them but what they carried on their backs, their own ſervants were taken from them, each had a ſtranger to attend him, and they were kept ſeverally apart from one another. When they arrived at Oxford, which they did a little before Eaſter, they were cloſely confined in the common priſon there, deprived of every conſolation, but thoſe of religion and conſcious integrity. They were even denied the uſe of pen and ink; from which they might eaſily conclude, how free the intended diſputation was likely to be.

They did not, however, employ their priſon-hours in vain lamentations; they endured their calamities with firmneſs and reſignation, and as became men whoſe hopes of happineſs were not confined to the preſent ſtate of exiſtence. Their chief reſource was in prayer, in which exerciſe they ſpent great part of every day. Mr. Latimer, particularly, would often continue kneeling till he was not able to riſe without help. The principal ſubject of his prayers was, that GOD would enable him to maintain the profeſſion of his religion to the laſt; that GOD would again reſtore his Goſpel to England, and preſerve the Princeſs Elizabeth to be a comfort to this land.

An account is preſerved of a conference between Ridley and Latimer, during the time of their impriſonment, which ſets the temper of the latter in a ſtrong light. The two Biſhops, it is ſaid, were ſitting in their priſon, ruminating upon the ſolemn preparations then making for their trial, when Biſhop Ridley thus broke ſilence. "The time," ſaid he "is now come: we "are now called upon either to deny our faith, or to ſuffer death "in its defence. You, Mr. Latimer, are an old ſoldier of "CHRIST, and have frequently withſtood the fear of death; "whereas I am raw in the ſervice, and unexperienced." With this preface, he introduced a requeſt, that Mr. Latimer, whom he called his Father, would hear him propoſe ſuch arguments as he thought it moſt likely his adverſaries would urge againſt him, and aſſiſt him in providing himſelf with proper anſwers to them. To this Mr. Latimer, in his uſual ſtrain of good humour, anſwered, that, "He fancied the good Biſhop was treating him, as

" he remembered Mr. Bilney uſed formerly to do, who, when " he wanted to teach him, would always do it under colour of " being taught himſelf. But in the preſent caſe, (ſaid he) my " Lord, I am determined for myſelf to give them very little " trouble. I ſhall juſt offer them a plain account of my faith, " and ſhall ſay very little more: for I know any thing more " will be to no purpoſe. They talk of a free diſputation; but " I am well aſſured, their grand argument will be, as it was once " their forefathers, " We have a law, and by our law ye ought " to die." However, upon Dr. Ridley's preſſing his requeſt, they entered upon the examination he deſired. When they had finiſhed this exerciſe, Ridley broke out into the following pathetic ſtrain. " Thus you ſee, good Father, how I would pre- " pare myſelf for my adverſary; and how I would learn by " practice to be expert in thoſe weapons, which I ſhall preſently " be obliged to wield. In Tine-dale, upon the borders of " Scotland, the place of my nativity, I have known my country- " men watch night and day in arms, eſpecially when they had " notice of any intended inroad from the Scots. And though " by ſuch bravery many of them loſt their lives, yet they de- " fended their country, died in a good cauſe, and entailed the " love of the neighbourhood upon their poſterity. And ſhall " not we watch in the cauſe of CHRIST, and in the defence of " our religion, whereon depend all our hopes of immortality? " Shall we not go always armed? ever ready to receive a watch- " ful foe? Let us then awake; and taking the croſs upon our " ſhoulders, let us follow our Captain CHRIST, who by his " own blood hath hallowed the way that leadeth to GOD.— " Thus, good Father, I have opened my heart freely unto you. " And now, methinks, I ſee you juſt about to lift up your eyes " to Heaven, in your accuſtomed manner, and turning your pro- " phetical countenance upon me, thus to ſpeak. --" Truſt not, " my ſon, (I pray you, vouchſafe me the the honour of this " name, for in it I ſhall think myſelf both honoured by you " and loved), truſt not, I ſay, my ſon, to theſe word-weapons, " but remember what our LORD ſays, IT SHALL BE GIVEN " YOU IN THAT SAME HOUR WHAT YOU SHALL SPEAK. Pray " for me, O Father, pray for me, that I may throw my whole " care upon GOD, and may truſt in him only in my diſtreſſes."

" Of my prayers," replied the venerable Latimer, " you " may be well aſſured: nor do I doubt but I ſhall have your's in " return. And, indeed, prayer and patience ſhould be our " great reſources. For myſelf, had I the learning of St. Paul, " I ſhould think it ill laid out upon an elaborate defence. Yet " our caſe, my Lord, admits of comfort. Our enemies can do " no more than GOD permits; and GOD is faithful; who " will not ſuffer us to be tempted above our ſtrength. Be at " a point with them: ſtand to that, and let them ſay and do " what they pleaſe. To uſe many words would be vain; yet

" it

" it is requiſite to give a reaſonable account of your faith, if " they will quietly hear you. For other things, in a wicked " judgment-hall, a man may keep ſilence after the example of " CHRIST. As for their ſophiſtry, you know falſehood may " often be diſguiſed in the colours of truth. But above all " things, be upon your guard againſt the fear of death. This " is the great argument you muſt oppoſe.---Poor Shaxton (*q*)! " it is to be feared this argument had the greateſt weight in his " recantation. But let us be ſtedfaſt and immoveable; aſſuring " ourſelves, that we cannot be more happy, than by being ſuch " Philippians, as not only believe in CHRIST, but dare ſuffer " for his ſake." Such was the noble fortitude, and ſuch were the exalted ſentiments, with which theſe two great Reformers of religion were inſpired (*r*)!

On the 13th of April, the Commiſſioners from the Convocation, who were appointed to defend the Popiſh doctrines againſt Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, arrived at Oxford. They were thirty-three in number, of whom the moſt conſiderable were Weſton, Smith, Treſham (*s*), and Chedſey. And theſe perſons, having received great civilities from the Univerſity of Oxford, and ſettled all previous punctilios, proceeded to buſineſs. Arraying themſelves in ſcarlet, they aſſembled at St. Mary's church; where ſeating themſelves before the altar, and placing the Prolocutor, Dr. Weſton, in the midſt, they ſent for the priſoners. Cranmer was firſt brought in, whom the Prolocutor informed, after having made a ſhort ſpeech in praiſe of religious unity, that the Convocation, by her Majeſty's order, taking into conſideration his apoſtacy, and that of his brethren, had commiſſioned them to endeavour to bring them back to their Mother

(*q*) NICHOLAS SHAXTON, Biſhop of Saliſbury, who was for ſome time an oppoſer of the Popiſh doctrines, and was condemned to be burnt for hereſy in the reign of Henry VIII. But he was prevailed upon to recant, and acknowledge himſelf convinced of his errors, in conſequence of which he was pardoned; and he afterwards preached a ſermon in Smithfield, in defence of Tranſubſtantiation, at the time that Anne Aſkew, and three men, were there burnt for denying that doctrine. Biſhop Burnet ſays, he was alſo concerned in the perſecution of the Proteſtants in Queen Mary's time.

(*r*) Gilpin, 153——156.

(*s*) Of Dr. Treſham, one of theſe Commiſſioners, Mr. Gilpin relates the following ſtory, as an illuſtration of his character.——When Queen Mary began to think of reſtoring the old religion at Oxford, Dr. Treſham, then Sub-Dean of Chriſt-church, was among thoſe who were truſted by her in this buſineſs. Calling together, therefore, the Members of his College, he recommended Popery to them in a ſet oration; and having talked over all the common place arguments with ſufficient prolixity, he emphatically concluded with telling them, "That a parcel of very fine copes had been made to go to Windſor; but that the Queen had been ſo gracious as to ſend them to Chriſt-church; and that if they would go to maſs, they ſhould each have one: that upon that condition, he would, moreover, procure for them the lady-bell at Bampton, which would make Chriſt-church bells the ſweeteſt of any in England: and that laſtly, he would give them as fine a water-ſprinkle, as eyes ever beheld."

Church; that for this end certain articles had been drawn up, which the Convocation had ſigned, and which it was expected that he too, and his brethren, would either ſubſcribe, or confute.

The Prolocutor then ordered the articles to be read aloud, which were theſe. "The natural body of CHRIST is really in "the Sacrament after the words ſpoken by the Prieſt.---In the "Sacrament, after the words of conſecration, no other ſub-"ſtance does remain, than the ſubſtance of the body and blood "of CHRIST.---In the maſs is a ſacrifice propitiatory for the "ſins of the quick and dead." Archbiſhop Cranmer denied the truth of theſe articles, and refuſed to ſubſcribe them; as did alſo Biſhop Ridley, who was next brought in, and to whom they were tendered in the ſame manner. The Prolocutor ordered copies of the articles to be delivered to each of them, and fixed two ſeparate days, in which, he told them, it was expected they would publicly argue againſt the articles which they had refuſed to ſubſcribe.

Cranmer and Ridley being diſmiſſed, Mr. Latimer was then brought in, like a primitive martyr, in his priſon attire. He had a cap upon his head, buttoned under his chin, a pair of ſpectacles hanging at his breaſt, a New Teſtament under his arm, and a ſtaff in his hand. He was almoſt ſpent with preſſing through the croud; and the Prolocutor ordering a chair to be brought for him, he walked up to it, and ſaying he was a very old man, ſat down without any ceremony. The articles were then tendered to him, which he denied. The Prolocutor, upon this, telling him that he muſt diſpute on the Wedneſday following, the old Biſhop, with as much chearfulneſs as he would have ſhewn upon the moſt ordinary occaſion, ſhaking his palſied head, anſwered ſmiling, "Indeed, gentlemen, I am juſt as well quali-"fied to be made Governor of Calais." He then complained, that he was very old, and very infirm; and ſaid, that he had not the uſe of pen and ink, nor any book, but that under his arm; which he had deliberately read over ſeven times, without finding the leaſt mention made of the maſs. In this ſpeech he gave great offence, by ſaying, in his humorous way, alluding to Tranſubſtantiation, that he could find neither the marrow-bones, nor the ſinews of the maſs, in the New Teſtament. Upon which, the Prolocutor cried out with ſome warmth, that he would make him find both. "That you will never do, maſter Doctor," replied Mr. Latimer. He then attempted to explain what he meant by the expreſſions he had made uſe of; but he was not permitted to ſpeak, and the aſſembly broke up.

Cranmer and Ridley having each of them publicly defended their opinions on the days fixed for that purpoſe, Biſhop Latimer likewiſe appeared in his turn at the place appointed. And when the Commiſſioners were ſeated, the audience formed, and the tumult of the croud in ſome degree ſubſided, the Prolocutor roſe up, and acquainted his hearers, that the cauſe of their meeting

was to defend the orthodox doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation; and to confute certain novel opinions, which had been of late zealouſly propagated in the nation. "And of you, Father," ſaid he, turning to the old Prelate, "I beg, if you have any "thing to ſay, that you will be as conciſe as poſſible." This was ſpoken in Latin; upon which Latimer anſwered, "I hope, "Sir, you will give me leave to ſpeak what I have to ſpeak in "Engliſh: I have been very little converſant in the Latin "tongue theſe twenty years." The Prolocutor conſented; and the Biſhop, having thanked him, replied, "I will juſt beg "leave, then, Sir, to proteſt my faith. Indeed, I am not able "to diſpute. I will proteſt my faith, and you may then do "with me juſt what you pleaſe."

Upon this he took a paper out of his pocket, and began to read it. He had in this committed to writing, his reaſons againſt aſſenting to the articles which he had been required to ſubſcribe, and his proteſtation againſt them. But he had not proceeded many minutes, when a murmur aroſe on every hand, increaſing by degrees into a clamour; and which was rather encouraged, than checked, by the Prolocutor. Mr. Latimer, ſurprized at this ſudden tumult of ill-manners, pauſed in admiration at it: but preſently recovering himſelf, he turned to the Prolocutor, and ſaid, with ſome vehemence, "In my time I have "ſpoken before two Kings, and have been heard for ſome hours "together, without interruption: but here I cannot be permit-"ted one quarter of an hour.---Dr. Weſton, I have frequently "heard of you before: but I think I never ſaw you till I came "before you on this occaſion. I perceive you have great wit, "and great learning: GOD grant you may make a right uſe "of theſe gifts!" He then gave the paper containing his proteſtation to the Prolocutor, who ſaid to him, "Since you refuſe "to diſpute, will you then ſubſcribe?" Upon Latimer's anſwering in the negative, Weſton artfully led him by a train of familiar queſtions into an argument; and when he thought he had raiſed him to a proper pitch, he gave a ſign to Dr. Smith, who was appointed to oppoſe him, to begin: who being prepared, immediately roſe up, and in a pompous manner prefaced the diſputation, and gave out the queſtion. When he had done, Mr. Latimer gravely anſwered, "I am ſorry, Sir, that this wor-"ſhipful audience muſt be diſappointed in their expectations: "I have already ſpoken my mind."

The Prolocutor obſerving this, began again in his artful manner to draw Mr. Latimer into an argument. "Pray, Sir," ſaid he, "how long have you been in priſon?" "About nine "months, Sir." "But I was impriſoned," ſaid Weſton, "ſix "years." "I am heartily ſorry for it, Sir." "I think "you were once, Mr. Latimer, of our way of thinking." "I was, Sir." "I have heard too, that you have ſaid maſs in "your time." "I have, Sir; and I beg of GOD forgiveneſs for "it."

" it." He then aſked him, why he altered his opinion, and where he got his preſent new-fangled notions; and thus, by degrees, led him to anſwer the chief arguments brought from Scripture in favour of Tranſubſtantiation. They then began to ply him with the Fathers; and firſt a paſſage from St. Hillary was quoted. As he was about to anſwer, one of the Commiſſioners called out to him, being probably apprehenſive that Mr. Latimer would corrupt the populace by his heretical opinions, " Mr. Latimer, ſpeak in Latin, ſpeak in Latin; I know you " can do it, if you pleaſe." But the Biſhop ſaying he had the Prolocutor's leave, went on in Engliſh, and told them, that, " As for the paſſage from Hillary, which they had quoted, he really could not ſee that it made much for them; but he would anſwer them by another quotation from Melancthon, who ſays, that if the Fathers had foreſeen how much weight their authority was to have in this controverſy, they would have written with more caution."

But Latimer's opponent not being ſatisfied with this, endeavoured to reduce the words of Hillary into a ſyllogiſtic argument, and began thus: " Such as is the unity of our fleſh with CHRIST's blood; ſuch, nay greater, is the unity of CHRIST with the FATHER.---But the unity of CHRIST's fleſh with our fleſh, is true and ſubſtantial.---Therefore, the unity of CHRIST with the FATHER, is true and ſubſtantial." Here he pauſed, expecting that the Biſhop would deny his Major or his Minor, as the logicians ſpeak. But inſtead of that, he anſwered gravely, " You may go on, Sir, if you pleaſe; but, upon my word, I do " not underſtand you."

The jargon of this learned Doctor being ſilenced, others attacked him, but with equal ſucceſs. He anſwered their queſtions as far as civility required, but none of them could engage him in any formal diſputation. And when proofs from the Fathers were multiplied upon him, he at length told them plainly, " That ſuch proofs had no weight with him: that the Fathers, no doubt, were often deceived; and that he never depended upon them, but when they depended upon Scripture." " Then you " are not of St. Chryſoſtom's faith, (replied his antagoniſt) nor " of St. Auſtin's." " I have told you (ſaid Mr. Latimer) I am " not, except when they bring Scripture for what they ſay (*t*)."

Little more was ſaid, of any importance, before the Prolocutor addreſſed himſelf to our old Prelate, and ſaid, " Well, Mr. Lati- " mer, this is our intent, to wiſh you well, and to exhort you to " come to yourſelf; and remember, that without Noah's ark, " (meaning the church), there is no health. Remember, what " they have been that were the beginners of your doctrine; " none but a few flying apoſtates, running out of Germany for " fear of the faggot. Remember what they have been which " have

(*t*) *Vid.* Gilpin, as before, P. 167——171.

" have ſet forth the ſame in this Realm: a ſort of SLING-BRAINS " and LIGHT-HEADS, which were never conſtant in any one " thing." Dr. Weſton concluded his eloquent harangue with ſaying to the Biſhop, " Your ſtubborneſs cometh of a vain " glory, which is to no purpoſe; for it will do you no good " when a faggot is in your beard." He then told him, that the Queen would be merciful, if he would renounce his opinions. But Biſhop Latimer aſſured him, that it would be in vain for him to form any expectations of that kind. And he added, " I pray " daily for the Queen, from the bottom of my heart, that ſhe " may turn from this religion." The Prolocutor then roſe up, and diſſolved the aſſembly, crying out to the populace, " Here " you all ſee the weakneſs of hereſy againſt the truth: here is " a man who, adhering to his errors, hath given up the Goſpel, " and rejected the Fathers." The old Biſhop made no reply; but wrapping his gown about him, and taking up his New Teſtament, and his ſtaff, walked out as unconcerned as he came in.

Theſe public diſputations being now at an end, nothing remained but to paſs ſentence. On the Friday following, therefore, the Commiſſioners, ſeated in their accuſtomed form, ſent for the three Biſhops to St. Mary's church: where, after ſome affected exhortations to recant, ſentence was pronounced againſt them, that they were no Members of the Church: and therefore they, their fautors and patrons, were condemned as Heretics. As ſoon as the ſentence was read, Biſhop Latimer lifting up his eyes, cried out, " I thank GOD moſt heartily, that he " hath prolonged my life to this end!" To which the Prolocutor replied, " If you go to Heaven in this faith, I am tho- " roughly perſuaded I ſhall never get there." The three Prelates were then ſeparately carried away to different places of confinement; Cranmer to a priſon called Bocardo, Ridley to the Sheriff's houſe, and Latimer to the Bailiff's. And the next day a grand proceſſion was made, in which the hoſt, by way of triumph, was carried in ſtate, under a canopy.

The three Biſhops were continued in cloſe confinement at Oxford upwards of ſixteen months, without any ſteps being taken towards putting them to the cruel death which it was intended they ſhould ſuffer. This had been hitherto delayed, partly becauſe the former proceedings againſt them at Oxford had been irregular, as the ſtatutes on which they had been condemned were not then in force; and partly, as it is ſaid, on account of ſome private views of Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, who had the chief management of affairs.

New laws, however, in ſupport of the Romiſh religion, had now been enacted; the Pope's authority was again acknowledged; the old ſanguinary laws againſt Heretics were revived; and the moſt bloody perſecution of the Proteſtants which was ever ſeen in England, followed in conſequence. And a commiſ-

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ſion was now granted from Cardinal Pole, the Pope's Legate A LATERE, to White, Biſhop of Lincoln, Brookes, Biſhop of Glouceſter, and Holiman, Biſhop of Briſtol, empowering them to cite the Biſhops Latimer and Ridley before them, and to try them for hereſy. They were directed to receive them into the boſom of the Church, as penitents, if they would renounce their errors; but if they continued obſtinate, they were to condemn them as Heretics, and deliver them over to the ſecular arm.

Accordingly the Commiſſioners repaired to Oxford; and on the 30th of September, 1555, having ſeated themſelves in great ſtate in the divinity ſchool, the two Biſhops were cited to appear before them. Ridley was firſt examined; and when they had done with him, Biſhop Latimer was brought in. The Biſhop of Lincoln, who was an eloquent man, made a pathetic ſpeech to him, in which he earneſtly exhorted him to accept the mercy which was offered him, and to acknowledge the authority of the See of Rome. Mr. Latimer then, having obtained permiſſion to ſit down, thanked the Biſhop for his gentle treatment of him; but at the ſame time aſſured him, that it was in vain to expect from him any acknowledgment of the Pope's authority. He did not believe, he ſaid, that any ſuch juriſdiction had been given to the See of Rome; nor had the Biſhops of Rome behaved, as if their power had been from GOD. He then quoted a Popiſh book, which had been lately written, to ſhew how groſly the Papiſts would miſrepreſent Scripture: and concluded with ſaying, that he thought the Clergy had nothing to do with temporal power, nor ought ever to be entruſted with it: and that their commiſſion from their maſter, in his opinion, extended no farther than to the diſcharge of their paſtoral functions.

To this the Biſhop of Lincoln replied, "That he thought his ſtile not quite ſo decent as it might be; and that, as to the book which he quoted, he knew nothing of it." At this the old Biſhop ſeemed to expreſs his ſurprize, and told him, that although he did not know the author of it, yet it was written by a perſon of name, the Biſhop of Glouceſter. This produced ſome mirth among the audience, as the Biſhop of Glouceſter ſat then upon the bench. And that Prelate, finding himſelf thus publicly challenged, roſe up, and, addreſſing himſelf to Mr. Latimer, made ſome obſervations in defence of his book. But his zeal carrying him too far, the Biſhop of London interrupting him, ſaid, "We came not here, my Lord, to diſpute with Mr. "Latimer, but to take his anſwer to certain articles which ſhall "be propoſed to him."

Theſe articles were much the ſame as thoſe, on which he had been brought to diſpute the year before. They were accordingly read, and Mr. Latimer anſwered them all as he then did; at the ſame time proteſting, which proteſtation he begged might be regiſtered, that, notwithſtanding his anſwers to the Pope's Commiſſioners, he by no means acknowledged the authority

rity of the Pope. The notaries having taken down his anſwers and proteſtation, the Biſhop of Lincoln told him, "That as far as he could, he would ſhew lenity to him; that he ſhould be called upon the next morning, when he might make what alterations he pleaſed in the anſwers which he had now given in; and that he hoped in GOD he ſhould then find him in a better temper." To this the old Biſhop anſwered, "That he begged they would do with him then juſt what they pleaſed, and that he might not trouble them, nor they him another day; that as to his opinions, he was fixed in them; and that any reſpite would be needleſs." The Biſhop of Lincoln, however, told him, that he muſt appear again the next morning; and then diſſolved the aſſembly (*u*).

Accordingly, the next morning, the Commiſſioners ſitting in the ſame form, Biſhop Latimer was once more brought in. And the Biſhop of Lincoln repeatedly urged him to renounce his opinions; but he ſtill continuing in the ſame ſentiments, the Prelate at length paſſed ſentence upon him. From this ſentence, Latimer appealed to the next general Council, which ſhould be truly called in GOD's name; but the Biſhop of Lincoln told him, and the Prelate was certainly in the right, that it would be a long ſeaſon before ſuch a Convocation would be called. Having ſaid this, he committed Biſhop Latimer to the cuſtody of the Mayor, and diſſolved the aſſembly. Sentence had been paſſed the ſame day on Biſhop Ridley.

The 16th of October, about a fortnight from this time, was fixed for their execution; and on the north-ſide of the town, near Baliol-College, a ſpot of ground was choſen for the place of it. And in the mean time, as it was feared this affair might occaſion ſome diſturbance, Lord Williams was ordered to arm a body of the militia, and repair immediately to Oxford, to attend on the occaſion.

On the day appointed, the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, and other perſons of diſtinction, repaired early in the morning to the place of execution; and the Lord Williams having drawn his guard around the place, the priſoners were ſent for. Biſhop Ridley firſt entered the dreadful circle, accompanied by the Mayor and one of the Aldermen; and ſoon after Biſhop Latimer was brought in. The former was dreſſed in his epiſcopal habit; the latter, as uſual, in his priſon-attire. This difference in their dreſs made a moving contraſt, and augmented the concern of the ſpectators: Biſhop Ridley ſhewing what they had before been, and Biſhop Latimer what they were now reduced to.

While they ſtood before the ſtake, about to prepare themſelves for the fire, they were informed that they muſt firſt hear a ſermon: and ſoon after, Dr. Smith aſcended a pulpit, prepared for the purpoſe, and preached on theſe words of St. Paul. "Though "I give

(*u*) *Vid.* Gilpin, P. 184—189.

" I give my body to be burned, and have not CHARITY, it pro-
" fiteth me nothing (*w*)." In his diſcourſe, he treated the two Biſhops with great inhumanity; aſperſing both their characters and tenets. Both Ridley and Latimer were deſirous of ſaying ſomething in anſwer to Smith's ſermon; but they were not permitted.

An Officer then ſtepped up, and acquainted them, " That at their leiſure they might now make ready for the ſtake." And the attention of the ſpectators at length burſt into tears, when they ſaw theſe two venerable men now preparing for death. When they conſidered, as Mr. Fox obſerves, their preferments, the places of honour they held in the Commonwealth, the favour they ſtood in with their Princes, their great learning, and greater piety, they were overwhelmed with ſorrow to ſee ſo much dignity, ſo much honour, ſo much eſtimation, ſo many godly virtues, the ſtudy of ſo many years, and ſo much excellent learning, about to be conſumed in one moment.

Mr. Latimer, having thrown off the old gown which was wrapped about him, appeared in a ſhroud, prepared for the purpoſe: and " whereas before (ſays Mr. Fox) he ſeemed a withered " and crooked old man, he now ſtood bolt upright, as comely a " Father as one might lightly behold." And when he and his fellow ſufferer Ridley were ready, they were both faſtened to the ſtake with an iron chain. They then brought a faggot ready kindled, and laid it at Ridley's feet; to whom Latimer ſaid, " Be of good comfort, Maſter Ridley, and play the man. We " ſhall this day light ſuch a candle by GOD's grace in Eng-" land, as I truſt ſhall never be put out." He then recommended his ſoul to GOD, and received the flame as it were embracing it. And after he had ſtroked his face with his hand, he ſoon died, and to all appearance without much pain. His end was haſtened by ſome gunpowder, which was faſtened about his body; and which was brought to the ſtake for that purpoſe by Mr. Shipſide, brother-in-law to Biſhop Ridley.

Such was the end of HUGH LATIMER, Biſhop of Worceſter; one of the leaders of that glorious army of martyrs, who introduced the Reformation in England. He was a Prelate of a moſt exemplary and primitive character, and of the moſt unaffected goodneſs. He was indefatigable in the diſcharge of the duties of his profeſſion; and that he might have the more time for that purpoſe, it was his general cuſtom, we are told, to riſe at two o'clock in the morning. He poſſeſſed an uncommon chearfulneſs of temper, and a very lively wit; and ſo much fortitude of mind, that none of the accidents of life could diſcompoſe him, nor could the ſevereſt trials unman him. No dangers could deter

(*w*) A text admirably ſuited to the occaſion! Without doubt, the tragedy that was about to be exhibited, was a ſtriking ſpecimen of Popiſh MERCY, BENEVOLENCE, and CHARITY!

deter him from the performance of what he thought to be his duty; nor could he be drawn from it by the allurements of ambition. For though ſometimes converſant in Courts, and admitted to the familiarity of Princes, he preſerved to the laſt his original plainneſs and ſimplicity of manners.

Biſhop Latimer was not eſteemed a very learned man; for he cultivated only uſeful learning; and that, he thought, lay in a narrow compaſs. He never engaged in temporal affairs, thinking that a Clergyman ought to employ himſelf only in his profeſſion. And he lived rather a good, than what the world calls a great man. He had not thoſe commanding talents, which give ſuperiority in buſineſs; but for honeſty and ſincerity of heart, for apoſtolic zeal in the cauſe of religion, and for every virtue both of a public and private kind, that ſhould adorn the Chriſtian, he was eminent and exemplary beyond moſt men of his own, or indeed any other time; well deſerving that evangelical commendation, "With the teſtimony of a good conſci-"ence, in ſimplicity and godly ſincerity, not with fleſhly wiſ-"dom, but by the grace of GOD, he had his converſation in "the world."

His great merit as a preacher hath been already ſpoken of. No man of that age could perſuade, or exhort, with equal force. And the wicked, of whatever rank, or in whatever ſtation, he rebuked with an uncommon freedom. A collection of his ſermons was publiſhed in 1570, by Auguſtus Bernhere, an Helvetian, or Swiſs, (who calls the Biſhop his maſter), and dedicated by him to Catherine, Dutcheſs of Suffolk. They were printed again in 1572, and in 1635, in 4to. This collection conſiſts of forty ſermons; one of which was preached before the Convocation; ſeven before King Edward the Sixth; ſeven upon the LORD's Prayer; and others upon particular occaſions.

Biſhop Latimer's ſermons, ſays Mr. Gilpin, are far from being exact pieces of compoſition. Elegant writing was then little known. Some polite ſcholars there were, Cheke, Aſcham, and a few others, who, from an acquaintance with claſſical learning, of which they were the reſtorers, began to think in a new manner, and could treat a ſubject with accuracy at leaſt, if not with elegance. But in general, the writers of that age, and eſpecially the churchmen, were equally incorrect in their compoſition, and ſlovenly in their language. We muſt not, therefore, expect that Mr. Latimer's diſcourſes will ſtand a critical enquiry: they are at beſt looſe, incoherent pieces: yet his ſimplicity, and low familiarity, his humour, and gibing drollery, were well adapted to the times; and his oratory, according to the mode of eloquence at that day, was exceeding popular. His manner of preaching too was very affecting: and no wonder; for he ſpoke immediately from his heart.

We ſhall ſelect one or two paſſages from Biſhop Latimer's ſermons, as a ſpecimen of his ſtile and manner.

In ſeveral of his ſermons he cenſures the Clergy with much ſeverity, and particularly the Biſhops. In one of them, preached before King Edward VI. he expreſſes himſelf thus: "Thou "ſhalt not (ſays he, addreſſing himſelf to his Majeſty), be partaker of other men's ſins. So ſaith St. Paul. And what is it "to be a partaker of other men's ſins, if it be not ſo, to make "unpreaching Prelates, and to ſuffer them to continue ſtill in "their unpreaching Prelacy. If the King ſhould ſuffer theſe "things, and look through his fingers, and wink at them, "ſhould not the King be a partaker of other men's ſins? And "why? Is he not ſupreme head of the Church? What? Is the "ſupremacy a dignity, and nothing elſe? Is it not accountable? I think verily it will be a chargeable dignity, when account ſhall be aſked of it.---If the ſalt is unſavoury, it is good "for nothing. By this ſalt is underſtood preachers. And if it "is good for nothing, it ſhould be caſt out. Out with them "then, caſt them out of their office. What ſhould they do "with cures, that will not look to them?---O that a man might "have the contemplation of Hell; that the Devil would allow "a man to look into it, and ſee its ſtate, as he ſhewed all the "world, when he tempted CHRIST in the wilderneſs. On "yonder ſide, would the Devil ſay, are puniſhed unpreaching "Prelates. I think verily a man might ſee as far a kenning, as "far as from Calais to Dover, I warrant you, and ſee nothing "but unpreaching Prelates.---As for them, I never look to have "their good words as long as I live. Yet will I ſpeak of their "wickedneſs, as long as I ſhall be permitted to ſpeak. No "preacher can paſs it over in ſilence. It is the original root of "all miſchief. As for me, I owe them no other ill-will, but to "pray GOD to amend them. I would have them do their duty. "I owe them no other malice than this, and this is none at all."

In another ſermon, preached alſo before the King, he cenſures the venality of Judges, and thoſe who had the diſpoſal of offices. "If a Judge (ſays he) ſhould aſk me the way to Hell, I "would ſhew him this way: firſt let him be a covetous man; "then let him go a little farther, and take bribes; and laſtly, "let him pervert judgment. Lo, here is the mother, and the "daughter, and the daughter's daughter. Avarice is the mother; ſhe brings forth bribe-taking, and bribe-taking perverting of judgment. There lacks a fourth thing to make "up the meſs, which, ſo GOD help me, if I were Judge, ſhould "be a Tyburn tippit. Were it the Judge of the King's Bench, "my Lord Chief Juſtice of England, yea, were it my Lord "Chancellor himſelf, to Tyburn with him.---But one will ſay, "peradventure, you ſpeak unſeemly ſo to be againſt the Officers, for taking of rewards: you conſider not the matter to "the bottom. Their offices be bought for great ſums: how

" ſhould they receive their money again, but by bribing? You " would not have them undone? Some of them give two hun- " dred pounds, ſome five hundred, ſome two thouſand; and " how can they gather up this money again, but by helping " themſelves in their office?---And is it ſo, trow ye? Are civil " offices bought for money? LORD GOD! who would have " thought it! Oh! that your Grace would ſeek through your " Realm for men, meet for offices, yea, and give them liberally " for their pains, rather than that they ſhould give money for " them. This buying of offices is a making of bribery: for " he that buyeth, muſt needs ſell. You ſhould ſeek out for of- " fices wiſe men, and men of activity, that have ſtomachs to " do their buſineſs; not milk-ſops, nor white-livered Knights; " but fearers of GOD: for he that feareth GOD, will be no " briber.---But perhaps you will ſay, We touch no bribes. No, " marry; but my miſtreſs, your wife, hath a fine finger; ſhe " toucheth it for you; or elſe you have a ſervant, who will ſay, " If you will offer my maſter a yoke of oxen, you will fare ne- " ver the worſe: but I think my maſter will not take them. " When he has offered them to the maſter, then comes another " ſervant, and ſays, If you will carry them to the clerk of the " kitchen, you will be remembered the better. This is a friarly " faſhion: they will receive no money in their hands, but will " have it put upon their ſleeves."---If our good Prelate had lived in the preſent age, he would have had ample ſcope for the warmeſt declamations againſt venality; for many and great improvements have been made in the ſcience of bribery and corruption, ſince the time of honeſt Latimer.

In another ſermon, in which he again attacks the Prelates, he expreſſes himſelf thus: " CHRIST tells us, (ſays he), it be- " hoved him to preach the Goſpel, for therefore was he ſent. " Is it not a marvellous thing, that our unpreaching Prelates " can read this place, and yet preach ſo little as they do? I mar- " vel that they can go quietly to bed.---The Devil hath ſet up " a ſtate of unpreaching Prelacy theſe ſeven hundred years, and " hath made unpreaching Prelates.-----I heard of a Biſhop of " England, that went on a viſitation, and when he ſhould have " been rung into the town, as the cuſtom is, the great bell's " clapper was fallen down. There was a great matter made of " this, and the chief of the pariſh were much blamed for it in " the viſitation: and the Biſhop was ſomewhat quick with " them. They made their anſwers, and excuſed themſelves as " well as they could: it was a chance, they ſaid; and it ſhould " be amended as ſhortly as it might be. Among them there " was one wiſer than the reſt, who comes up to the Biſhop: " Why, my Lord, ſays he, doth your Lordſhip make ſo great a " matter of the bell that lacketh a clapper? Here is a bell, ſaith " he, and pointed to the pulpit, that hath lacked a clapper theſe " twenty years." I warrant you, this Biſhop was an unpreach-

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" ing Prelate: he could find fault with the bell that wanted a " clapper to ring him into town, but he could find no fault with " the Parſon that preached not at his benefice."

In the laſt of theſe ſermons which were preached before the King, after having four times repeated theſe words, " Take heed, " and beware of covetouſneſs," he proceeds thus, " And what " if I ſhould ſay nothing elſe theſe three or four hours, but theſe " words?---Great complaints there are of it, and much crying " out, and much preaching; but little amendment, that I can " ſee.---Covetouſneſs is the root of all evil. Then have at the " root: out with your ſwords, ye preachers, and ſtrike at the " root. Stand not ticking and toying at the branches, for new " branches will ſpring out again, but ſtrike at the root, and fear " not theſe great men; theſe men of power; theſe oppreſſors " of the needy; fear them not, but ſtrike at the root."

In this ſermon he addreſſes himſelf frequently, and with great freedom, to the King. " I come now (ſays he) rather as a ſui- " tor to your Majeſty, than a preacher: for I come to take my " laſt farewell in this place: and here I will aſk a petition. " For the love of GOD take an order for marriages here in " England. There is much adultery now-a-days, not only in " the Nobility, but among the inferior ſort. I could wiſh, " therefore, that a law might be provided in this behalf, and " that adulterers might be puniſhed with death. If the huſ- " band, or wife ſhould become ſuitor, they might be pardoned " the firſt time, but not the ſecond.---And here I have another " ſuit to your Majeſty: when you come to age, beware what " perſons you have about you. For if you be ſet on pleaſure, " or diſpoſed to wantonneſs, you ſhall have Miniſters enough to " be fartherers and inſtruments of it.---Fear not foreign Princes, " and foreign Powers. GOD ſhall make you ſtrong enough: " fear him; fear not them. Peradventure you ſhall have that " ſhall move you, and ſay unto you, " Oh, Sir, ſuch a one is a " mighty Prince, and a King of great power: you cannot be " without his friendſhip: agree with him in religion, or elſe " you ſhall have him your enemy." Well; fear them not; " cleave to GOD; and he ſhall defend you: though you " ſhould have that would turn with you, yea, even in their " white rochets.---Beware, therefore, of two affections, Fear " and Love. And I require you, look to your office yourſelf, " and lay not all on the Officers backs. Receive bills of ſup- " plication yourſelf. I do not ſee you do now-a-days, as you " were wont to do laſt year. Poor men put up bills every day, " and never the nearer. Begin, therefore, doing of your office " yourſelf, now when you are young; and ſit once or twice in " the week in council among your Lords: it will cauſe things " to have good ſucceſs, and matters will not be ſo lingered from " day to day."

We

We ſhall conclude theſe extracts, with Biſhop Latimer's own apology for his free ſpeaking. "England (ſays he) cannot "abide this geer; it cannot hear GOD's Miniſter, and his "threatening againſt ſin. Though the ſermon be never ſo "good, and never ſo true, ſtrait he is a ſeditious fellow, he "maketh trouble and rebellion in the Realm, he lacketh diſ-"cretion. Now-a-days, if they cannot reprove the doctrine, "they will reprove the preacher: what! preach ſuch things "NOW! He ſhould have reſpect to the TIME, and the STATE "OF THINGS. It rejoiceth me, when my friends tell me, that "people find fault with my diſcretion: for by likelihood, think "I, the doctrine is true: for if they could find fault with the "doctrine, they would not charge me with the lack of diſcre-"tion, or the inconveniency of the time. I will aſk you a "queſtion: I pray you, when ſhould Jonas have preached "againſt the covetouſneſs of Nineveh, if the covetous men "ſhould have appointed him his time? I know that preachers "ought to have diſcretion in their preaching; and that they "ought to have a conſideration, and reſpect to the place and "the time, where and when they preach: and I ſay here what I "would not ſay in the country for no good. But what then? "Sin muſt be rebuked: ſin muſt be plainly ſpoken againſt."

Mr. Fox has preſerved ſeveral of Biſhop Latimer's letters, in his Acts and Monuments; and injunctions given by Latimer to the Prior and Convent of St. Mary Houſe in Worceſter, during his viſitation in 1537, have been publiſhed by Biſhop Burnet, in the collection of Records at the end of the ſecond Volume of his Hiſtory of the Reformation.



THE

The Life of CUTHBERT TONSTAL, Biſhop of Durham.

CUTHBERT TONSTAL was born at Hatchford in Richmondſhire, about the year 1474. He was a natural ſon of a gentleman named Tonſtal, by a daughter of the Conyers family. He became a ſtudent in the Univerſity of Oxford about 1491; but being forced to leave it on account of the plague, he went to Cambridge, where he became Fellow of King's Hall (*x*). After having for ſome time proſecuted his ſtudies there, he travelled beyond ſea; and ſtudied in the Univerſity of Padua, which was then in the higheſt reputation. He there took the degree of Doctor of Laws; for it does not appear that he had taken any degree in either of our Univerſities. He applied himſelf to his ſtudies with ſo much diligence and ſucceſs, that Biſhop Godwin tells us, "there was ſcarce any "kind of good learning in which he was not excellent; being "a very good Grecian, well acquainted with the Hebrew, a "very eloquent Rhetorician, a ſkilful Mathematician, famous "eſpecially for Arithmetic, a great Lawyer, and a profound "Divine."

Dr. Tonſtal's intellectual endowments, together with the character which he had acquired, as a man of piety and virtue, recommended him, after his return into England, to the patronage of Archbiſhop Warham, who conſtituted him his Vicar-General, or Chancellor, in Auguſt, 1511. The Archbiſhop alſo introduced and recommended him to King Henry VIII. and by that means greatly contributed towards his future advancement. He alſo collated him, in December the ſame year, to the Rectory of Harrow on the Hill, in Middleſex.

In 1514, Dr. Tonſtal was inſtalled in the Prebend of Stow-Longa, in the church of Lincoln, and the following year admitted Archdeacon of Cheſter. In 1516, he was made Maſter of the Rolls, a poſt for which his extenſive knowledge in the laws had well qualified him. The ſame year he was ſent on an Embaſſy, together with Sir Thomas More, to the Emperor Charles V. then at Bruſſels; and had the ſatisfaction of living there in the ſame houſe with Eraſmus. This we learn from an epiſtle

(*x*) This Hall is now incorporated with, and made part of Trinity College.

epiſtle of Eraſmus, in which he expreſſes himſelf thus: "We "have here (ſays he) Cuthbert Tonſtal, Maſter of the Rolls in "England, Ambaſſador from his Prince to our Emperor, "Charles V. A man, who not only excels all his cotempora- "ries in the knowledge of the learned languages, but is "alſo of an exquiſite judgment, of a clear underſtanding, and "of uncommon modeſty. He is likewiſe of a chearful and "agreeable temper, but without levity. I board with him, "which is a great happineſs to me."

During the time that Dr. Tonſtal was employed on this Embaſſy, he was extremely diligent in diſcharging the duties of his poſt; and as his abilities were fully equal to the office he had undertaken, nothing eſcaped him, in which the intereſt of his maſter, King Henry, was concerned. He perfectly underſtood the ſtate of the Imperial Court, penetrated into all the deſigns of it, and failed not, as occaſion offered, to communicate his obſervations, and impart his advice, either to the King, or to Cardinal Wolſey, then Prime Miniſter. In 1517, he returned to England; but he had not been at home above ten days, before he was ſent upon a ſecond Embaſſy to the Emperor.

In 1519, Dr. Tonſtal was collated to the Prebend of Botevant, in the church of York; and on the 26th of May, 1521, he was alſo made Prebendary of Combe and Hornham, in the church of Sarum; and in the ſame month and year, elected Dean of that church. And his great learning and abilities, and the fidelity and affiduity which he diſplayed in his ſeveral employments, had now ſo recommended him to the Royal favour, that in 1522, he was promoted to the Biſhopric of London. And in 1523, he was made Keeper of the Privy Seal. In 1525, he and Sir Richard Wingfield went Ambaſſadors into Spain, in order to confer with the Emperor, after the King of France, Francis I. was taken priſoner at the battle of Pavia (*y*).

In 1527, we find Biſhop Tonſtal employed in proſecuting ſeveral perſons in his Dioceſe for hereſy. For he was ſtrongly attached to the principles of the Romiſh Church; and upon the firſt appearance of the writings of Luther, he earneſtly ſolicited Eraſmus to write againſt them, and he beſtowed ſome very hard names upon Luther. Eraſmus, however, excuſed himſelf as well as he could; and, in his anſwer to Tonſtal, ſaid ſome things in favour of Luther. "I hear (ſaid he) that ſome things are "condemned in the writings of Luther; which, if they were "truly examined by learned, upright, and impartial perſons, "would contribute to the promotion of that holy and evange- "lical ſpirit, which is too much loſt in the world."

But as our Prelate was of a temper naturally mild and humane, he did not carry his zeal for the Church ſo far, as to cauſe any perſons to be put to death for their opinions. On the con-

(*y*) *Vid.* P. 35. of this Volume.

trary, he was always an advocate for milder methods of reclaiming them from their errors. He cannot, however, be entirely acquitted from the guilt of perſecution. "Tonſtal (ſays Dr. "Jortin) was an oppreſſor of the Proteſtants, though he did "not ſhed their blood; and compelled theſe poor people to ac-"cuſe themſelves, their friends, and their neareſt relations. "Curſed are the theological principles, which produce ſuch "ſad effects even in good-tempered men, and eat up ſo much of "their honour and humanity (x)!"

In July, 1527, Biſhop Tonſtal attended Cardinal Wolſey in his pompous Embaſſy into France; and in 1529, he was one of the Engliſh Ambaſſadors employed to negociate the treaty of Cambray. And on his return from the latter Embaſſy, he gave a remarkable evidence of his attachment to Popery. William Tyndal (a) had publiſhed the year before an Engliſh tranſlation of

(x) Vid. Life of Eraſmus, Vol. II. P. 711.

(a) WILLIAM TYNDAL was born about the borders of Wales. After being initiated in Grammar learning, he proſecuted his ſtudies in the univerſity of Oxford; where having imbibed the principles of the Reformation, he privately inſtructed in it ſome of the junior fellows of Magdalen College, and other ſtudents. And he was greatly eſteemed in the Univerſity for his excellent moral character, being conſidered as a man of a moſt virtuous diſpoſition, and of an unſpotted life. So that in conſideration of his merit, he was admitted a canon of the college then newly founded by Cardinal Wolſey. But he was obliged to quit it, on account of his eſpouſing the Lutheran opinions too openly; upon which he retired to Cambridge, where he diligently applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the holy Scriptures, and of divinity. After ſome ſtay at Cambridge, he went and reſided at Little Sodbury in Glouceſterſhire, with Sir John Welch, Knt. who greatly eſteemed him, and to whoſe children he was appointed tutor. And in order to give the knight and his lady good impreſſions of religion, he put into their hands Eraſmus's manual of a Chriſtian ſoldier, tranſlated into Engliſh by himſelf. And with a view of propagating the principles of the Reformation as much as in his power, he frequently preached in and about Briſtol.

Sir John Welch, being a very hoſpitable man, many Abbots and dignified Clergymen reſorted to his table; which gave Mr. Tyndal an opportunity to converſe, and often to diſpute, with them upon the moſt important points of Religion. And as he was learned, and well acquainted with the ſacred writings, he made no ſcruple of freely declaring to them his ſentiments on moſt points. And when they at any time declared their diſſent from his opinions, he would appeal to the ſcriptures, and ſupport what he ſaid by them. And thus they continued for a while, reaſoning and contending together, till at length his opponents grew weary, and being unable to anſwer or convince him, began to entertain a ſecret grudge againſt him. He complains, in his prologue to the firſt book of Moſes, of their ill uſage towards him; teſtifying that he ſuffered much in that country by a ſort of unlearned prieſts: being full rude and ignorant, (ſays he), God knoweth; which have ſeen no more Latin than that only which they read in their porteſſes & miſſals, which yet many of them can ſcarcely read.

Mr. Tyndal having thus brought upon himſelf the ill-will of the Popiſh Clergy, they not only reviled him as an heretic, but preferred articles againſt him to the Chancellor of the Dioceſe, before whom he appeared, and was ſeverely reprimanded and threatened, but no farther proceeded

of the New Teſtament, which Tonſtal had exerted himſelf to ſuppreſs. But as he had been hitherto unable to effect this, on his return from Cambray, paſſing through Antwerp, he ſent for one Auguſtine Packington, an Engliſh merchant there, and deſired him to buy up all the copies of Tyndal's tranſlation of the New Teſtament which he could meet with. Packington accordingly, being a favourer of Tyndal, acquainted him with Tonſtal's deſign. This information was very agreeable to Tyndal; for being convinced of ſome faults in his verſion, he was deſirous of printing a new and more correct edition; but he was poor, and the former impreſſion not being ſold off, he could not undertake it: ſo he gave Packington all the copies that lay in his hands, for which Biſhop Tonſtal paid the price; and when he returned into England, cauſed them to be publicly burnt in Cheapſide. This had ſuch an hateful appearance in it, being generally called a burning of the Word of GOD, that people from thence naturally concluded there muſt be a viſible contra-

ceeded againſt at that time. However, obſerving that he could no longer continue quietly in that country, and that his patron, Sir John Welch, could not protect him, without bringing himſelf into danger, they parted by mutual conſent. Mr. Tyndal then came to London, and preached for ſome time in the church of St. Dunſtan in the weſt. And having conceived an high opinion of Biſhop Tonſtal, from his character, and the encomiums beſtowed on that Prelate by Eraſmus, he imagined that he ſhould be an happy man, if he could be admitted into his ſervice, as one of his Chaplains. For this purpoſe he applied to Sir Henry Guilford, Maſter of the horſe to King Henry VIII. who was a great patron of learned men, a particular friend of Eraſmus, and an acquaintance of Sir John Welch's: and he preſented to him an oration of Iſocrates, which he had tranſlated from the Greek; & which, as the Greek language was then underſtood but by very few in England, was conſidered as an evidence of uncommon erudition. Sir Henry readily complied with Mr. Tyndal's requeſt, and not only recommended him to Biſhop Tonſtal, but adviſed him to write an epiſtle to his Lordſhip, and carry it himſelf. This advice he accordingly complied with. But Tonſtal's anſwer was, "That "his houſe was full; he had more "than he could well provide for; "and therefore adviſed Mr. Tyndal "to ſeek out in London; where, he "ſaid, he could not well miſs of "employment." Not being able, however, to obtain any, he was ſupported by Mr. Humphrey Monmouth, Alderman of London, a favourer of the reformed opinions, where he lived in the moſt temperate and regular manner, applying himſelf to his ſtudies with unwearied aſſiduity. His thoughts were then bent upon tranſlating the New Teſtament into Engliſh, as the only means to root out Popery, and eſtabliſh true Chriſtianity. But being ſenſible he could not ſafely do it in England, he reſolved to go abroad into Germany, as a place of greater ſecurity. This he was enabled to do by the aſſiſtance of Mr. Monmouth, and other well diſpoſed perſons; who gave him an annuity of ten pounds a year, which was then thought a ſufficient maintenance for a ſingle man. At his firſt leaving England, he went as far as Saxony, where he conferred with Luther, and other learned men in thoſe parts. He then came back into the Netherlands, and ſettled at Antwerp, where was then a very conſiderable factory of Engliſh merchants, many of whom were zealous Lutherans. Here he immediately ſet himſelf about his intended

riety between that book, and the doctrines of thoſe who treated it in that manner: and this increaſed both their prejudice againſt the Clergy, and their deſire of reading the New Teſtament. So that next year, when the ſecond edition was finiſhed many more were brought over; and George Conſtantine, who had lately been at Antwerp, and was now taken up for diſperſing heretical books, was privately examined by the Lord Chancellor, who promiſed him, that no hurt ſhould be done to him, if he would diſcover who encouraged and ſupported Tyndal at Antwerp. Conſtantine replied, that the greateſt encouragement he had received was from Biſhop Tonſtal, who had bought up half the impreſſion. This anſwer excited much merriment: but Biſhop Burnet obſerves, that in this affair judicious perſons diſcerned the moderation of Tonſtal. Our good Prelate would willingly put himſelf to conſiderable expence to burn the books of Heretics; but

intended work, in which he had the aſſiſtance of the learned John Fry, and a frier named William Roye, (who was afterwards burnt in Portugal), who wrote for him, and helped him to compare the texts together.

Mr. Tyndal publiſhed his tranſlation of the New Teſtament in 1526, in octavo, without a name; and fifteen hundred copies were printed of the firſt impreſſion, many of which were brought into England, and eagerly bought up, and read. This alarmed the Popiſh party, who did all they could to ſuppreſs this work, and the remainder of the impreſſion was bought up by Biſhop Tonſtal, and publicly burnt. John Tyndal, our Author's brother, was proſecuted and condemned to do penance for importing and concealing ſome of the copies. And Mr. Monmouth, his great friend and benefactor, was impriſoned in the Tower, and almoſt ruined.

Mr. Tyndal's New Teſtament was re-printed in 1527, and 1528, and a ſtill more correct edition was printed in 1534. He alſo tranſlated the five books of Moſes, which were publiſhed in 1530; and he alſo tranſlated ſome other parts of the Old Teſtament. [See P. 112, 113. of this volume.] Mr. Tyndal reſided ſome time at Hamburgh, but afterwards returned to Antwerp, where, in 1534, he lodged in the houſe of Mr. Thomas Pointz, an Engliſh merchant. But at the inſtigation of the Popiſh Clergy in England, who thought him too dangerous an heretic to live, methods were taken to bring him to deſtruction. And one Henry Philips was employed for the purpoſe, who inſinuating himſelf both into Tyndal's & Pointz's acquaintance, was treated by both as a friend. But when Philips found his opportunity, he got the procurator general of the Emperor's Court at Bruſſels, and other officers, to come and ſeize Mr. Tyndal; though the perſons employed in this iniquitous buſineſs, could not help admiring the plainneſs and ſimplicity of his manners. He was conveyed priſoner to the caſtle of Vilvorden, eighteen miles from Antwerp, where he continued in confinement about a year and an half. His friend Pointz, and the body of the Engliſh merchants, procured letters from Secretary Cromwell to the Court at Bruſſels, for the releaſe of Tyndal. But the treacherous Philips invented a falſe accuſation againſt Poyntz, in order to render all his applications ineffectual; ſo that the merchant was proſecuted & impriſoned, but eſcap'd in the night. And as to Mr. Tyndal, he was now brought to his trial, and offered an advocate and a proctor; but he refuſed to have any, ſaying that he would anſwer for himſelf; which he did. However, he was condemned by virtue of the Emperor's decree made in the aſſembly at Augſburgh. And accordingly he was put to death near the caſtle of Vilvorden, in 1536, being firſt ſtrangled, calling

but he had too much humanity to be deſirous, like many of his brethren, of burning the Heretics themſelves (*b*).

In the different embaſſies and employments in which Biſhop Tonſtal was engaged, he diſplayed ſuch eminent ability, and acquired ſo much reputation and honour, that he was univerſally eſteemed. And in the year 1530, he was tranſlated to the rich Biſhopric of Durham. Before his removal from the See of London, he had beſtowed a conſiderable ſum of money in furniſhing a library in Cambridge with good books, both printed and manuſcript, which he had collected abroad. And after his tranſlation to Durham, he laid out large ſums in adorning that city with public buildings, and in repairing, improving, and beautifying his epiſcopal houſes. He declared in favour of King Henry's divorce from Queen Catherine, when that affair came to be agitated, and wrote a book on that ſide of the queſtion. But he afterwards changed his ſentiments in that matter, and eſpouſed the Queen's cauſe.

Biſhop Tonſtal's attachment to the principles of Popery, was not ſo ſtrong, notwithſtanding the zeal which he had ſometimes ſhewn, but that he concurred in ſeveral of the meaſures taken in the reign of King Henry VIII. which were favourable to the Reformation. And in the reign of King Edward VI. he gave obedience to every law which was enacted, and to all the injunctions that were made. But he always in Parliament proteſted againſt the changes in religion; which, ſays Biſhop Burnet, he thought he might with a good conſcience ſubmit to and obey; though he could not conſent to them. But in the matter of the corporal preſence, he was ſtill of the old perſuaſion, and wrote about it (*c*).

On the 20th of December, 1551, the Biſhop of Durham was committed to the Tower, upon an accuſation of miſpriſion of treaſon. "What the particulars were, (ſays Burnet), I do not "find; but it was viſible, that the ſecret reaſon was, that he "being attainted, the Duke of Northumberland intended to "have had the dignities and juriſdiction of that Principality "conferred on himſelf; ſo that he ſhould have been made "Count Palatine of Durham." It appears, however, that Tonſtal was charged by one Vivian Menville, with having conſented to a conſpiracy in the north, for exciting a rebellion. And it is ſaid

calling out in his laſt moments, "Lord, open the King of England's "eyes;" after which his body was reduced to aſhes.

Such was the end of William Tyndal, a very learned and pious man, and of the moſt unblemiſhed character; whoſe only crime was tranſlating the ſcriptures into Engliſh, for the benefit of his countrymen! But that was amply ſufficient to render him a victim to Popiſh bigotry and malice.

Beſides his tranſlation of the Scriptures, he alſo publiſhed ſeveral tracts, and other tranſlations.

(*b*) Vid Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. P. 159, 160. edit. 1679.

(*c*) Vid. Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. P. 194, 195.

ſaid, that ſomething of this kind was proved, by a letter in the Biſhop's own hand-writing (*d*). And it has been conjectured, that he, being in great eſteem with the Popiſh party, was made privy to ſome of their treaſonable deſigns againſt King Edward's Government; but which he neither concurred in, nor betrayed. However, on the 28th of March, 1552, a bill was brought into the Houſe of Lords, to attaint him for miſpriſion of treaſon. Archbiſhop Cranmer ſpoke warmly and freely in Tonſtal's favour; however, the bill paſſed the Lords. But when it came down to the Commons, they were not ſatisfied with the written evidence which was produced. They had then before them a bill, that there ſhould be two witneſſes in caſe of treaſon, and that the witneſſes and the party arraigned ſhould be brought face to face; and that treaſon ſhould not be adjudged by circumſtances, but plain evidence: and they, therefore, threw out the bill againſt Tonſtal.

This method of proceeding againſt our Prelate having been found ineffectual, another was adopted. On the 21ſt of September, a commiſſion was granted to the Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, and ſix others, impowering them to call Biſhop Tonſtal before them, and examine him concerning all manner of conſpiracies, &c. And if he were found guilty, to deprive him of his Biſhopric. Accordingly he was deprived, and continued a priſoner in the Tower during the remainder of King Edward's reign.

In the beginning of the year 1553, the Biſhopric of Durham was converted into a County Palatine, and given to John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland. But upon Queen Mary's acceſſion to the Throne, the ſame year, Biſhop Tonſtal was not only delivered from his impriſonment, but alſo reinſtated in his Biſhopric. However, during this bloody reign, he behaved in neral with great lenity and moderation; in conſequence of which his Dioceſe eſcaped the cruel perſecutions which prevailed in others. Mr. Fox tells us, that when one Mr. Ruſſel, a preacher, was before Biſhop Tonſtal, on a charge of hereſy, and Dr. Hinmer, his Chancellor, would have examined him more particularly, the Biſhop prevented him, ſaying, "Hitherto, we "have had a good report among our neighbours: I pray you, "bring not this man's blood upon my head."

Upon the acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth, it was hoped, from the moderation which Tonſtal had ſhewn in the preceding reign, that he might be brought to concur in the Reformation. And in a warrant which the Queen iſſued to ſome Prelates for the conſecration of ſeveral new Biſhops, Tonſtal was the firſt named to officiate in the conſecration. But notwithſtanding this, our Prelate refuſed to take the oath of ſupremacy, and was on that account

(*d*) Vid. Strype's Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, Edit. 1694. P. 288.

account deprived, in July, 1559, and was committed to the cuſtody of Matthew Parker, Archbiſhop elect of Canterbury, by whom he was entertained in a very kind, friendly, and reſpectful manner (*e*). And the Archbiſhop, in his frequent converſations with Biſhop Tonſtal, is ſaid to have brought him off from many of the principles of Popery. And, indeed, it appears that our Prelate told Bernard Gilpin, who was nearly related to him, that in the matter of Tranſubſtantiation, Pope Innocent III. had done unadviſedly, in making it an article of faith. And he further confeſſed, that the Pope committed a great fault in the affair of Indulgences, and in other things. Biſhop Tonſtal did not continue long in this ſtate of retirement; for he died on the eighteenth of November, 1559, at the age of eighty-five years. He was handſomely buried in the chancel of Lambeth church, at the charge of Archbiſhop Parker.

Biſhop Tonſtal was a Prelate of great learning, moderation, and humanity. He had conſiderable talents, both as a Stateſman, and a Courtier; and perhaps he excelled more in the latter capacity, than was quite conſiſtent with the character of a Chriſtian Biſhop. He was very hoſpitable and charitable, and of a very chearful and lively converſation. He had a great command over his paſſions, and a temper which accidents or misfortunes could not diſcompoſe. He has alſo been applauded for the chaſtity and regularity of his manners; but we muſt not conceal, that he has been charged with incontinence (*f*). He was very ready to patronize worthy and learned men, and was a ſtrict

(*e*) More, in his life of Sir Thomas More, (P. 65, 66.) expreſſes himſelf thus. "Though during the reign of King Henry, Tonſtal went with the ſway of the times, to the great grief of Sir Thomas More; yet living to the time of Queen Elizabeth, (whoſe godfather he was when ſhe bewrayed the fount) in his old age ſeeing her take ſtrange courſes againſt the church, he came from Durham, and ſtoutly admoniſhed her not to change religion; which, if ſhe preſumed to do, he threatened her to loſe God's bleſſing and his. She, nothing pleaſed with his threats, made him be caſt into Priſon, as moſt of the Biſhops were, where he made a glorious end of a confeſſor, and ſatisfied for his former crime of ſchiſm." Upon this Dr. Jortin makes the following remark. "A Priſon, ſaith this zealot. Lambeth Palace, and the Archbiſhop's table, was a dreadful dungeon, to be ſure; and as bad as thoſe, into which the righteous Bonner, and other ſaints of the ſame claſs, uſed to thruſt the poor heretics! Will men never be aſhamed of theſe godly tricks and diſingenuous prevarications?" Life of Eraſmus, Vol. I. P. 108.

David Lloyd ſays, that Biſhop Tonſtal "lived in free cuſtody at my Lord of Canterbury's, in ſweet chambers, warm beds, by warm fires, with plentiful and wholeſome diet at the Archbiſhop's own table: differing nothing from his former grandeur, ſave that that was at his own charges, and this at another's; and that he had not his former ſuit of ſuperfluous ſervants, that long train that doth not warm but weary the wearer thereof." State Worthies, Vol. I. P. 417. Edit. 1766.

(*f*) *Vid.* Life of Biſhop Ridley, P. 108.

ſtrict obſerver of the offices of friendſhip.---He publiſhed the following pieces:

I. IN LAUDEM MATRIMONII. ORATIO HABITA IN SPONSALIBUS MARIÆ FILIÆ HEN. VIII. ET FRANCISCI FRANCORUM REGIS PRIMOGENITI. Lond. 1518. 4to. That is, "In "praiſe of Matrimony. An Oration pronounced on the (intended) eſpouſals of Mary, daughter of King Henry VIII. "and Francis, eldeſt ſon of the French King." It muſt be obſerved, that this marriage, though agreed upon between the two Courts, was never actually ſolemnized.

II. DE ARTE SUPPUTANDI LIBRI QUATUOR, CUTHBERTI TONSTALLI. That is, A Treatiſe of Arithmetic, in four books. London, 1522. 4to. Printed by R. Pinſon, and ſeveral times reprinted. A very beautiful Edition in 4to. was printed in 1538, at Paris, by Robert Stephens.

III. DE VERITATE CORPORIS ET SANGUINIS DOMINI NOSTRI JESU CHRISTI IN EUCHARISTIA, &c. That is, Of the Truth of Tranſubſtantiation. Paris, 1554. 4to. Biſhop Burnet obſerves, "that the Latin ſtyle of this book is much "better than the divinity and reaſonings in it."

IV. COMPENDIUM ET SYNOPSIS IN DECEM LIBROS ETHICORUM ARISTOTELIS, That is, An Abridgement of Ariſtotle's Ethics. Paris, 1554. 8vo.

V. CONTRA IMPIOS BLASPHEMATORES DEI PRÆDESTINATIONIS, &c. That is, Againſt the impious Blaſphemers of God's Predeſtination. Antwerp, 1555, 4to.

VI. Godly and devout Prayers, in Engliſh and Latin.

Several letters and ſmall pieces of his have been alſo publiſhed ſince his death. In particular, in the ſecond Volume of Burnet't Hiſtory of the Reformation, Collection of Records at the end, P. 106. is a letter of Tonſtal's to the Lord Protector and the Council in the Reign of Edward VI. tending to prove the ſubjection of the kingdom of Scotland to the Crown of England. He mentions in this letter, ſome important writings which he had ſent to lay before the Council, in order to prove that point. Particularly the homage which King William of Scotland made to Henry II. King of England; by which the Scottiſh King granted, that all the Nobility of his kingdom ſhould be ſubjects to the King of England, and do homage to him: and that all the Biſhops of Scotland ſhould be under the Archbiſhops of York: and that the King of England ſhould give all the Abbies and honours in Scotland, at leaſt that they ſhould not be given without his conſent.

THE

The Life of SEBASTIAN CABOT.

SEBASTIAN CABOT was born at Briſtol, about the year 1477 (*g*). He was the ſon of that eminent Venetian Pilot John Cabot, who reſided much in England, and particularly in the city of Briſtol. The father, who was a man perfectly ſkilled in all the ſciences requiſite to form a complete ſeaman, educated his ſon Sebaſtian in that manner which was beſt calculated to enable him to excel in his own profeſſion. He inſtructed him in the knowledge of thoſe parts of the mathematics, which were then beſt underſtood, particularly arithmetic, geometry, and coſmography; and by the time our young ſeaman was ſeventeen years of age, he had already made ſeveral trips to ſea, in order to add to the theoretical knowledge which he had acquired, a competent ſkill in the practical part of navigation.

The firſt voyage of conſequence in which Sebaſtian Cabot was engaged, ſeems to have been that made by his father, for the diſcovery of unknown lands; and, as it is ſaid, of a north-weſt paſſage to the Eaſt-Indies. John Cabot was encouraged to this attempt by the American diſcoveries of Columbus. It was in 1493, that Columbus returned from his firſt expedition; and in 1496, John Cabot obtained from King Henry VII. letters patent, impowering him and his three ſons, Lewis, Sebaſtian, and Sanctius, to diſcover unknown lands, to be annexed to the Crown of England. And Cabot and his ſons were laid under an obligation to return to the port of Briſtol.

John Cabot had alſo a permiſſion from the King, to take ſix Engliſh ſhips in any haven of the Realm, of the burthen of two hundred tons and under, with as many mariners as ſhould be willing to go with him. In conſequence of this licence, the King cauſed a ſhip to be fitted out at Briſtol, to which the merchants of that city, and of London, added three or four ſmall veſſels, freighted with proper commodities. And accordingly John Cabot, attended by his ſon Sebaſtian, ſet ſail with this fleet, in the ſpring of the year 1497.

They ſailed happily on their north-weſt courſe, till the 24th of June in the ſame year, about five in the morning, when they diſcovered the iſland of Baccalaos, now much better known by

(*g*) *Vid.* Dr. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. I. P. 343. Edit. 1742.

the name of Newfoundland; which they took poſſeſſion of in the name of the King of England. The very day on which they made this important diſcovery, is known by a large map, drawn by Sebaſtian Cabot, and cut by Clement Adams, which hung in the privy gallery at Whitehall; whereon was this inſcription under the author's picture. "Effigies Seb. Caboti, "Angli, Filii Jo. Caboti, Venetiani, Militis aurati, &c." And on this map there was likewiſe the following account of the diſcovery, the original of which was in Latin.

"In the year of our LORD 1497, John Cabot, a Venetian, and his ſon Sebaſtian, with an Engliſh fleet, ſet out from Briſtol, and diſcovered that iſland which no man before had attempted. This diſcovery was made, on the four and twentieth of June, about five of the clock in the morning. This land he called PRIMA VISTA, (or Firſt Seen), becauſe it was that part of which they had the firſt ſight from the ſea. The iſland, which lies out before the land, he called the iſland of St. John, probably becauſe it was diſcovered on the feſtival of St. John Baptiſt. The inhabitants of this iſland wore beaſts ſkins, and eſteemed them as the fineſt garments." To which Purchas adds, "In their wars they uſed bows, arrows, pikes, darts, wooden clubs, and ſlings. They found the ſoil barren in ſome places, and yielding little fruit: but it was full of white bears, and ſtags, far larger than thoſe of Europe. It yielded plenty of fiſh, and thoſe of the larger kind, as ſeals and ſalmon. They found ſoles there above a yard in length, and great abundance of that kind of fiſh which the Savages called Baccalaos. They alſo obſerved there partridges, as likewiſe hawks and eagles; but what was remarkable in them, they were all as black as ravens (*b*)."

Fabian ſays, that there were brought unto Henry VII. "three "men taken in the new found iſland: theſe, ſays he, were "cloathed in beaſts ſkins, and did eat raw fleſh, and ſpake ſuch "ſpeech that no man could underſtand them, and in their de"meanour like brute beaſts, whom the King kept a time after; "of the which, upon two years after, I ſaw two apparelled after "the manner of Engliſhmen, in Weſtminſter Palace, which that "time I could not diſcern from Engliſhmen, 'till I was learned "what they were; but as for ſpeech, I heard none of them ut"ter one word."

Cabot and his fleet ſailed afterwards down to Cape Florida, and then returned (*i*) with a good cargo, and the three Savages juſt mentioned, into England. And King Henry conferred

(*b*) *Vid.* Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, Vol. I. P. 86.

(*i*) "Cabot (as it is related by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who was employed afterwards by Queen Elizabeth on the like ſervices) ſailed very far weſtward, with a quarter of the north, on the north ſide of Terra de Labrador, the ſeventh of June, till he came into the north latitude of ſixty-ſeven degrees and a half; and finding the ſea ſtill open, might and would, as he [illegible], have gone to Cathay, if he [illegible] been prevented

2

ferred the honour of Knighthood on John Cabot. This diſcovery made by the Cabots was, indeed, of great importance. For it was, in fact, the firſt time that the Continent of America had been ſeen, Columbus being unacquainted therewith, till his laſt voyage, which was the year following, when he coaſted along a part of the Iſthmus of Darien. And, as Dr. Campbell juſtly obſerves, Newfoundland, as it was the firſt of our Plantations, ſo it hath been a ſource of riches, and naval power to this nation, from the time of its diſcovery. And, therefore, it may be truly ſaid of the Cabots, father and ſon, that they were the authors of our maritime ſtrength, and opened the way to thoſe improvements, which have ſince rendered us ſo great and flouriſhing a people.

After this expedition, there is a conſiderable chaſm in the life of Sebaſtian Cabot; for we have no diſtinct accounts of what he performed for the ſpace of twenty years together, in which we cannot ſuppoſe that ſo able a man would continue in a ſtate of inactivity. Nor have we any account when or where his father, John Cabot, died; though it was probably in England. As to Sebaſtian Cabot, there is reaſon to believe that he performed ſeveral voyages, of which we have now no accounts preſerved, which is much to be regretted. "It is not to be doubted (ſays Mr. Lediard), but a man ſo curious, and of ſo much knowledge and experience, as it appears Sebaſtian was, kept a particular detail of what he had ſeen, and what happened to him during his voyages. But by what accident, or neglect, the world has been deprived of it, is unknown."

The next tranſaction concerning him, of which we meet with any account, was in the eighth year of the reign of King Henry VIII. and our accounts relating to this are by no means clear. It ſeems Sebaſtian Cabot had entered into a ſtrict correſpondence

by the diſſenſions between the maſter and the mariners. But this we find, by the diſcovery made in thoſe parts ſince that time, he could not have performed."——*Vid.* Lediard, as before.

But in a diſcourſe ſaid to be made by Sebaſtian Cabot to Galeacius Butrigarius, the Pope's Legate in Spain, the former (if the account of the diſcourſe be genuine) expreſſed himſelf thus: "Underſtanding by reaſon of the ſphere (ſays he) that if I ſhould ſail by way of the north-weſt, I ſhonld, by a ſhorter tract, come into India;——I began, therefore, to ſail towards the north-weſt, not thinking to find any other land than that of Cathay, and from thence to turn towards India. But, after ſome days, I found that the land ran towards the north, which was a great diſappointment to me. Nevertheleſs, ſailing along by the coaſt, to ſee if I could find any gulph that turned, I found the land ſtill continent, to the fifty-ſixth degree, under our pole. And ſeeing that the coaſt ſtretched there towards the eaſt, deſpairing to find the paſſage, I turned back again, and ſailed down by the coaſt of that land towards the equinoctial, (thinking ſtill I ſhould find the paſſage to India), and came to that part of the continent which is now called Florida; where my proviſions failing, I departed from thence, and returned to England."——Lediard, Vol. I. P. 86, 87.

ſpondence with Sir Thomas Pert, then Vice-Admiral of England, who had a houſe at Poplar, and procured him a good ſhip of the King's, in order to make diſcoveries. But it appears as if he had now changed his route, and intended to have paſſed by the ſouth to the Eaſt-Indies; for he ſailed firſt to Brazil, and miſſing there of his purpoſe, ſhaped his courſe for the iſlands of Hiſpaniola and Porto Rico, where he carried on ſome traffic, and then returned, failing abſolutely in the deſign upon which he went; not through any want either of courage, or of conduct, in himſelf, but from the faint-heartedneſs of Sir Thomas Pert, his coadjutor (*k*).

It was probably this diſappointment which induced Sebaſtian Cabot to leave England, and go over to Spain; which he did, where he was treated with very great reſpect, and appointed Pilot-Major, or chief Pilot of Spain, and by his office entruſted with the reviewing all projects for diſcovery, which in thoſe days were many and important. His great capacity and character induced many wealthy merchants to treat with him in the year 1524, about a voyage to be undertaken at their expence, by the new-found paſſage of Magellan (*m*), to the Moluccos. And Cabot accordingly agreed to undertake the voyage.

He ſet ſail from Cadiz, with four ſhips, about the beginning of April, 1525, firſt to the Canaries, and then to the iſlands of Cape Verde, and thence to Cape St. Auguſtine, and the iſland of Patos, or Geeſe; and near Bahia de todos los Santos, or the Bay of All Saints, he met a French ſhip. He is ſaid to have managed very ill with reſpect to proviſions, which he was in much want of when he came to the ſame iſland; but there the Indians were very kind to him, furniſhing him with proviſions for all his ſhips. But Cabot was on this occaſion guilty of an action, which reflects great diſhonour on his memory. For he carried away with him by force four ſons of the principal men of the place, notwithſtanding the generous treatment which he had received. A ſlight ſpecimen of European gratitude and humanity! But the poor uncultivated Indians have ſo often received much

(*k*) "If manly courage had not been wanting in theſe our days, at ſuch time as our Soveraign Lord of noble memory, King Henry VIII. about the ſame year of his reign, furniſhed and ſent out certain ſhips under the governance of Sebaſtian Cabot, yet living, and one Sir Thomas Pert, whoſe faint heart was the cauſe that the voyage took none effect: if, I ſay, ſuch manly courage had not at that time been wanting, it might happily have come to paſs, that the rich treaſury called Perularia, (which is now in Spain, in the city of Seville, and ſo named, for that in it is kept the infinite riches brought thither from the new-found land of Peru) might long ſince have been in the Tower of London, to the King's great honour, and wealth of this Realm."——*Vid.* Hakluyt's principal Navigations, Voyages, and Diſcoveries of the Engliſh nation, Edit. 1589. P. 515.

(*m*) Ferdinand de Magellan diſcovered the Streight called by his name in 1520.

much worſe treatment from the civilized inhabitants of this part of the globe, that an action of this kind will ſcarce excite our wonder.

Cabot proceeded from this place to the river of Plate, having left aſhore, on a deſart iſland, Martin Mendez, his Vice-Admiral, Captain Francis de Rojas, and Michael de Rodas, becauſe they had oppoſed his conduct; and in concluſion, he went not to the Spice Iſlands, both becauſe he had not proviſions, and becauſe the men would not ſail under him, fearing his management in the Streights. He ſailed up the river of Plate, and about thirty leagues within the mouth, found an iſland which he called St. Gabriel, about a league in compaſs, and half a league from the continent next Brazil. There he anchored, and with the boats, three leagues higher, diſcovered a river he called San Salvador, or St. Saviour, very deep, and a ſafe harbour for the ſhips on the ſame ſide of Brazil; whither he brought up his ſhips, and unloaded them, becauſe the mouth of the river had not much water. And having built a fort, and left ſome men in it, he reſolved to proceed up that river with boats, and a flat-bottomed caraval, in order to make diſcoveries; thinking that, if he did ſo, though he did not paſs through the Streights to the Spice Iſlands, his voyage would not be altogether fruitleſs. Having advanced thirty leagues, he came to a river called Zarcarana, and finding the inhabitants of the neighbouring coaſt to be good rational people, he erected another fort, calling it Santi Spiritus, *i. e.* of the Holy Ghoſt, and by another name, Cabot's Fort. He thence diſcovered the ſhores of the river Parana, which is that of Plate, where he found many iſlands and rivers; and keeping along the great ſtream, at the end of two hundred leagues, came to another river, which the Indians call Paraguay, and left the great river on the right, thinking it bent towards the coaſt of Brazil; and running up thirty-four leagues, found people tilling the ground, which he had not ſeen before. But he there met with ſo much oppoſition, that he advanced no further; having killed many of the Indians, who ſlew twenty-five of his Spaniards, and took three that were gone out to gather Palmetos to eat (*n*).

Whilſt Sebaſtian Cabot was thus employed, James Garcia was ſent from Galicia, with one ſhip, a ſmall tender, and a brigantine, to make diſcoveries in the river of Plate, without knowing that the other was there before him. He entered that river about the beginning of the year 1527, having ſent away his own ſhip, alledging that it was too large for that diſcovery; and, with the ſmaller veſſels, came to an anchor in the ſame place where Cabot's ſhip lay; and directing his courſe towards the river Parana, which lies north and north-weſt, arrived at the fort built by Cabot. About one hundred and ten leagues above this port,

(*n*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. I. P. 348, 349.

port, he found Sebaſtian Cabot himſelf in the port of St. Anne; and ſoon after they returned together to the fort of the Holy Ghoſt, and from thence ſent meſſengers into Spain.

Thoſe who were diſpatched by Sebaſtian Cabot, were Francis Calderon, and George Barlow, who gave a very fair account of the countries bordering on the river la Plata, ſhewing how large a tract of land he had not only diſcovered, but ſubdued; and producing gold, ſilver, and other rich commodities, as evidences in favour of their Admiral's conduct. And the demands which they made in his name were, that a ſupply ſhould be ſent of proviſions, ammunition, and goods proper for traffic, and alſo a competent recruit of ſoldiers and ſeamen. However, the merchants by whom Cabot's ſquadron was fitted out, would not agree to this; but choſe to reſign their rights to the Crown of Caſtile. The King then took the whole upon himſelf; but was ſo dilatory in his preparations, that Sebaſtian Cabot, being quite tired out, having been five years employed in this expedition, determined to return home; which he accordingly did, embarking the remainder of his men, and all his effects, on board the largeſt of his ſhips, and leaving the reſt behind him.

It was the ſpring of the year 1531, when Cabot arrived at the Spaniſh Court, and gave an account of his expedition. It appears, however, that he was not well received there: for he had raiſed himſelf enemies by treating his Spaniſh mutineers with ſo much ſeverity; and his owners were diſappointed by his not having purſued his voyage to the Moluccos. He kept his place, however, and continued in the ſervice of Spain many years after, till he came over into England.

It is ſuppoſed to have been about the latter end of King Henry the VIIIth's reign, that Sebaſtian Cabot returned into England, where he reſided at Briſtol. But in the beginning of the reign of King Edward VI. this eminent ſeaman was introduced to the Duke of Somerſet, then Lord Protector, with whom he was in great favour, and by whom he was made known to the King, who took great pleaſure in his converſation, being much better verſed in the ſtudies to which Cabot had applied himſelf, than could have been expected from his youth. For this young Monarch knew, not only all the ports and havens in this iſland, and in Ireland, but alſo thoſe in France, their ſhape, method of entrance, conveniencies and inconveniences; and, in ſhort, could anſwer, we are told, almoſt any queſtion concerning them that a ſailor could aſk (*o*).

In conſequence of the high eſteem in which Cabot was held by King Edward, and his uncle the Protector, a penſion was granted to him by letters patent, dated January 6, 1549, of 166l. 13s. 4d. a year. And, according to Hakluyt, this annuity was granted him as Grand Pilot of England. From this time

(*o*) Lives of the Admirals, as before, Vol. I. P. 350, 351, 352.

time he continued highly in the King's favour, and was conſulted upon all matters relating to trade, and particularly in the great caſe of the merchants of the Steel Yard, in 1551. Theſe merchants are ſometimes called OF THE HAUNSE, becauſe they came from the Hanſe Towns, or free cities in Germany; and ſometimes Almains, from their country. They ſettled in England about the reign of King Henry III. and brought in grain, cordage, flax, hemp, linen cloth, wax, and ſteel; from whence the place in Dowgate ward, where they dwelt, was called the Steel-Yard; a name which it ſtill retains. The Kings of England encouraged them at firſt, and granted them conſiderable privileges; and, amongſt others, that of exporting our woollen cloths. By degrees, however, the Engliſh coming to trade themſelves, and importing many of the commodities in which theſe Germans dealt, great controverſies aroſe between them, the foreigners on all occaſions pleading their charter, which the Engliſh merchants treated as a monopoly, unſupported by the laws of the kingdom. And accordingly the company of merchant-adventurers, at the head of which was our Sebaſtian Cabot, in 1551, exhibited to the Council an information againſt theſe merchants of the Steel-Yard, to which they were directed to put in their anſwer, which they thereupon did. And after ſeveral hearings, and a reference to the King's Solicitor-General, his Counſel learned in the law, and the Recorder of London, a decree paſſed, whereby the merchants of the Steel Yard were declared to be no legal corporation. However, licences were afterwards granted them from time to time, for the exportation and importation of goods.

In the ſame year, Sebaſtian Cabot laid propoſals before the King, for the diſcovery of the north-eaſt paſſage to China and the Indies. And accordingly three ſhips were fitted out for that purpoſe, the command of which was given to Sir Hugh Willoughby, a man of conſiderable abilities, of much experience, and of great courage. And inſtructions were delivered to Sir Hugh, as Commander in Chief of theſe ſhips, drawn up by Sebaſtian Cabot, which are ſtill preſerved entire in Hakluyt, and are a ſtanding proof of his great knowledge and abilities (*p*). Sir Hugh Willoughby ſailed from Ratcliff, with the ſhips under his command, on the 10th of May, 1553, and on the 18th of the ſame month cleared from Graveſend. In the beginning of Auguſt, he loſt ſight of his ſecond ſhip, which was commanded by Captain Richard Chancellor, and which he never met with afterwards;

(*p*) The title of theſe Inſtructions ran thus: "Ordinances, Inſtructions, and Advertiſements, of and for the direction of the intended voyage for Cathay, compiled, made, and delivered, by the Right Worſhipful Sebaſtian Cabot, Eſq; Governor of the myſtery and company of the merchant-adventurers, for the diſcovery of regions, dominions, iſlands, and places unknown, the 9th of May, in the year of OUR LORD GOD, 1553."

terwards; but in the ſame month he firſt diſcovered Greenland, though the Dutch endeavour to deprive us of that honour. His utmoſt progreſs was to 72 of N. Lat. and then finding the weather intolerably cold, the year far ſpent, and his ſhips unable to bear the ſea, he put into the haven of Arzina, in Lapland, on the 18th of September. But being not able to come out from thence, he was found there the next ſpring frozen to death, with all his ſhip's company, having the notes of his voyage, and his laſt will, lying before him, whereby it appeared that he lived till January, 1554. But Captain Chancellor, in the ſecond ſhip under Sir Hugh Willoughby's command, and of which he loſt company, after many dangers and difficulties, penetrated to Archangel in Muſcovy, being the firſt perſon who diſcovered the paſſage to that place; from whence, after having made another voyage thither, he brought over an Ambaſſador from the Czar of Muſcovy, with preſents to Queen Mary, and an invitation to eſtabliſh a trade to thoſe parts; but the ſhip was caſt away on the coaſt of Scotland; and Captain Chancellor, in ſaving the Ruſſian Ambaſſador, was unfortunately drowned himſelf.

In conſequence of the diſcovery of the paſſage to Archangel, a charter was granted in the firſt year of Queen Mary's reign, to a number of merchants, who were incorporated together, in order to carry on the trade to Ruſſia. And of this company Sebaſtian Cabot was appointed Governor for life, on account of his being principally concerned in fitting out the firſt ſhips employed in that trade. After this, we find him very active in the affairs of the company, in the year 1556; and in the journal of Mr. Stephen Burroughs, it is obſerved, that on the twenty-ſeventh of April that year, he went down to Graveſend, and there went on board the Serch-thrift, a ſmall veſſel fitted out under the command of the ſaid Burroughs for Ruſſia, where he gave generouſly to the ſailors; and on his return to Graveſend, he extended his alms very liberally to the poor, deſiring them to pray for the ſucceſs of this voyage. We find it alſo remarked, that, upon his coming back to Graveſend, he cauſed a grand entertainment to be made at the ſign of the Chriſtopher; where, ſays Mr. Burroughs, for the very joy he had to ſee the towardneſs of our intended diſcovery, he entered into the dance himſelf: a circumſtance, which ſhews the chearfulneſs of his temper. This is the laſt particular related concerning him: and it is conjectured that he died ſome time either in this, or in the next year, when he was upwards of ſeventy years of age (*q*).

Sebaſtian Cabot was a ſeaman of extraordinary abilities; and by his capacity and induſtry contributed not a little to the ſervice of mankind in general, as well as of this kingdom. For he

(*q*) *Vid.* Lives of the Admirals, Vol. I. P. 356.

was the firſt who took notice of the variation of the com-
ſs, which is of ſuch vaſt conſequence in navigation, and
ncerning which the Learned have buſied themſelves in their
quiries ever ſince.



The Life of STEPHEN GARDINER, Biſhop of Wincheſter.

STEPHEN GARDINER was born at Bury St. Edmund, in the county of Suffolk, about the year 1483. He is ſuppoſed to have been the natural ſon of Dr. Lionel Widville, Dean of Exeter, and Biſhop of Saliſbury, brother to Elizabeth, Queen Conſort to King Edward IV. But that Prelate, being ſolicitous to conceal this affair from the world, beſtowed his concubine on one of his meaner ſervants, whoſe name was Gardiner; and this name the infant bore, being by this contrivance born in wedlock. No particulars occur relative to young Gardiner's education, or the manner in which he paſſed his youth, till he was ſent to the Univerſity of Cambridge, where he ſtudied in Trinity Hall with much diligence and ſucceſs. He was there diſtinguiſhed for his quick parts, his elegance in writing and ſpeaking Latin, and for his ſkill in Greek.

He afterwards applied himſelf entirely to the ſtudy of the civil and canon law; and in 1520, he received the degree of Doctor of civil law, and the year following he was alſo made Doctor of canon law. And the reputation which he had acquired at Cambridge, recommended him to the notice of ſome great men; and, as it is ſaid, he was patronized by Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk. It is, however, certain, that he was taken into the ſervice of Cardinal Wolſey, to whom he was appointed Secretary.

He was in this ſituation when an incident happened, which made him known to the King, and gave riſe to his farther advancement. The Cardinal, his maſter, having projected the treaty of alliance with the French King, Francis I. in 1525, employed Gardiner, of whoſe talents he had an high opinion, to draw up the plan of it. And King Henry, who chanced at that time to come to the Cardinal's houſe at More Park in Hertfordſhire, found Gardiner buſy at this work. Henry, therefore, looked at what was done, and liked the performance extremely well, the performer's converſation better, and his fertility in the invention of expedients beſt of all. His Majeſty accordingly expreſſed his ſatisfaction to Wolſey, who appeared much pleaſed therewith: and from this time Dr. Gardiner was admitted into the

the ſecret of affairs, and entirely confided in, both by the King and the Cardinal.

In 1528 (*r*), he received a public mark of that confidence, being ſent to Rome, in order to negociate the affair of the King's divorce from Queen Catherine. Edward Fox, Provoſt of King's College in Cambridge, and Almoner to the King, went with him on this Embaſſy; but Gardiner was the chief, being eſteemed the beſt Civilian in England at this time: and having been admitted into the King's and the Cardinal's cabinet council for this affair, he is ſtiled in the Cardinal's credential letters to the Pope, Primary Secretary of the moſt ſecret councils. And he was now in ſuch extraordinary requeſt with the Cardinal, that in theſe letters he called Gardiner, THE HALF OF HIMSELF, THAN WHOM NONE WAS DEARER TO HIM. And he wrote, that he ſhould unlock his (the Cardinal's) breaſt to the Pope, who, in hearing him ſpeak, might think he heard the Cardinal himſelf. When Gardiner and his collegue arrived at Orvieto, where the Pope then was, the former uſed very free language with his Holineſs, ſhewing him the danger he was in of loſing the King, by playing a double game in the affair of the divorce, and how much injury he would do to Cardinal Wolſey, if he diſappointed his expectations. By this method he procured all that his inſtructions required, and a commiſſion was obtained for determining the matter of the divorce, directed to the Cardinals Wolſey and Campejus. In this whole affair Gardiner exerted great diligence and dexterity: and Provoſt Fox being ſent home with a full account of the negociation, the induſtry, ſpirit, and ingenuity of Gardiner, were highly applauded by the King, the Cardinal, and Anne Boleyn. During Gardiner's ſtay at the

(*r*) This year died in a very advanced age, Dr. RICHARD FOX, Biſhop of Winchester, and founder of Corpus Chriſti College in Oxford. He was the ſon of Thomas Fox, a perſon in mean circumſtances, and was born at Ropeſley, near Grantham, in Lincolnſhire, about the latter end of the reign of King Henry VI. He was educated at Magdalen College in Oxford, where he greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf; but the plague obliging him to retire from thence, he removed to Pembroke hall in Cambridge. And when he had ſtaid a competent time there, he went for further improvement to Paris, where he ſtudied divinity and the canon law. In this place he became acquainted with Morton, Biſhop of Ely, who had fled thither during the uſurpation of Richard III. And Fox was introduced, probably by Biſhop Morton, to Henry, Earl of Richmond, who was then meditating a deſcent upon England, in order to dethrone the Uſurper; and, with the reſt of the Engliſh who were at Paris, he bound himſelf by oath to take the Earl's part. And Richmond accordingly received Dr. Fox into ſecret familiarity; and having applied to the French King, Charles VIII. for aſſiſtance in his intended expedition, but being called away before he could obtain his deſire, he left the farther proſecution of this matter to Dr Fox, whom he thought the fitteſt man to manage ſo important an affair. Nor was he deceived in him; for he acted with ſuch induſtry and prudence, that he ſoon obtained

Papal Court, Pope Clement VII. fell dangerouſly ill; upon which Gardiner was employed to do every thing in his power to ſupport the intereſt of Wolſey in the Conclave, and to promote his election to the Popedom, in caſe of Clement's death; but as his

tained men and money from the Court of France. And after Henry had gained the battle of Boſworth, and in conſequence aſcended the Throne of England, he appointed Dr. Fox to be one of his Privy Counſellors. About the ſame time Fox was collated to the Prebend of Biſhopſton, in the Church of Sarum; and in 1486, to the Prebend of South Grantham, in the ſame Church.

In 1487, Dr. Fox was raiſed to the Biſhopric of Exeter, and appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal. He was alſo made principal Secretary of State, and Maſter of St. Croſſe, near Wincheſter. And the King continually employed him, either in matters of State at home, or in Embaſſies of importance abroad. In 1492, he was tranſlated from Exeter to the Biſhopric of Bath and Wells; and in 1494, he was removed to the See of Durham. He was afterwards choſen Chancellor of the Univerſity of Cambridge, which office he held till 1502; and in 1500, he was tranſlated to the See of Wincheſter.

Biſhop Fox continued to have great weight and influence in all public affairs, during the whole reign of Henry VII. who appointed him in his will one of his executors, and particularly recommended him to his ſon and ſucceſſor, Henry VIII. Lord Bacon obſerves, that Biſhop Fox was "a wiſe man, and one that could ſee through the Preſent to the Future." And he alſo ſays, that Cardinal Morton and Biſhop Fox were "vigilant men, and ſecret, and ſuch as kept watch with the King, (Hen. VII.) almoſt upon all men elſe. They had been both verſed in his affairs, before he came to the Crown, and were partakers of his adverſe fortune." But upon the acceſſion of Henry VIII. Biſhop Fox's credit greatly declined at Court, tho' he was inſtrumental in promoting the riſe of Wolſey, in oppoſition to the Earl of Surrey. However, in 1510, he was ſent Ambaſſador to France, in conjunction with the Earl of Surrey and the Biſhop of Durham, who concluded a treaty of alliance with Lewis XII. About the ſame time a ſharp diſpute aroſe between him and Archbiſhop Warham, concerning the extent of the juriſdiction of the prerogative court. The diſpute at length grew ſo high, that an appeal was made to the Pope: but it being referred back to the King, he determined it amicably in 1513. This ſummer he attended the King in his expedition into France, with a large retinue, and was at the taking of Terouenne. And ſhortly after, in conjunction with Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorſet, he concluded a new treaty with the Emperor Maximilian againſt France. But in 1515, being no longer able to bear the repeated mortifications he received from Cardinal Wolſey, to whoſe riſe he had greatly contributed, he withdrew in diſcontent to his own Dioceſe.

In 1522, Biſhop Fox founded a free-ſchool at Taunton in Somerſetſhire, where he had a fine manor as Biſhop of Wincheſter, and he built a convenient houſe for the maſter. He did alſo the ſame at Grantham, near the place of his nativity. He had the misfortune to loſe his ſight about ten years before his deceaſe. However, he attended the Parliament in 1523. But Cardinal Wolſey, taking advantage of his infirmities, would fain have perſuaded him to reſign his Biſhopric to him, and to be content with a penſion. The old Biſhop, however, ſtoutly rejected the advances and inſinuations of the Cardinal for this purpoſe. For he directed the meſſenger, who came from Wolſey with this propoſal, to tell his maſter, "That though, by reaſon of his blindneſs, he was not able to diſtinguiſh white from black, yet he could diſcern between true and falſe, right

his Holineſs recovered from his diſorder, the Engliſh Cardinal was obliged to lay aſide all thoughts, at leaſt for the preſent, of filling the chair of St. Peter. Wolſey, however, was very well ſatisfied with the pains which Gardiner had beſtowed in this affair on his behalf, and was indeed loud in his praiſes. For Gardiner had rendered another important ſervice to the Cardinal; namely, reconciled the Pope to the endowment of his two Colleges at Oxford and Ipſwich, out of the revenues of the diſſolved leſſer Monaſteries.

It appears from a letter which Gardiner wrote to the King, during his reſidence at the Papal Court, that he gave it to his Majeſty as his opinion, that all farther ſolicitations to the Pope with reſpect to the divorce would be loſt time, as Clement was, in his judgment, immoveable in the reſolution to do nothing effectual himſelf; however, he might not improbably be brought, he ſaid, to confirm ſuch ſentence, as his Majeſty could draw from the Legates. And Henry being fully convinced of the propriety of this advice, recalled Dr. Gardiner, reſolving to make uſe of his abilities in managing the Legantine Court; and, therefore, he did not ſuffer the proceedings to be begun before the Cardinals, till Gardiner's return; who, when the affair came on in the Legantine Court, acted there as one of the King's chief Council.

Soon after Gardiner's arrival in England, he had the Archdeaconry of Norfolk beſtowed on him by Biſhop Nyx, of Norwich, for whom he had obtained ſome favours from the Pope. He was inſtalled the firſt of March, 1529. This appears to have been his firſt preferment in the Church; but in the State he made a more rapid progreſs. For the King being deſirous that he ſhould employ all his abilities in his ſervice, introduced him immediately into the Miniſtry, by appointing him to be Secretary of State.

He now began to have a conſiderable ſhare in the adminiſtration of public affairs; but he was more particularly adviſed with by the King in that which lay neareſt to his heart, the buſineſs of the divorce. And when, in conſequence of the Pope's attachment to the Emperor, and his correſpondent inſtructions to Cardinal Campejus, that Legate declared the cauſe of the divorce avoked to Rome, it was Secretary Gardiner, who, in conjunction with Fox the Almoner, found out Cranmer, and diſcovering

right and wrong: and plainly enough ſaw, without eyes, the malice of that ungrateful man, which he did not ſee before. That it behoved the Cardinal to take care, not to be ſo blinded with ambition, as not to foreſee his own end. He needed not trouble himſelf with the Biſhopric of Wincheſter, but rather ſhould mind the King's affairs."

Biſhop Fox was buried on the ſouth ſide of the high altar in Wincheſter cathedral in a chapel erected by himſelf. He was a man of very conſiderable political abilities; and, indeed, appears to have been more of the artful Statesman, than of the Chriſtian Prelate.

vering his opinion with relation to the King's divorce, communicated it to his Majeſty; which proved the means of the King's extricating himſelf out of that, till then thought, inſuperable difficulty. Biſhop Burnet, however, informs us, that though Fox and Gardiner communicated Cranmer's advice to the King, yet it was "with this difference, that Gardiner had a mind to "make it paſs for their own contrivance; but Fox, who was of "a more ingenuous nature, told the King from whom they had "it."

The new method of proceeding in the affair of the divorce which was now adopted, that of endeavouring to procure the opinions of the moſt learned men, and the ſeveral Univerſities of Europe, in the King's favour, which was propoſed by Cranmer, contributed to haſten the ruin of Wolſey. And the Cardinal, in his diſtreſs, applied to his old ſervant, Secretary Gardiner. And ſome pains hath been taken to prove, that Gardiner diſplayed, on this occaſion, much ſincere gratitude and friendſhip to his old maſter (*s*). But, after all, this does not very clearly appear. The very earneſt, and even mean manner, in which Wolſey ſolicited Gardiner to apply to the King in his behalf, and the frequency of his ſolicitations for that purpoſe, are a kind of preſumption, that Gardiner ſhewed no great forwardneſs to promote the Cardinal's intereſts (*f*). And though, a ſhort time after ſome preſſing letters of Wolſey to Gardiner, the Cardinal received his pardon, and a conſiderable ſum of money, and was reſtored to the Archbiſhopric of York, it does not appear with much evidence, that this was in conſequence of any warm ſolicitation of Gardiner in his behalf; but ſeems rather to have been the reſult of the perſonal regard which the King ſtill retained, and which in ſeveral inſtances he diſcovered, for his old Miniſter and favourite (*t*). It appears, indeed, that Gardiner, in 1530, at the deſire and recommendation of the Cardinal, introduced the Provoſt of Beverley to the King, who took him into his patronage and protection: but this cannot be conſidered as any very conſiderable ſervice. In ſhort, Cromwell exerted himſelf in his maſter's behalf in a warm, open, and active manner, and his ſervices were apparent to all; and his behaviour has, therefore, been juſtly and generally applauded. But both the gratitude, and the ſervices of Gardiner, appear to be very problematical.

In 1530, Gardiner was employed to manage the Univerſity of Cambridge, ſo as to procure their declaration in favour of the King's

(*s*) *Vid.* Biograph. Brit. Vol. III. P. 2096.

(*f*) "While Cromwell was careful to diſcharge his debt of gratitude to his old fallen maſter the Cardinal, by pleading his cauſe ſucceſsfully in the Houſe of Commons, the diſgraced Cardinal found it neceſſary to ſupplicate ungrateful Gardiner, and remind him of his obligations, in order to prevail with this forgetful man to employ his intereſt with the King in behalf of his unhappy maſter." Life of Biſhop Ridley, P. 110.

(*t*) *Vid.* P. 54. of this Volume.

King's cauſe. In this difficult point his old collegue, Dr. Fox, was joined with him; and they employed great pains, artifice, and addreſs, in accompliſhing the purpoſe they aimed at.

The great diligence which Dr. Gardiner exerted in accompliſhing the King's purpoſes, was very amply rewarded by his Majeſty, in the eccleſiaſtical preferments which he thereupon beſtowed upon him. In the ſpring of the year 1531, he was inſtalled Archdeacon of Leiceſter, reſigning that of Norfolk, which he held before; and in September following he alſo reſigned that in favour of his coadjutor, Dr. Fox, who became afterwards Biſhop of Hereford. But on the 27th of November, the ſame year, he was conſecrated Biſhop of Wincheſter. Gardiner was not, it ſeems, at the time, apprized of the King's deſign of conferring on him this rich Biſhopric. For Henry would ſometimes rate him ſoundly, and at the inſtant he was beſtowing on him this preferment, put him in mind of it. "I "have," ſaid the King, "often ſquared with you, Gardiner, "(a word he uſed for thoſe kind of rebukes), but I love you ne"ver the worſe, as the Biſhopric I give you will convince you."

It appears, indeed, that Henry had let Gardiner into the ſecret, that he could ſometimes look very angry, and talk very loud, without meaning much harm: and, therefore, when Gardiner knew this, he could ſtand a Royal rattling very well; or, to uſe his own words in a letter to the Duke of Somerſet, "he "folded it up in the matter," and bore it patiently. He relates himſelf (*u*) an incident of this kind, which happened before he was ſo well acquainted with the King's temper, as he was afterwards. The Earl of Wiltſhire and Gardiner had been joined together in ſome affair of conſequence, which had not been managed in ſuch a manner as to give the King ſatisfaction: upon which Henry treated Gardiner, in the preſence of the Earl, with ſuch a ſtorm of words as quite confounded him. But before they parted, the King took Gardiner into his chamber, and told him, that he was indeed very angry, yet not particularly with him, though he had uſed him ſo, becauſe he could not take quite ſo much liberty with the Earl. Henry had another practice, which he called WHETTING. This was ſcolding with pen and ink. And Gardiner tells us, that when ſome of the Courtiers ſaw letters to him in that ſtile, they looked upon him as undone, whilſt himſelf, being better acquainted with his temper, was under no ſuch apprehenſions.

Biſhop Gardiner ſat in the Court with Archbiſhop Cranmer, in 1533, when the latter pronounced the ſentence, by which Queen Catherine's marriage was declared null and void. The ſame year he went as Ambaſſador to the French King at Marſeilles, where he was ſoon after followed by Dr. Bonner. And our

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(*u*) See a letter of Gardiner's to the Protector Somerſet, in Fox's Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. P. 718, 719. Edit. 1641.

our Prelate was there at the time of the interview between the French King and the Pope, and of the conſequences of which Henry and his Council were very ſuſpicious. It was, indeed, with a view of diſcovering the deſigns of the Holy Father and the French Monarch, in this interview, that Gardiner was now ſent over. For it was apprehended that the Pope was hatching ſome miſchief againſt England, and that he was now inciting the Emperor, and other Princes, to make war upon us. And indeed he had boaſted, that he would ſet all Chriſtendom againſt the King of England. And the Emperor, in diſcourſe, had averred, that, by the means of Scotland, he would avenge his aunt Queen Catherine's quarrel. Archbiſhop Cranmer, at this juncture, had alſo ſecret intimation of a deſign to excommunicate him, and interdict his church. Whereupon, as the King by Bonner had made his appeal from the Pope to the next General Council, lawfully called, ſo by the King and Council's advice, the Archbiſhop ſoon after did the ſame: ſending his appeal with his proxy, under his ſeal, to Bonner, deſiring him, together with Gardiner, to conſult together, and to intimate his appeal in the beſt manner they could think expedient for him.

Bonner, who was employed in this affair as well as Gardiner, and who was appointed to ſucceed him as Reſident in France, has, in a letter to Lord Cromwell, repreſented the behaviour of Gardiner, whilſt he was employed on his foreign Embaſſies, in a manner not much to his advantage. "The Biſhop of Wincheſ-"ter," ſays he, "when any man is ſent in the King's affairs, "and by his Highneſs's commandment, unleſs he be the only "and chief inventor of the matter, and ſetter forth of the per-"ſon, will not only uſe many cavils, but alſo great ſtrangeneſs "of countenance and cheer to the perſon that is ſent: over and "beſide, as ſmall comfort and counſel as may be in the matter, "rather diſſuading and diſcouraging the perſon earneſtly to ſet "forward his meſſage, than boldening and comforting him, as "was his duty, with help and counſel to adventure and do his "beſt therein. The experience whereof I have had myſelf "with him at Roan, and at Marſeilles, and now laſt of all at "my return from Spain; where neither my diligence in coming "to him, and uſing him in the beginning with all the reverence "I could, neither the King's letter written to him in my fa-"vour, nor yet other thing, could mollify his hard heart and "cankered malicious ſtomach, but that he would ſpitefully "ſpeak, and unkindly do, as indeed he did, to his great ſhame "and my diſhoneſty. He cannot be content that any joined in "commiſſion with him, ſhould keep houſe, but to be at his ta-"ble, wherein either he ſearcheth thereby a vain glory and pride "to himſelf, with ſome diſhonour to the King, as who ſaith, "there were among all the King's Ambaſſadors but one able to "maintain a table, and that were he: or elſe he doth the ſame "for an evil intent and purpoſe, to bring them thereby into his "danger,

" danger, that they ſhall ſay and do as liketh him alone, which " I ſuppoſe verily hath been his intent. He having private " hatred againſt a man, will rather ſatisfy his own ſtomach and " affection, hindering and neglecting the King's affairs, than " relenting in any part of his ſturdy and ſtubborn will, give fa- " miliar and hearty counſel (whereby the King's Highneſs " matters and buſineſs may be advanced and ſet forward) to " him that he taketh for his adverſary (*k*)." This character of not yielding to others, but being ſtubborn and wilful in his opinion, with which, among other things, Bonner charges him in this letter, was given him ſo generally, that Gardiner himſelf bears teſtimony to it in a letter to Lord Cromwell, in which he tells him, " I am in ſome men's judgment too ſtrait in charging " myſelf: but I will have mine own will therein, that I may be " called SELF-WILLED for ſomething." And, indeed, he acknowledges this infirmity, in his treatiſe, DE VERA OBEDIENTIA, ſaying, " I confeſs plainly of myſelf, I could do nothing " with a worſe will, nor more againſt my mind, than to ſhrink " from any thing that I had been before perſuaded in, whatſoever " it were (*w*)."

On Gardiner's return from his French Embaſſy, he was called upon, together with the other Biſhops, to acknowledge the King as ſupreme head of the Church, and to take the oath appointed for that purpoſe. This he not only readily complied with, but alſo publiſhed a defence of the King's ſupremacy, with this title, DE VERA OBEDIENTIA; *i. e.* Of true Obedience. His pen was made uſe of upon other occaſions; and he never declined vindicating the King's proceedings in the buſineſs of the divorce, the ſubſequent marriage, or the throwing off the dominion of the Romiſh See; and his writings upon theſe ſubjects acquired him at that time conſiderable reputation. But notwithſtanding Gardiner's ready compliance with all the King's meaſures, and his writings in defence of them, he was ſtill ſtrongly attached to the Romiſh ſuperſtitions, or at leaſt very deſirous of ſupporting them.

In 1535, Archbiſhop Cranmer having begun to make a provincial viſitation, ſent a monition to Biſhop Gardiner, acquainting him that he ſhould viſit his Dioceſe. But Gardiner (ſays

(*k*) In Fox's Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. P. 381, 382, 383, Edit. 1641. may be ſeen Bonner's letter to Cromwell at large, from which the above is taken. And it contains one of the moſt curious dialogues, which, we ſuppoſe, ever paſſed between two Ambaſſadors, namely, Gardiner and Bonner; eſpecially when it is conſidered that one of them was a Biſhop at that time, and the other afterwards. But it is too long, and indeed Gardiner's language in ſome places too coarſe and indelicate, for us to inſert. Beſides the character of Gardiner which is above given from this letter, Bonner, in another part of it, ſays, that he ſuppoſes Gardiner " in malice and diſdain may be compared to the Devil in Hell, not giving place to him in pride at all."

(*w*) *Vid.* Ridley's Life of Biſhop Ridley, P. 110, 111.

Mr. Strype) "who never loved the Archbiſhop, and being a "great upholder of the old Popiſh ſuperſtitions, was the more "jealous of this viſitation, oppoſing himſelf as much as he "could againſt it; and would have picked an hole in Cran-"mer's coat, for ſtiling himſelf, in the inſtrument of the Pro-"ceſs, TOTIUS ANGLIÆ PRIMAS." Gardiner inſinuated, that this was an high reflection upon the King, and detracted much from his ſupremacy. And, therefore, he went and made a complaint of this to Henry himſelf. And he alſo pretended to his Majeſty, that the Clergy of his Dioceſe would be driven to great ſtreights, and mightily oppreſſed, if it ſhould be now viſited again, having been viſited but five years before, by Cranmer's predeceſſor, Warham. But whatever Gardiner might pretend, it appeared very evidently, that the cauſe of his oppoſition, was a deſire to evade the Archbiſhop's viſitation, and thereby prevent his inſpection into the corruptions of the Dioceſe of Wincheſter. For as to his exception to the Archbiſhop's title, and pretence that it was derogatory to the King's honour, that was nothing but a piece of artifice, by which he hoped to intereſt the King in his favour. The title aſſumed by Cranmer, was no other than what had been uſed by his predeceſſors, and which Gardiner had never before objected to; and as to the Archbiſhop himſelf, he had ſo little value for names or titles, that if that in queſtion had any way interfered with the King's ſupremacy, he would have been earneſtly ſolicitous to relinquiſh it. But the title, when aſſumed by the Archbiſhop's predeceſſors, had never been thought inconſiſtent with the Pope's ſupremacy; and, therefore, could not be inconſiſtent with the King's (x).

In 1536, Biſhop Gardiner vigorouſly oppoſed, both in the Convocation, and in private with the King, ſeveral ſteps which were taken by the Proteſtant party, to promote the Reformation; and particularly, a propoſal which was made in the Convocation by Archbiſhop Cranmer, to petition the King for leave to make an Engliſh tranſlation of the Bible; becauſe many of thoſe who at preſent ſeemed to admit the propriety of a tranſlation, had yet made much objection to the verſion of Tyndal (y).

About this time Gardiner went over again to France, to reſume his Embaſſy; and he procured the removal of Reginald Pole, then Dean of Exeter, out of the French dominions, as an enemy of his maſter, King Henry. And, before his return, being applied to by Cromwell, at the King's direction, for his opinion about the project of a religious league with the Proteſtant Princes of Germany, he, ſuppoſing this would contribute to promote the Reformation, declared himſelf againſt it, and of-

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(x) *Vid.* Strype's Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, P. 33.

(y) *Vid.* Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. P. 295.

fered many artful reaſons of a different nature in ſupport of his opinion. And in 1538, he was ſent Ambaſſador, with Sir Henry Knevit, to the German Diet at Ratiſbon, where he is ſaid to have acquitted himſelf well with reſpect to his commiſſion; but he there fell under ſome ſuſpicion of holding a ſecret correſpondence with the Pope. And there has been thought reaſon to believe, that he was under private engagements with the Romiſh Pontiff, to introduce Popery again into England. And this ſuſpicion of Gardiner's holding ſuch a correſpondence, occaſioned ſome miſunderſtanding between him and his collegue, Sir Henry Knevit, who gave ſome intimation of it to the King. However, Gardiner was not brought into any trouble on this account, during Henry's reign.

Notwithſtanding King Henry's rupture with the Pope, he was ſtill ſtrongly attached to moſt of the ſuperſtitious doctrines of the Romiſh Church; and Gardiner, after his return from Germany, laid hold of every favourable opportunity of ſtrengthening that attachment. In particular, he repreſented to the King, that nothing would ſo much contribute to ſecure him, both at home and abroad, from all the miſchief which the Pope was contriving, as to ſhew a great zeal againſt Heretics, and chiefly againſt the SACRAMENTARIANS, by which name thoſe were diſtinguiſhed, who denied the doctrine of the real preſence. And as this was a doctrine which the King had always been very zealous for, he was the more eaſily perſuaded to be ſevere on that head.

An occaſion of exerciſing ſuch ſeverity, preſented itſelf as opportunely as could be wiſhed. It happened that at that time one John Lambert was brought before the Archbiſhop of Canterbury for hereſy in this point. He had been Miniſter to the Engliſh factory at Antwerp; where being acquainted with William Tyndal and John Frith, he imbibed from them a further knowledge of the reformed opinions, in which he had been before partly inſtructed by Bilney. But Sir Thomas More, then Lord Chancellor, ordered the merchants at Antwerp to diſmiſs him: upon this he came over into England, and was taken up by ſome of Archbiſhop Warham's officers. But Warham died ſoon after, and Lambert obtained his liberty. He afterwards kept a ſchool in London; and hearing Dr. Taylor, afterwards Biſhop of London, preach on the doctrine of the real preſence, he went to him, and preſented to him in writing his reaſons for diſbelieving that doctrine. Taylor ſhewed this paper to Dr. Barnes, who was bred among the Lutherans, and retained their ſentiments upon this ſubject; and he thought, as they did, that nothing would more obſtruct the progreſs of the Reformation, than the propagating that doctrine in England. He and Taylor, therefore, carried the paper to Archbiſhop Cranmer, who was at that time of the Lutheran opinion in this article, as

Latimer alſo then was (*z*). And Lambert being brought before them, they endeavoured to make him retract his paper; but in vain; for Lambert, by a fatal reſolution, made his appeal to the King. This Gardiner laid hold on, and perſuaded Henry to proceed ſolemnly and ſeverely in the affair; and he was prevailed upon to do it in a manner, that ſhould ſhew how well qualified he was to be the Head of the Church, and in which he might at once diſplay his learning, and his orthodoxy.

Accordingly letters were diſpatched to many of the Nobility and Prelates, that they might come and ſee the trial of Lambert; in which the King intended to ſit in perſon, and to manage a part of the argument. And on the day appointed, the King appeared with great ſtate in Weſtminſter-Hall, attended by many of the Prelates, Nobility, Clergy, and King's Council. Lambert was then brought to the bar, and the proceſs was opened by an oration made by the Biſhop of Chicheſter. After which the King, with a ſtern countenance, commanded Lambert to declare his opinion concerning the Sacrament of the Altar. And Lambert began his reply by acknowledging the great goodneſs of the King, in thus hearing the cauſes of his ſubjects; and he likewiſe beſtowed ſome commendations on his Majeſty's judgment and learning. In this Henry interrupted him, telling him in Latin, that he came not there to hear his own praiſes ſet forth; and therefore commanded him to ſpeak to the matter in queſtion. And when Lambert did ſo, and denied that CHRIST's body was really preſent in the Sacrament, the King endeavoured to confute him from Scripture. After which, Henry commanded Archbiſhop Cranmer to refute Lambert's opinion. The Archbiſhop treated Lambert with much mildneſs and civility; and after they had argued together for ſome time, Biſhop Gardiner, who ſeemed to think Cranmer argued but faintly, interpoſed in the argument. Eight other Biſhops alſo entered the liſts againſt Lambert; and the diſputation, ſuch as it was, continued five hours, till at length the poor man fatigued, confounded, and brow-beaten, was reduced to ſilence. The King then aſked him if he was convinced, and whether he would live or die? He anſwered, "That he committed his ſoul to GOD, "and ſubmitted his body to the King's clemency." But Henry told him, that if he did not recant, he muſt die; for he would not be a patron of Heretics. And as Lambert refuſed to recant (*a*), the King commanded Lord Cromwell, as his Vicegerent,

(*z*) With reſpect to this article, Luther taught, with the Romiſh Church, that the very natural body and blood of CHRIST were in the Sacrament; but he ſaid this was not (as the Papiſts maintained) by converting the bread and wine into them, but by being introduced into the bread and wine, with the ſubſtance of which it was miraculouſly mixed.

(*a*) Mr. Hume ſays, "Lambert poſſeſſed that courage which conſiſts in obſtinacy." But this unfortunate man gave no other evidence of *obſtinacy*, than in refuſing to violate his conſcience, by making a public and ſolemn

gerent, to read the ſentence againſt him, which he accordingly did. We cannot but condemn Cromwell, for his ready compliance with the King's will in this tranſaction; nor indeed was Cranmer altogether free from blame, though he does not ſeem to have been very active in the affair. In conſequence of Lambert's ſentence, he was ſoon after burnt in Smithfield, and with circumſtances of unuſual barbarity. A tragical ſcene, which was the reſult of Biſhop Gardiner's cruel and artful advice to King Henry (*b*).

In 1539, Gardiner gave another inſtance of his zeal for the Popiſh doctrines, and his deſire of promoting perſecution, by exerting himſelf in procuring the act of the Six Articles, commonly called the Bloody Statute; of which we have already given ſome account in the Life of Biſhop Latimer. It is ſaid, and there is the higheſt reaſon to believe it, that this act was framed by Gardiner. It is certain, that he zealouſly promoted it in the Houſe of Lords, to the utmoſt extent of his influence. Soon after Dr. Robert Barnes, and two others, were burnt in Smithfield for hereſy; and the death of Barnes has been particularly attributed to Gardiner (*c*).

Upon the fall of Lord Cromwell, in 1540, Biſhop Gardiner was elected Chancellor of the Univerſity of Cambridge; and after Cromwell's death, Gardiner's influence at Court encreaſed; and he employed all that influence in ſupport of the Popiſh religion. Indeed, our Prelate was a moſt notable defender of all old cuſtoms and practices, however ſuperſtitious, or however abſurd. For when Sir John Cheke, who was celebrated for his ſkill in the Greek tongue, endeavoured to introduce into the Univerſity of Cambridge that method of pronouncing the Greek language which is now practiſed, of giving each vowel and

ſolemn profeſſion of his belief in a doctrine which he was convinced was falſe. The ſame Hiſtorian, who ſeems extremely unwilling that his readers ſhould ſuppoſe a man might ſuffer on a religious account from good motives, attributes his perſeverance even to the ſtake to a principle of *vanity* alſo. But certainly the man who would be burnt to death from a principle of *vanity*, muſt poſſeſs it in no ordinary degree.——*Vid.* Hume's Hiſt. of England, Vol. IV. P. 209, 210. 8vo. Edit.

Biſhop Burnet ſays, Lambert was "a learned and good man. His anſwers to the articles objected to him by Warham, and a book which in his impriſonment he wrote for juſtifying his opinion, which he directed to the King, do ſhew both great learning for thoſe times, and a very good judgment."—Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. P. 254.

(*b*) *Vid.* Fox's Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. P. 426. Strype's Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, P. 65. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. P. 252.

(*c*) The innocence of Gardiner with reſpect to this charge, has, however, been inferred by ſome, though without much reaſon, from Barnes's words at the ſtake, which ſeemed to imply a doubt. Barnes's words were: "They which have been the occaſion of my death, I pray GOD forgive them, as I would be forgiven myſelf. And Doctor Stephen, Biſhop of Wincheſter, that now is, if he have ſought or wrought this my death, either by word or deed, I pray GOD

and dipthong their diſtinct and ſeveral ſounds, Gardiner, as Chancellor of the Univerſity, interpoſed his authority; and, from his averſion to all reformation, which he oppoſed under the name of Novelty and Innovation, he inhibited under penalties Cheke's pronunciation, and enjoined the old confuſion to be religiouſly obſerved, by a public edict. This was dated in June, 1542; and, by this decree, the old corrupt ſounding of the Greek was confirmed, and the ſcholars were enjoined to make no variation, and that upon theſe penalties; namely, if he were a Regent, to be expelled out of the Senate; if he ſtood for a degree, not to be admitted to it; if a ſcholar, to loſe his ſcholarſhip; and the younger ſort to be chaſtiſed. And, in ſhort, the decree ran, "That none ſhould philoſophize at all in "ſounds, but all uſe the preſent. And that if any thing were "to be corrected in them, let it all be left to authority." Cheke, in defence of himſelf, ſaid what he had done was in vindication of Truth. But Gardiner exclaimed, QUID NON MORTALIA PECTORA COGIT VERI QUÆRENDI FAMES? "What does not the itch of ſeeking out TRUTH compel men "to do?" And bade Cheke not be the author of removing "an evil well placed (*d*)."

About this time the Engliſh tranſlation of the Bible, which had been publiſhed, and by the authority of the Lord Vicegerent Cromwell, in 1536, ordered to be laid in churches, was brought under examination in the Convocation, and many of the Biſhops were appointed to peruſe it. For ſeveral complaints had been brought againſt it: and, indeed, it was beheld with a very evil eye by the Popiſh party. For they well knew, that the promoting of an acquaintance with the Scriptures, was very unfavourable to their cauſe. But they could not directly oppoſe it, becauſe the King had determined in favour of an Engliſh verſion. The way they took, therefore, was to cavil at the tranſlation, as an unfaithful one, and to load it with as many faults as they could. This they did in hopes of getting it condemned, at the ſame time promiſing a better tranſlation; but in the making and publiſhing of which, they knew it would be eaſy to procure many delays.

No

GOD forgive him, as heartily, as freely, as charitably, and without feigning, as ever CHRIST forgave them that put him to death."

At the ſame time that Dr. Barnes, and the two other Proteſtants, were burnt in Smithfield for hereſy, three Papiſts were in the ſame place hanged and quartered, for owning the Pope's ſupremacy, and denying the King's. There being ſix in all, one of each was put upon an hurdle, a Papiſt and a Proteſtant, and in this manner they were drawn to the place of execution. A Frenchman, who was preſent at this extraordinary ſpectacle, told his friend in Latin, "That they had a ſtrange way of managing in England; for thoſe who were for the Pope were hanged, and thoſe who were againſt him were burned."

(*d*) *Vid.* Life of Biſhop Ridley, P. 159. and Strype's Life of Sir John Cheke, P. 19.

No man could be more offended with the Engliſh verſion of the Bible, than Biſhop Gardiner. And he had one very curious conceit concerning it, which he laid before the Convocation. He pretended, that there were many words in the New Teſtament of ſuch Majeſty, that they were not to be tranſlated, but muſt ſtand in the Engliſh Bible as they were in the Latin. An hundred of theſe words he put into a writing, which was read in the Convocation. "His deſign in this was viſible (ſays "Biſhop Burnet); that if a tranſlation muſt be made, it ſhould "be ſo daubed all through with Latin words, that the people "ſhould not underſtand it much the better for its being in Eng-"liſh. A taſte of this the reader may have by the firſt twenty "of them; ECCLESIA, PENITENTIA, PONTIFEX, ANCILLA, "CONTRITUS, OLOCAUSTA, JUSTITIA, JUSTIFICATIO, "IDIOTA, ELEMENTA, BAPTIZARE, MARTYR, ADORARE, "SANDALIUM, SIMPLEX, TETRARCHA, SACRAMENTUM, "SIMULACHRUM, GLORIA. The deſign he had of keeping "ſome of theſe, particularly the laſt ſave one, is plain enough; "that the people might not diſcover that viſible oppoſition, "which was between the Scriptures and the Romiſh Church, in "the matter of images. This could not be better palliated, "than by diſguiſing theſe places with words that the people un-"derſtood not.---And Cranmer found, that the Biſhops were "reſolved, either to condemn the tranſlation of the Bible, or to "proceed ſo ſlowly in it, that it ſhould come to nothing. There-"fore he moved the King to refer the peruſing of it to the two "Univerſities (*e*)."

About this time King Henry having formed a deſign to go over into France, in order to proſecute the war there; and having previouſly ſummoned a Parliament, Archbiſhop Cranmer endeavoured to lay hold on this occaſion to make ſome further progreſs in the work of Reformation, which had for ſome time been obſtructed, and alſo to get the ſevere acts about religion moderated. But Gardiner vehemently oppoſed all the Archbiſhop's endeavours for this purpoſe. Cranmer's influence, however, ſo far prevailed, that an act was paſſed, intituled, "An act for the advancement of true religion, and the aboliſh-"ment of the contrary;" which was favourable to the reformed religion. But though Gardiner and his party could not hinder the paſſing of this act, they found means to clog it in ſuch a manner with proviſoes, that it came far ſhort of what the Archbiſhop had intended. For though the Engliſh tranſlation was allowed to be read, yet this permiſſion was not granted to perſons of all ranks. Every Nobleman and gentleman was allowed to have the Bible read in their houſes; and noble Ladies, and gentlewomen, and merchants, might read it themſelves. But no men or women under thoſe degrees. And no book was to be

(*e*) Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. I. P. 314, 315.

printed about religion without the King's allowance; and the act of the Six Articles was declared to be of the ſame force as before (*f*).

In 1543, Biſhop Gardiner was one of the Commiſſioners appointed to conclude a treaty of peace with Scotland, and alſo a treaty of marriage between the young Queen of Scotland and the Prince of Wales. But whatever public employments he was engaged in, the principal object of his attention ſeems to have been, the preventing the progreſs of the Reformation, and what was called the New Learning, to the utmoſt of his power. And whenever he was engaged in the perſecution of thoſe he called Heretics, it was utterly in vain for them to produce any arguments in ſupport of their opinions. If the Biſhop of Wincheſter was inveſted with a ſufficient degree of ſecular power, he paid no regard to the ſtrongeſt arguments, from reaſon, or from Scripture. A Clergyman named Seton, a man of parts and learning, being brought before Gardiner for a ſermon he had preached in London, and having defended himſelf and his opinions in a manner which the Prelate was unable to anſwer, Gardiner ſaid to him, "Mr. Seton, we know ye are learned, and "plenteouſly endued with knowledge in the Scriptures, yet "think not that ye ſhall overcome us. No, no, ſet your heart "at reſt; and look never to have it ſaid, that ye have overcome "the Biſhops. For it ſhall not be ſo (*g*)."

This year, 1543, Biſhop Gardiner, being in much favour with the King, thought it a favourable opportunity to ſet ſome meaſures on foot, that would have a tendency to ſtop the progreſs of the Reformation. He had been informed, that there were many Heretics in Windſor. He, therefore, moved the King in Council, that a commiſſion might be granted for ſearching ſuſpected houſes in that town, in which it was ſaid there were many books againſt the Six Articles. In conſequence of this, four perſons, Anthony Perſons, Robert Teſtwood, Henry Filmer, and John Marbeck, were taken up, and tried and condemned for hereſy; and three of them were afterwards burnt. The laſt of them, Marbeck, who was pardoned, was charged with compiling an Engliſh Concordance. And Fox tells us, that when this man was examined before the Council, Gardiner obſerved, that there had been a Concordance compiled in Latin for the eaſe of preachers; but, he added, "If ſuch a book ſhould go "forth in Engliſh, it would deſtroy the Latin tongue."

But Gardiner was not content with having been the means of bringing to the ſtake a few Proteſtants of inconſiderable note. He had taken a much higher aim. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Cranmer, was the great ſupport of the reformed opinions; and

(*f*) *Vid.* Strype's Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, P. 99.
(*g*) Strype, as before, P. 130, 131.

and Gardiner had long been his inveterate enemy. He, therefore, laid a very deep plot to ruin the Archbiſhop, together with ſeveral of his Proteſtant friends. And for this purpoſe he carried on two intrigues at the ſame time; one at Windſor, and another at Canterbury. Beſides the proſecutions againſt thoſe at Windſor, of whom we have already ſpoken, his emiſſaries were employed in preparing indictments againſt Sir Philip Hobby, and Sir Thomas Chardine, both of the Privy Council, together with ſeveral Ladies and others. At Canterbury, they began by preferring accuſations againſt Dr. Ridley, Chaplain to the Archbiſhop, and three other preachers, who were favoured by him. But what they had principally in view, was to collect whatever they could, hearſays and reports, or any thing elſe, which, by the ſubtilty and malice of Gardiner, might be formed into an accuſation againſt Cranmer. Gardiner's principal agent in this dark and iniquitous buſineſs, was one Dr. London, a man well fitted for the purpoſe. Archbiſhop Parker ſtiles him, "a ſtout and filthy Prebendary (*b*)." A book of articles of accuſation againſt Cranmer was accordingly put into the King's hands. But by means of intercepted letters, ſome from Gardiner, and others from his agent London, the whole ſcheme was diſcovered; and the King being thoroughly convinced of its malevolence, the whole deſign was cruſhed. And as to Biſhop Gardiner, the King from this time conceived a worſe opinion of him than he had ever done before (*i*). Gardiner, however, ſeems to have been engaged in other attempts after this, and in this reign, to ruin Cranmer, but they were without effect (*k*).

(*b*) Dr. London was afterwards, by means of ſome letters which had been intended for Gardiner, but which were intercepted, convicted before the Council of perjury, and ſentenced to ride through Windſor, Reading, and Newbury, with his face towards his horſe's tail, and a paper upon his head declaring his crime; and to ſtand in the pillory in each of thoſe towns. He was afterwards ſent to the Fleet, where he died.

(*i*) *Vid.* Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, P. 109---123. Hiſt. of the Reformation, P. 327. and Life of Ridley, P. 153—158.

An attempt is made in the Biographia Britannica to palliate Gardiner's behaviour in this affair, by intimating that he did it by way of retaliation, for an attempt that had been made by the Duke of Suffolk, and Gardiner's enemies, to make the King believe that he, Biſhop Gardiner, was of the ſame ſentiments with his Secretary, German Gardiner, who was executed for denying the King's ſupremacy. But what is thus alledged in extenuation of Gardiner's behaviour with reſpect to Cranmer, is not of the leaſt weight, and indeed has ſcarce any foundation. For, in the firſt place, there is no reaſon whatever to ſuppoſe, that Cranmer inſinuated any thing to the King, to Gardiner's diſadvantage, on account of the conviction of his Secretary. And, in the ſecond place, the plot laid by Gardiner and his emiſſaries for the ruin of Cranmer, was a year prior to the conviction and execution of Gardiner's Secretary. The ſcheme laid againſt Cranmer, was in 1543; and German Gardiner, the Biſhop's Secretary, was employed in it; and he was not tried and executed for denying the King's ſupremacy, till the following year. The occurrence, therefore, which Gardiner is ſuppoſed to have reſented, had not then happened, whatever it might afterwards.

(*k*) *Vid.* Strype, as before, P. 124.

In 1544, our Prelate's Secretary, whoſe name was German Gardiner, and who was much in his maſter's favour, was condemned and executed for defending the Pope's ſupremacy. Upon this, according to Fox, the King being in conference with the Duke of Suffolk, and others of the Council, was fully perſuaded, that Gardiner's Secretary, "being in ſuch ſpecial favour with his maſter, would never ſtand ſo ſtiff in defence of "the Biſhop of Rome's uſurped power and authority, without "his ſaid maſter's both advice, knowledge, and perſuaſion." Henry, therefore, gave directions to the Duke of Suffolk, to take to his aſſiſtance two or three of the Council, and cauſe Gardiner to be committed to the Tower, in order that he might anſwer to ſuch things as ſhould be objected to him. But before this was effected, the Prelate receiving intimation of what was intended, repaired to the King. Henry, when he ſaw him, told him, he wondered that his Secretary ſhould in ſo notorious a manner offend againſt him and the laws; and that it was thought he, the Biſhop, was not clear in the affair, but that he was indeed of the ſame opinion with his Secretary (*l*). However, (the King told him) if he would honeſtly confeſs the truth, he would pardon him; but if he diſſembled, he ſhould receive no favour at his hands. Upon this, Gardiner fell on his knees before the King, and acknowledged, that he had for a long time been of the ſame opinion with his Secretary; but he beſought his Majeſty's pardon, and "there bewailing himſelf, promiſed from that time for-"ward to reform his opinion, and become a new man." Henry thereupon granted Gardiner his pardon, agreeable to his promiſe; which was no ſmall diſappointment to the Duke of Suffolk, and others, who were no friends to our Prelate (*m*).

In 1545, Biſhop Gardiner was employed in Flanders, in ſoliciting a league between the Emperor, and the French King, and Henry. And during his abſence, Cranmer endeavoured to procure the King's conſent for the aboliſhing of ſome prevailing ſuperſtitions, ſuch as the Vigil, and ringing of bells all the night upon Allhallows, and the covering of images in the time of Lent, with the lifting up the veil that covereth the croſs upon Palm Sunday, the kneeling to the croſs at the ſame time, and creeping to it. But this was prevented by Gardiner; who receiving information of it, artfully wrote word to the King, that his buſineſs was in a good train; but he beſought him not to ſuffer any innovations in religion or ceremonies; for if he did, there

9

(*l*) Lord Herbert, after having obſerved, that the King withdrew much of his favour from the Biſhop of Wincheſter, ſays, that he was "ſuſpected to diſlike ſecretly the King's proceedings: which was made more probable, when not long after his Secretary, German Gardiner, was executed for denying the King's ſupremacy."——Hiſt. of Henry VIII. P. 565.

(*m*) Acts and Monuments, V. II. P. 646, 647. Edit. 1641.

there would be no hopes of his ſucceeding with the Emperor (*n*).

Gardiner returned from Flanders about January, 1546. And ſoon after, he and the Popiſh party found means to ſet on foot a perſecution of the Proteſtants, upon the ſtatute of the Six Articles. In particular, a charge of hereſy was brought againſt Mrs. Anne Aſcough, ſiſter to Sir Francis Aſcough, of Lincolnſhire, a Lady of unblemiſhed life, and exemplary piety, of a ſharp and ready wit, and better education than was common in thoſe of her ſex. They hoped by falling upon her, to have drawn out of her confeſſions ſome matters againſt the Dutcheſs of Suffolk, the Counteſs of Suſſex, the Counteſs of Hertford, the Lady Denny, the Lady Fitzwilliams, and ſome of the Council. She underwent ſeveral examinations (*o*); but they could not get out of her what they wanted, and therefore they endeavoured to extort it by the rack. When ſhe had for ſome time endured this torture, and it was found inſufficient for the purpoſe they aimed at, the Lieutenant of the Tower was ordered to put her on the rack again. But this his humanity refuſed; and upon this, it is ſaid, the Lord Chancellor, (Wriotheſley) who was a zealous Papiſt, threw off his gown, and drew the rack himſelf, torturing her as long as life could ſupport it. And when they found they could not obtain the end they aimed at, they contented themſelves for the preſent with burning the poor Lady; and with her Nicholas Belenian, John Adams, and John Laſſels, all on the ſame account; that was, for ſpeaking againſt the corporal preſence in the Sacrament, in diſobedience to the Six Articles. Sir George Blage, one of the gentlemen of the King's Privy Chamber, was alſo committed to Newgate on the Sunday before Mrs. Ayſcough ſuffered, and condemned to the fire on the Wedneſday following. But the King hearing of it, was greatly offended with the Lord Chancellor, for coming ſo near him, and even to his privy chamber, and commanded him immediately to draw out his pardon. As ſoon as Sir George was releaſed, and came into the preſence, the King cried out, as he was accuſtomed

(*n*) *Vid.* Strype, as before, P. 134, 135, 136.

(*o*) Fox has preſerved an account of ſome of her examinations, as given by herſelf. One of them was before the Council at Greenwich. She was there aſked by Lord Wriotheſley, the Chancellor, what her opinion was concerning the Sacrament. "My anſwer (ſays ſhe) was this. I believe that ſo oft as I, in a Chriſtian congregation, do receive the bread in remembrance of CHRIST's death, and with thankſgiving, according to his holy inſtitution, I receive therewith the fruits alſo of his moſt glorious paſſion. The Biſhop of Wincheſter bad me make a direct anſwer. I ſaid, I would not ſing a new ſong of the LORD in a ſtrange land. Then the Biſhop ſaid I ſpake in parables. I anſwered, it was beſt for him; for if I ſhew the open truth, (quoth I) ye will not accept it. Then he ſaid I was a parrot. I told him again, I was ready to ſuffer all things at his hands, not only his rebukes, but all that ſhould follow beſides; yea, and all that gladly." The next day ſhe was brought again before

to call him, "Ah! my Pig!" "Yes," ſaid Sir George; "If "your Majeſty had not been better to me than your Biſhops, "your Pig had been roaſted e're this time (*p*)."

Queen Catherine Parr, to whom King Henry had now been married about three years, was a favourer of the Reformation. She was, therefore, very obnoxious to Gardiner and the Popiſh party. She was much given to reading and ſtudying the Scriptures, and the King would frequently permit her to confer with him on religious ſubjects; and ſhe would at theſe times endeavour to perſuade the King to complete the Reformation which he had begun, by purging his Church of England from the ſuperſtitions which yet remained. Henry had always hitherto taken this in good part; for the Queen was very dutiful and affectionate in her behaviour, and ſtudious of conforming herſelf to his will. But Henry was now grown very corpulent and diſeaſed, and his illneſs heightened the natural impatience of his temper. During his illneſs and confinement, it was cuſtomary for the Queen, when ſhe thought it would be agreeable to the King, at ſome convenient ſeaſon of the day, to viſit him in his chamber: and Henry always received her with great kindneſs, and indulged the freedom of her converſation without diſpleaſure. But one day ſhe came into his chamber, when Gardiner, with others of the Popiſh party, were with the King; and ſhe falling upon her old topic of perfecting the Reformation, his Majeſty ſhewed ſome tokens of diſlike, contrary to his cuſtomary behaviour to her, and breaking off the diſcourſe, talked of other matters. And when the Queen was retired, Henry brake out into this expreſſion, "A good hearing it is, when women become ſuch clerks! "and a thing much to my comfort, to come in mine old age to "be taught by my wife!"

Gardiner failed not to improve this opportunity. With equal ſubtilty and malice, he ſtruck in with the King's diſpleaſure, and ſaid all that he could deviſe againſt the Queen, to increaſe his reſentment. In order to aggravate the Queen's inſolence in diſputing with his Majeſty, he flatteringly extolled Henry's great learning and depth in divinity; and he inferred, that thoſe who would contradict him in words, wanted not the will, but the power only, to overthrow him in deeds. And then he inſinuated, that he and his friends could make great diſcoveries, of their own knowledge, relating to the Queen: but her faction was ſo powerful,

before the Council, and again interrogate[d] concerning the Sacrament; and ſhe ſays that Lord Liſle, Lord Lexx, and Biſhop Gardiner, earneſtly required her to confeſs 'the Sacra-'ment to be fleſh, blood, and bone.' The Biſhop afterwards deſired to ſpeak with her in private, but that ſhe declined; and when he told her that ſhe ſhould be burnt, ſhe anſwered, "that ſhe had ſearched all the Scriptures, yet could never find that either CHRIST or his Apoſtles put any creature to death." She was afterwards ſent to Newgate, though extremely ill, and in great pain. *Vid.* Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. P. 576.

(*p*) *Vid.* Ridley's Life of Biſhop Ridley, P. 176—178.

powerful, that they could not do their duty to their Prince, with ſafety to themſelves. By theſe inſinuations, and others of the ſame kind, Henry was ſo far prevailed upon, that articles were prepared againſt the Queen, and ſigned by the King: for without that, it was not ſafe for any to impeach the Queen. It was alſo determined to ſeize ſome Ladies, who were the Queen's neareſt relations, and chief confidants, and to indict them on the ſtatute of the Six Articles; theſe were the Lady Herbert, ſiſter to the Queen, the Lady Lane, and Lady Tyrwhit, all of her privy chamber: and upon ſeizing them, it was intended to ſearch their cloſets and coffers, in hopes ſomething might be found, which might be made uſe of againſt the Queen. The very day, and even the hour was appointed, and made known to the King, when they were to be ſeized. But Wriotheſley, the Chancellor, who had engaged in this affair with Gardiner, accidentally dropped the bill of articles that had been prepared againſt the Queen; which being taken up by one of her friends, was carried to her. She ſeeing the contents, and the King's hand ſet to them, had reaſon to think herſelf loſt. This threw her into a violent diſorder, which her phyſicians could not reach: till Dr. Wendy, having been privately informed by the King of the deſign, with a ſtrict injunction of ſecrecy, declared to him that her malady was in the mind. This induced the King to viſit her, which he not only did, but behaved to her with great tenderneſs; and this ſeaſonable kindneſs greatly abated the violence of her diſorder. When ſhe was a little recovered, by the advice of Dr. Wendy, who was her friend as well as phyſician, ſhe went to wait upon the King; who received her kindly, and on purpoſe ſet on a diſcourſe about religion. She had been prepared by Dr. Wendy, and therefore anſwered, "That women by their creation at firſt were made ſub-"ject to men; that they, being made after the image of GOD, "as the women were after their image, ought to inſtruct their "wives, who were to learn of them. And ſhe much more was "to be taught of his Majeſty, who was a Prince of ſuch excel-"lent learning and wiſdom." "Not ſo, by St. Mary," ſaid the King, "you are become a Doctor, Kate, to inſtruct us, (as we "take it) and not to be inſtructed or directed by us." To which ſhe replied, "That it ſeemed he had much miſtaken the free-"dom ſhe had taken to argue with him; ſince ſhe did it to en-"gage him in diſcourſe, in order that he might thereby paſs the "time the more agreeably, and be the leſs ſenſible of the painful "indiſpoſition with which he was afflicted; and that ſhe at the "ſame time might receive profit by his Majeſty's learned diſ-"courſe: in which laſt point ſhe had not miſſed of her aim, "always referring herſelf in theſe matters, as ſhe ought to do, "to his Majeſty." And is it even ſo, Sweet-heart?" ſaid the King? "then are we perfect friends again." And embracing her,

her, he expreſſed great joy as this declaration of her's, diſmiſſing her, after other diſcourſe, with aſſurances of his love.

In the mean time the Queen's enemies were entirely unacquainted with this reconciliation. The very next day had been appointed for carrying her, and the Ladies before-mentioned, to the Tower. The day being fine, the King went to take a little air in the garden, and ſent for the Queen; who came, attended by the three Ladies of her privy chamber, to bear him company. While they were together, the hour appointed being come, the Chancellor, ignorant of what had happened, entered the garden, with about forty of the guard, to arreſt the Queen. But the King, who knew the buſineſs he was come about, ſtepped aſide to him, and after a little diſcourſe, was heard to call him "Knave, "aye errant knave, a fool, and beaſt;" and bid him preſently avaunt out of his ſight. The Queen, who knew not that the evil which had been intended her was ſo near, nor on what errand the Chancellor and his guard were now come, endeavoured to pacify the King, and to intercede in the Chancellor's behalf, againſt whom he ſeemed to diſcover ſo much anger. "Ah, poor ſoul," ſaid the King, "thou little knoweſt how ill "he deſerves this grace at thy hands. On my word, Sweet-"heart, he hath been towards thee an errant knave. And ſo "let him go." Thus was this deſign againſt Queen Catherine Parr fruſtrated; which, ſays Biſhop Burnet, "as it abſolutely "diſheartened the Papiſts, ſo it did totally alienate the King "from them; and in particular from the Biſhop of Winchester, "whoſe ſight he could never after this endure (*q*)."

But though King Henry could never bear the ſight of Gardiner after this tranſaction, yet we are told that the Prelate would ſhuffle himſelf in among the Counſellors, and proceed with them to the Anti-chamber, waiting till they had done with the King, and then go down with them again, to preſerve the appearance of ſtill retaining the King's confidence, and of having a ſhare in public buſineſs. And it appears, that Gardiner introduced Admiral Annibault, the French Ambaſſador, to the Anti-chamber, when that Miniſter came to have his laſt private audience of Henry; but the King ordered, that Gardiner ſhould proceed no further, nor be acquainted with the ſubject of their converſation (*r*). Another time the King ſeeing him with ſome of the Privy Counſellors, expreſſed much diſlike, and aſked, "What "he did there?" He was anſwered, that the Biſhop came to inform

(*q*) *Vid.* Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. P. 344, 345. Life of Biſhop Ridley, P. 179——182. Lord Herbert's Hiſt. of King Henry VIII. P. 622, 623. Edit. 1683.

It is obſerved by Lord Herbert, that a ſubmiſſion made by Biſhop Gardiner to the King, ſoon after this affair, is extant in our records; tho' whether on account of this, or for ſome other cauſe, does not appear.

(*r*) *Vid.* Guthrie's Hiſtory of England, Vol. II. P. 1122.

inform his Majeſty of a benevolence granted by the Clergy. The King hearing this, called him immediately to deliver his meſſage; and having received it, went away.

King Henry's diſorder increaſing, he ordered his will to be again drawn out, and to leave out the name of Biſhop Gardiner, whom he had before appointed to be one of his executors. Sir Anthony Browne, who was a great friend of the Biſhop's, mentioned this omiſſion to the King, as a negligence he ſuppoſed of the Secretary; and then reminded him of the Biſhop's great deſervings and abilities. "Hold your peace," ſaid the King; "I remembered him well enough; and of good pur- "poſe have left him out. For ſurely if he were in my teſta- "ment, and one of you, he would cumber you all; and you "ſhould never rule him, he is of ſo troubleſome a nature. "Marry, (proceeded the King), I myſelf could uſe him, and "rule him to all manner of purpoſes, as ſeemed good unto me, "but ſo ſhall you never do; and, therefore, talk no more to "me in his behalf." Sir Anthony, however, out of his friendſhip for Gardiner, took another opportunity of moving the King in the Prelate's behalf. But Henry was ſo much diſpleaſed at this, that he threatened to ſtrike Sir Anthony too out of his will, if he did not ceaſe his importunity in that matter (*s*).

King Henry died, on the 28th of January, 1547, after a reign of thirty-ſeven years and nine months, and in the fifty-ſixth year of his age. A Prince of ſo diverſified and various a character, and ſo different from himſelf at different times, that, as Lord Herbert has juſtly obſerved, "his hiſtory is his beſt character "and deſcription." Upon the acceſſion of King Edward VI. Archbiſhop Cranmer, being earneſt in his endeavours to promote the Reformation, to which he found the Protector Somerſet well inclined, laboured all he could to bring the Biſhop of Wincheſter to a concurrence, or at leaſt to an acquieſcence. But all his endeavours for this purpoſe were without effect; for Gardiner oppoſed every meaſure that was taken favourable to the Reformation, to the utmoſt of his power.

He began with writing to the Protector, to diſſuade him from ſuffering any innovations to be made in religion, alledging, among other reaſons, that it was improper to attempt any thing of that kind during a minority. And being informed that the inhabitants of Portſmouth had removed and broken the images of CHRIST and ſome of the Saints, he wrote about it with great warmth to one Captain Vaughan, who waited on the Protector, and was then at Portſmouth. He deſired to know whether he ſhould ſend one to preach againſt this "great and deteſtable inno- "vation," as he termed it. "I would uſe preaching," ſaid Gardiner,

(*s*) *Vid.* Life of Ridley, P. 183. and Fox's Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. F. 647.

Gardiner, " as it ſhould not be occaſion of any further folly " where a folly is begun ; and to a multitude perſuaded in the " opinion of deſtruction of images, I would never preach. For " (as Scripture willeth us) we ſhould caſt no precious ſtones be- " fore hogs. Such as be infected with that opinion, they be " hogs, and worſe than hogs, if there be any groſſer beaſts than " hogs be, and have been ever ſo taken ; and in England they " are called Lollards, who denying images, thought there- " withal the crafts of painting and graving to be generally ſu- " perfluous and naught, and againſt GOD's laws. In Ger- " many, ſuch as maintained that opinion of deſtroying of " images, were accounted the dregs caſt out by Luther, after " he had tunned all his brewings in CHRIST's religion, and ſo " taken as hog's meat. For the reproof of whom Luther wrote " a book ſpecially, and I have with mine eyes ſeen the images " ſtanding in all churches, where Luther was had in eſtima- " tion. For the deſtruction of images containeth an enterprize " to ſubvert religion, and the ſtate of the world with it, and " eſpecially the Nobility, who by images ſet forth and ſpread " abroad, to be read of all people, their lineage, parentage, " with remembrance of their ſtate and acts." He afterwards obſerved, in the ſame letter, that he took the deſign of demoliſhing images to be " ſuch an enterprize againſt CHRIST's re- " ligion, as there cannot be a greater by man excogitate with " the Devil's inſtigations (*t*)." Such were the ideas of our Prelate concerning the heinouſneſs of the crime of deſtroying images, and ſuch the apprehenſions which he had formed, or pretended to form, of the horrible conſequences which would reſult from it !

Gardiner happened about this time to be preſent at a ſermon preached by Dr. Ridley before the King, in which Ridley took occaſion to treat of the abuſes of images in churches, and ceremonies, and alſo of the practice of uſing holy water for the driving away Devils. But our Prelate not reliſhing Ridley's ſentiments on theſe ſubjects, favoured him with a letter on the occaſion, a few days after ; in which he obſerves, that the precept in the Moſaic law " forbiddeth no more images now, than " another text forbiddeth to us puddings." He afterwards makes a diſtinction between images and idols ; and admits that images may be abuſed, but nevertheleſs offers many reaſons in defence of the uſe of them. As to holy water, he ſaid a virtue might be in water as well as in CHRIST's garment, St. Peter's ſhadow, or Eliſha's ſtaff. And he aſcribes the efficacy of holy water for driving away Devils to the invocation of GOD's name, and gives the holy water only the office and miniſtry of a vehicle to convey that virtue, " as the ſpecial gift of curation mi- " niſtered

(*t*) *Vid.* Gardiner's letters publiſhed by Fox in his Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. P. 712, 713.

" niſtered by the Kings of this Realm, not of their own " ſtrength, but by invocation of the name of GOD, hath been " uſed to be diſtributed in rings of gold and ſilver."---" If " (ſays he) the ſtrength of the invocation of the Name of GOD " to drive away the Devils, cannot be diſtributed by water, " why can it be diſtributed in ſilver to drive away diſeaſes, " and the dangerous one of the Falling Evil?" We think the latter part of our learned Prelate's reaſoning here was not entirely deſtitute of force; for we are indeed inclined to be of opinion, with him, that holy water may be to the full as efficacious in driving away Devils, as the holy rings, whether of gold or ſilver, were in driving away diſeaſes.

Gardiner wrote ſeveral letters to the Protector Somerſet. In one of them, in which he grievouſly complains of the irreverence and indignity with which the images had been treated at Portſmouth, he makes very honourable mention of the late King, Henry VIII. and ſpeaks of a converſation which paſſed between that Prince, and himſelf, and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in which Henry diſcuſſed the ſubject of images, in ſo learned a manner, that, Gardiner ſays, " all the Clerks in " Chriſtendom could not amend it." In another letter to the Protector, our Prelate complains of certain ſatirical rhimes, which had been publiſhed againſt the keeping of Lent. And he urges many reaſons, both religious and political, for the obſervation of Lent. He acknowledges, however, that he was not himſelf a great lover of fiſh. But " theſe good words," ſays he, " I give, although I love it not myſelf: for ſuch as " love not fiſh, ſhould nevertheleſs commend it to others, to the " intent the fleſh by them foreborne, might be to ſuch as love " that only the more plenty (*u*)."

With a view of forwarding the Reformation, a Royal viſitation was now ſet on foot by the influence of Archbiſhop Cran-

(*u*) Mr. Strype tells us, that the ſatyrical rhimes which were now made about Lent, and of which Gardiner complained as above, were " called Jack of Lent's Teſtament, and publicly ſold in Wincheſter market: therein (ſays he) Stephen Gardiner, the Biſhop, was touched, who was a great man for keeping it. For in the ballad *Stephen Stockfiſh* was bequeathed in this will to *Stephen Gardiner*."

Mr. Strype alſo obſerves, that ſeveral books were now publiſhed by Bale, and other Proteſtants, againſt Popery, and concerning ſuch as had ſuffered under the cruelties of the Church of Rome. One of thoſe publiſhed by Bale was, " a Vindication of the Lady Anne Aſcue, (or Ayſcough) who ſuffered the cruel death of burning about the end of King Henry's reign: whoſe cauſe the Papiſts ſtudiouſly had rendered bad. This book he intitled, The Elucidation of Anne Aſcue's martyrdom. Which was this year publicly expoſed to ſale at Wincheſter, and the parts thereabouts, as a reproach to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, who was the great cauſe of her death. Four of theſe books came to that Biſhop's own eyes, being then at Wincheſter."--Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, P. 206, 207.

mer; but this was vigorouſly oppoſed by Gardiner, as were alſo the Homilies which were now appointed to be read in churches. Upon this, Sir John Godſalve, one of the viſitors appointed on this occaſion, but a friend to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, wrote a letter to him, deſiring him to be more diſcreet, and not run the hazard of ruining himſelf, and loſing his Biſhopric. But to this our Prelate returned an anſwer, which "has more of a Chriſ-"tian, and of a Biſhop in it, (ſays Burnet) than any thing I ever "ſaw of his." In this letter he expreſſes much reſpect for the laws of the kingdom, and talks with much plauſibility of his contempt of the world, and his reſolution to ſuffer any thing, rather than violate his conſcience.

Gardiner alſo made great oppoſition to Eraſmus's Paraphraſe of the New Teſtament, which was tranſlated into Engliſh, and appointed to be had in every pariſh church throughout England. Among other of his objections to it, one was, that ſome of the ſentiments contained in it were inconſiſtent with the Homilies, which were alſo enjoined to be read in churches. He ſaid Eraſmus wrote his Paraphraſe "when his pen was wanton;" and he agreed with them that ſaid, "Eraſmus laid the eggs, and "Luther hatched them." And he alſo obſerved, "that of all "the monſtrous opinions that have riſen, evil men had a "wondrous occaſion miniſtered to them from that book;" and that the words and terms of the Paraphraſe, "were able to ſub-"vert, if it were poſſible, as CHRIST ſaith, the Elect;" and that if it was to be publicly uſed in the kingdom, it would be "able to miniſter occaſion to evil men to ſubvert, with reli-"gion, the policy and order of the Realm."

In conſequence of the oppoſition ſhewn by the Biſhop of Wincheſter to the proceedings of the Protector and the Council, he was cited to appear before the Council, on the 25th of September, 1547. It was alledged againſt him, that he had written to ſome of that board, and ſpoken to others, many things in prejudice and contempt of the King's viſitation; and that he had declared his intention of refuſing to ſet forth the Homilies and injunctions. He was accordingly examined before the Council; and as he there refuſed to promiſe either to receive the Homilies, or pay obedience to the viſitors if they came into his Dioceſe, he was committed cloſe priſoner to the Fleet, where he was ſtrictly kept, and but indifferently uſed, notwithſtanding he ſent frequent petitions for redreſs.

Some days after his impriſonment, he was ſent for to the Deanery of St. Paul's by Cranmer, who diſcourſed with him in company of ſome other Biſhops, and endeavoured to bring him to comply with their proceedings towards a Reformation. The Archbiſhop "dealt very gently with him, (ſays Strype) and told "him, That he was a man, in his opinion, meet to be called to "the Council again: but withal ſaid, that he ſtood too much in "obſtinacy; that it was perverſe frowardneſs, and not any zeal

" for the truth. And laboured to bring him to allow the book " of Homilies, and the Paraphraſe of Eraſmus." He could not, however, be prevailed upon; but " afterwards Cranmer " (ſays Burnet) knowing what was likely to work moſt on Gar- " diner, let fall ſome words of bringing him into the Privy- " Council, if he would concur in what they were carrying on. " But that not having its ordinary effect upon him, he was car- " ried back to the Fleet." He continued in this confinement till the 24th of December, when the Parliament broke up, and was at length ſet at liberty by the King's general pardon. He was never charged with any offence judicially; and was probably kept in confinement during the ſitting of Parliament, with a view of preventing his making any oppoſition there to the meaſures which were now adopted. This, however, was cenſured, and indeed juſtly, as an invaſion of liberty; and, upon the whole, the proceedings of the Proteſtant party againſt Gardiner in this affair, appear to have been irregular and illegal (*w*).

The Biſhop of Wincheſter being now at liberty, repaired to his Dioceſe; " where (ſays Burnet) there ſtill appeared in his " whole behaviour great malignity to Cranmer, and to all mo- " tions for Reformation; yet he gave ſuch outward compli- " ance, that it was not eaſy to find any advantage againſt him." However, in 1548, he was again complained of in the Council, for having ſecretly detracted from the King's proceedings. It was alſo ſaid, that after his return to his Dioceſe, when he was releaſed from his confinement, he had raiſed much ſtrife and contention, and had cauſed all his ſervants to be ſecretly armed and harneſſed, and had put public affronts on thoſe whom the Council ſent down to preach in his Dioceſe; for in ſome places, to diſgrace them, he went into the pulpit before them, and warned the people to beware of ſuch teachers, and to receive no other doctrine but what he had taught them (*x*). In conſequence of theſe complaints againſt our Prelate, he was once more brought before the Council, who reproached him for his behaviour, and directed him to keep his houſe till he gave ſatisfaction, which he was to do by preaching a ſermon before the King and Court in a public audience, and for the matter of which he was to be directed in what he ſhould ſay by Sir William Cecil. He did accordingly preach, on St. Peter's day, but in a manner very contradictory to the purpoſe required. His text was Matthew viii. 15. from whence he took occaſion in acknowledging the King's ſupremacy to deny that of his

(*w*) Biſhop Burnet ſays, " Theſe proceedings againſt Gardiner were thought too ſevere, and without law; but he being generally hated, they were not ſo much cenſured, as they would have been, if they had fallen on a more acceptable man."——Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. P. 70.

(*x*) Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. P. 68.

Council, whom he treated very contemptuouſly (*y*). In conſequence of this behaviour, he was ſent to the Tower the next day after, the 30th of June, 1548, where he was kept ſo cloſe a priſoner for a year, that, we are told, his Chaplain was admitted to him only once, when he was ill, and then reſtrained becauſe his life was not thought to be in danger.

But ſoon after, the affairs of our Prelate ſeem to have put on a more promiſing appearance. When the Protector's fall was projected, Gardiner, we are told, was deemed a neceſſary implement for the purpoſe, and his head and hand were both employed in bringing it about; for it is ſaid that the original draught of the articles againſt Somerſet was made by him. Upon this change in the Council, he had ſuch aſſurances of his liberty, and entertained ſo great hopes of it, that Stowe tells us, he provided new apparel to make his appearance in when he was releaſed from his confinement, which he took it for granted would have been within a few days. But in this our Prelate flattered himſelf too much; for the change occaſioned in the ſtate of public affairs by the depoſition of the Duke of Somerſet from the Protectorſhip, brought no change with reſpect to the condition of Gardiner. Finding himſelf, therefore, thus diſappointed, he wrote letters to the Lords of the Council, in part of which he expreſſed himſelf thus. "I "have continued here (ſaid he) in this miſerable priſon now "one year, one quarter, and one month, this ſame day that I "write theſe my letters, with want of air to relieve my body; "want of books to relieve my mind; want of good company, "the only ſolace of this world; and finally, want of a juſt "cauſe why I ſhould have come hither at all." This application was, however, of no advantage to him: but Stowe tells us, that "the Lords took it in good part, and laughed very merrily "thereat, ſaying, he had a pleaſant head; for reward whereof, "they gave him leave to remain ſtill in priſon five or ſix weeks "after, without ſaying, or ſending any word to him." Notwithſtanding this, Gardiner renewed his addreſs to the Lords of the Council, to the ſame purport as before; but without effect; and he had been two years within a few days in the Tower, when the Duke of Somerſet, who was now reſtored to a place in the Council, went with others, by virtue of an order of Council, the 9th of June, 1550, to confer with him in that place.

In this conference, they propoſed to releaſe him upon his ſubmiſſion for what was paſt, his promiſe of obedience for the future, and his teſtifying his approbation of all the meaſures that had been taken towards the Reformation. The two laſt points Gardiner conſented to, and actually ſigned all that was expected from him; but refuſed his aſſent to the firſt, inſiſting upon his innocence. Sir William Herbert and Secretary Petre went

(*y*) Biographical Dictionary, 8vo. Vol. V. P. 296.

went to him ſome time after, and preſſed him to make the acknowledgments which were required of him, without exception: but this he refuſed, and ſaid that he would never defame himſelf; for when he had done it, he was not ſure but it might be made uſe of againſt him as a confeſſion.

Shortly after, Biſhop Ridley was ſent to him, together with Herbert and Petre, who brought him new articles. He read all theſe, and ſaid, "he deſired firſt to be diſcharged of his "impriſonment, and then he would freely anſwer them all, ſo "as to ſtand by it, and ſuffer if he did amiſs; but he would "trouble himſelf with no more articles while he remained in "priſon, ſince he deſired not to be delivered out of his troubles in the way of mercy, but of juſtice."

On the 19th of July he was brought before the Council, and the Lords told him, that they ſat by a ſpecial commiſſion to judge him, and aſked him whether he would ſubſcribe the laſt articles which had been ſent him; but he anſwering in the negative, the fruits of his Biſhopric were ſequeſtered, and he was required to conform within three months on pain of deprivation. Mr. Strype, however, informs us, that "notwithſtanding this ſentence, the Council favourably ordered, that the Biſhop's houſe and ſervants ſhould be maintained in their preſent ſtate, until the expiration of the three months; and that the matter in the mean time ſhould be kept ſecret." But nevertheleſs, the liberty which he had before of walking in ſome open galleries, when the Duke of Norfolk (now alſo priſoner in the Tower) was not in them, was taken from him, and he was again ſhut up in his chamber (*z*).

At the expiration of the limited time, the Biſhop of Wincheſter ſtill refuſing to comply with what was required of him, he was, ſhortly after, deprived of his Biſhopric for diſobedience and contempt of the King's authority, by a court of Delegates, wherein Archbiſhop Cranmer preſided, after a trial which laſted from December 15, 1550, to the 14th of February, 1551, in two and twenty ſeſſions. Gardiner proteſted againſt his Judges, and objected to their commiſſion; and when ſentence was about to be given againſt him, appealed from the Delegates to the King; but no notice was taken of his appeal.

The

(*z*) Burnet ſays, theſe proceedings againſt Gardiner were "much cenſured, as being contrary to the liberties of Engliſhmen, and the forms of all legal proceedings. It was thought very hard to put a man in priſon upon a complaint againſt him, and without any farther enquiry into it, after two years durance to put articles to him. And they which ſpoke freely, ſaid it ſavoured too much of the inquiſition. But the canon law not being rectified, and the King being in the Pope's room, there were ſome things gathered from the canon law, and the way of proceeding EX OFFICIO, which rather excuſed than juſtified this hard meaſure he met with."——Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. P. 151.

The next day Biſhop Gardiner's caſe was debated in the Council, who came at length to this reſolution, that, "Foraſ-"much as it appeared he had at all times, before the Judges of "his cauſe, uſed himſelf unreverently to the King's Majeſty, "and ſlanderfully toward his Council, and eſpecially yeſterday, "being the day of his judgment given againſt him, he called "his Judges HERETICS AND SACRAMENTARIES, they being "here the King's Commiſſioners, and of his Highneſs's Coun-"cil; it was therefore concluded, by the whole Board, that he "ſhould be removed from the lodgings he hath now in the "Tower to a meaner lodging, and none to wait upon him but "one by the Lieutenant's appointment, in ſuch ſort as, by the "reſort of any man to him, he have not the liberty to ſend out "to any man, or to hear from any man. And likewiſe, that "his books and papers be taken from him, and ſeen; and that "from henceforth he have neither pen, ink, nor paper, to write "his deteſtable purpoſes, but be ſequeſtered from all confe-"rences, and from all means that may ſerve him to practiſe any "way." Three weeks after this, by the King's appointment, Dr. Ponet, Biſhop of Rocheſter, was admitted Biſhop of Wincheſter.

Gardiner continued in confinement in the Tower during the remainder of King Edward's reign: but the rigour of the order of Council concerning him, appears to have been abated; for in that interval he wrote ſeveral controverſial pieces, compoſed a variety of Latin poems, and tranſlated into verſe ſeveral paſſages in the books of Eccleſiaſtes, Wiſdom, and Job, and other poetical parts of the Old Teſtament. And he kept up his ſpirits very well in his preſent adverſe circumſtances; being wont (we are told) to ſay very confidently, as either believing it, or deſiring to be thought to believe it, that he ſhould live to ſee another turn, and another Court, in which he ſhould be as great as ever.

King Edward VI. died on the 6th of July, 1553; after which a ſhort ſtruggle was made in favour of Lady Jane Gray, of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more particularly elſewhere; but on the 19th of the ſame month, Queen Mary was publicly proclaimed. On the third of Auguſt, ſhe made her ſolemn entry into the Tower; upon which Gardiner, in the name of himſelf and his fellow priſoners, the Duke of Norfolk, the Dutcheſs of Somerſet, the Lord Courtney, and other perſons of rank, made a congratulatory ſpeech to her Majeſty, who gave them all their liberty. David Lloyd tells us, that Mary kiſſed Gardiner in the Tower, and called him her priſoner (*a*). On the eighth of the ſame month, he performed, in the Queen's preſence, the obſequies for the late King Edward, whoſe body was buried at Weſtminſter, with the Engliſh

(*a*) State Worthies, Vol. I. P. 332. Edit. 1766.

Engliſh ſervice by Archbiſhop Cranmer, the funeral ſermon being preached by Biſhop Day. On the ninth, Biſhop Gardiner went to Wincheſter-Houſe in Southwark, after a confinement of ſomewhat more than five years (*b*). And on the twenty-third he was declared Chancellor of England; but his patent did not paſs till the twenty-firſt of September (*c*). However, being raiſed to this high poſt, he became Mary's firſt Miniſter, and was entruſted with the chief management of public affairs.

Mary, on her acceſſion to the Throne, had publicly declared, that ſhe would force no man's conſcience on account of religion. But it ſoon appeared, that there was very little ſincerity in her declarations of this kind (*d*). She had indeed reſolved, as ſoon as ever ſhe could, to re-eſtabliſh Popery, and reconcile the nation to the See of Rome. And the firſt ſtep which was taken towards this, was to prohibit all preaching throughout the kingdom; and to licence only ſuch as were known to be popiſhly inclined; Gardiner being impowered to grant ſuch licences under the Great Seal.

The Popiſh party, who were now in high ſpirits, began with great eagerneſs to re-eſtabliſh their old ſuperſtitions. And in many places they ſet up images, and introduced the Latin ſervice, with the old rites again. This was againſt law, becauſe the acts paſſed in the reign of King Edward, in ſupport of the Reformation, were ſtill in force: but theſe proceedings were encouraged

(*b*) Dr. Poynet, who had been placed in the See of Wincheſter in the room of Gardiner by King Edward, fled out of the kingdom on the acceſſion of Mary.

(*c*) Dr. Smollet aſſerts, in his Hiſtory of England, (Vol. VI. P. 159. 8vo. Edit.) that "Mary committed the Great Seal of England to Gardiner, even before his pardon was expedited: ſo that he ſat as Judge in Chancery, while he himſelf was under ſentence of death." But our Hiſtorian is entirely miſtaken in this particular; for Gardiner was ſo far from being under ſentence of death, that it does not appear that ſuch a ſentence was ever thought of againſt him.

(*d*) The inſincerity of Mary's promiſes was ſoon rendered ſufficiently apparent by her behaviour to the inhabitants of Suffolk. At the time that Lady Jane was proclaimed Queen in many towns near London, great numbers nevertheleſs repaired to the ſtandard of Mary, particularly, as Biſhop Burnet informs us, "a great body of Suffolk men gathered about her, who were all for the Reformation. They deſired to know of her, whether ſhe would alter the religion ſet up in King Edward's days; to whom ſhe gave full aſſurances, that ſhe would never make any innovation or change, but be contented with the private exerciſe of her own religion. Upon this they were all poſſeſſed with ſuch a belief of her ſincerity, that it made them reſolve to hazard their lives and eſtates in her quarrel." But ſoon after Mary's acceſſion, ſhe prohibited all perſons from preaching, but thoſe who were licenſed, which was done with a view of ſilencing the Proteſtants: but "in Suffolk, thoſe of that profeſſion took a little more liberty than their neighbours, preſuming on their great merit, and the Queen's promiſes to them. But there was a ſpecial letter ſent to the Biſhop of Norwich's Vicar, himſelf being at Bruſſels, to ſee to the execution of the injunctions againſt any that ſhould preach without licence. Upon this, ſome

encouraged by the Council. However, Sir James Hales, one of the Judges, who thought he might with the more freedom ſpeak his ſentiments, becauſe he had zealouſly defended Mary's title againſt the partizans of Lady Jane Grey, gave a charge to the Juſtices in Kent, when he was on his circuit there, to ſee that King Edward's laws, as they were ſtill in force and unrepealed, ſhould be put in execution. But for this, without any regard to his former zeal and ſervices, he was put into the Marſhalſea, from thence removed to the Compter, and from thence to the Fleet; and in conſequence of the ſeverity with which he was treated, fell into a frenzy. However, he was afterwards ſet at liberty; but never came to himſelf again, and not being taken proper care of, drowned himſelf. "This," ſays Burnet, "with the uſage of the Suffolk men, was much cenſured; and "from thence it was ſaid, that no merits or ſervices could ſe-"cure any from the cruelties of that religion."

As none of the laws paſſed in the reign of Edward relative to religion, were yet repealed, the Proteſtant Clergy ſtill continued to perform public worſhip, and to celebrate the holy Sacrament, as before. And the people attended with the more ſeriouſneſs and diligence, as they had no doubt but this would be ſpeedily put a ſtop to. And indeed Gardiner was determined to ſtifle the Reformation with all poſſible expedition and vigour. One way he had to do this, was to ſend his ſpies into all the churches in London. And theſe would come into the churches, and diſturb the Miniſters with rude words and actions, even in the time of divine ſervice; and then go to the Biſhop, and make their informations. And the Miniſters were thereupon brought before him, and then committed, unleſs they would comply. And this, ſays Mr. Strype, in the very beginning of the Queen's reign, when the preachers acted only according to the laws then in force (*e*).

On the firſt of October, Biſhop Gardiner crowned Queen Mary; and a pardon was thereupon proclaimed. But it was not an over-gracious one; for all the priſoners in the Tower and Fleet were excepted, and ſixty-two beſides. Moſt of thoſe excepted

ſome came from Suffolk to put the Queen in mind of her promiſe. This was thought inſolent; and ſhe returned them no other anſwer, but, That they being Members, thought to rule her that was their Head; but they ſhould learn, that the Members ought to obey the Head, and not to think to bear rule over it. One of theſe had ſpoken of her promiſe with more confidence than the reſt; his name was Dobbe; ſo he was ordered to ſtand three days in the pillory, as having ſaid that which tended to the defamation of the Queen. And from hence all ſaw what a ſevere government they were to come under, in which the claiming of former promiſes, that had been made by the Queen when ſhe needed their aſſiſtance, was to be accounted a crime." Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. P. 237, 246. It appears, indeed, that Mary was well acquainted with that excellent Popiſh maxim, That no faith is to be kept with Heretics.

(*e*) Memorials of CRANMER, P. 312.

excepted were Proteſtants; and two of them were Grafton and Whitchurch, the printers of the Bible.

On the tenth of the ſame month, Gardiner opened the firſt Parliament in Mary's reign (*f*). In this Parliament, an act was made for the confirmation of the marriage of the Queen's mother, Catherine of Arragon, to King Henry VIII. and in the preamble of the act the affair of the divorce, which was ſpoken of as impious and illegal, was thrown almoſt entirely upon Cranmer. "By this act (ſays Biſhop Burnet) Gardiner had performed his promiſe to the Queen, of getting her illegitimation taken off, without any relation to the Pope's authority. But in the drawing of it, he ſhewed that he was paſt all ſhame: when he could frame ſuch an act, of a buſineſs which himſelf had ſo violently and ſo ſervilely promoted.---The laying it all upon Cranmer, was as high a piece of malice and impudence as could be deviſed: for as Gardiner had been ſetting it on, long before Cranmer was known to King Henry; ſo he had been joined with him in the commiſſion, and had given his aſſent to the ſentence which Cranmer gave (*g*)." By this act the Princeſs Elizabeth was illegitimated; and from this time the Queen her ſiſter began to treat her with much ſeverity.

The next bill that was ſent from the Lords to the Commons, was for the repealing King Edward's laws concerning religion. It was ſent down on the 31ſt of October, and argued ſix days in the Houſe of Commons: but in the end it was carried, and ſent back to the Lords. The preamble of it ſet forth the great diſorders that had fallen out in the nation by the changes that had been made in religion, from that which their forefathers had left them by the authority of the Catholic Church; and thereupon all the laws that had been made in King Edward's time about religion, were now repealed; and it was enacted that,

(*f*) Mr. Strype tells us, that "The Queen knew how difficult it would be to obtain her purpoſe, to overthrow all that had been eſtabliſhed concerning religion in her brother's days. And therefore when this Parliament was to be ſummoned, ſhe impeached the free election of Members, by diſpatching abroad into the ſeveral counties her letters directing the choice. And ſuch Knights and Burgeſſes were choſen by force and threatening for many places, as were judged fit to ſerve her turn. And divers that were duly choſen, and lawfully returned, were thruſt out, and others without any order or law put in their places."—Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, P. 319.

(*g*) *Vid.* Hiſt of the Reformation, Vol. II. P. 254.——The writer of Gardiner's article in the Biographia Britannica, after having acknowledged that the throwing the whole blame of the affair of the divorce upon Archbiſhop Cranmer, was "againſt all truth and juſtice, ſince Gardiner had to the full as great a ſhare therein as he;" ſays further, "but to make that venerable Prelate (Cranmer) ſome amends, upon an humble letter acknowledging his fault in the buſineſs of Queen Jane, he received a pardon." We cannot, however, be of opinion, that Archbiſhop Cranmer received any real *amends* for the injuſtice that he received in this caſe, nor that it was intended

from the 20th of December following, there ſhould be no other form of divine ſervice, but what had been uſed in the laſt year of King Henry VIII (*b*). Another act was paſſed, by which thoſe who ſhould moleſt or diſturb the Clergy on account of the re-eſtabliſhed Popiſh ſervice, or ſhould profane the Euchariſt, or pull down croſſes, crucifixes, or images, were ſubjected to ſevere penalties.

During the ſitting of this Parliament, the Convocation being aſſembled as uſual, were employed in debating on the ſubject of the real preſence in the Sacrament. It had, however, been ſo managed, that there were no more than ſix who ſat in this Convocation on the Proteſtant ſide; and theſe were reviled, threatened, inſulted, and interrupted in their arguments. And the Convocation at length determined in favour of Tranſubſtantiation. Weſton, the Prolocutor, having been hard preſſed by ſome of the Proteſtants, ſaid to them, "You have the WORD, "but we have the SWORD:" truly pointing out, ſays Burnet, wherein the ſtrength of both cauſes lay.

Several Proteſtant Prelates were now deprived of their Sees, on different pretences; and ſeveral Papiſts, ſome of whom had been deprived in the reign of Edward, were appointed to fill the vacant Biſhoprics. Hooper was deprived of the See of Worceſter, for his marriage, and other demerits; Bird was deprived of the Biſhopric of Cheſter, on account of his being married; and Harley and Farrar were deprived of the Biſhoprics of Hereford and St. David's, for wedlock and hereſy; Taylor was deprived of the Biſhopric of Lincoln, under pretence of his having a bad title, and on account of his ſentiments

intended he ſhould receive any. It is true, a pardon for the treaſon with which he was charged, was granted him: but with what view? This queſtion has already been anſwered by more than one hiſtorian; That they might burn him for an Heretic. This was the Popiſh mercy which was intended for Cranmer, and this was the mercy which he at length received, though it was for ſome time ſuſpended for political reaſons reſpecting Gardiner. "This (ſays Mr. Strype) was the reſolution that was taken concerning Cranmer in this matter: (becauſe for ſhame, they could not deny him a pardon, when others far more guilty, and deeper in the buſineſs, had it), That he ſhould be pardoned the treaſon as an act of the Queen's grace, and then he ſhould be proceeded againſt for hereſy; for die they were reſolved he ſhould." Memorials, P. 321.

(*b*) Thus, within four months after the acceſſion of Queen Mary, all the laws in favour of the Reformation which had been enacted during the reign of King Edward, were repealed. And yet we are told (Biograph. Brit. Vol. III. P. 2214.) that "Gardiner made no great haſte in reſtoring Popery, or in calling over Cardinal Pole as the Pope's Legate." It is true, that no law was yet enacted, by which the Pope's ſupremacy was re-eſtabliſhed in England; but every thing could not be done at once; and we think it was ſcarcely poſſible that Gardiner ſhould have made more haſte in the reſtoration of Popery than he did. To ſet aſide, in leſs than ſix months, all that had been done in King Edward's reign

ments concerning the Euchariſt; and Cranmer was deprived of the Archbiſhopric of Canterbury, for treaſon. The commiſſion for the deprivation of theſe Prelates was directed to, Biſhop Gardiner, Bonner, Biſhop of London, and the Biſhops of Chicheſter and Durham (*i*).

Theſe proceedings induced the Proteſtants to apprehend a ſevere perſecution. Great numbers of them, therefore, fled the kingdom; ſome to Straſburgh, ſome to Weſel, ſome to Embden, ſome to Antwerp, and others to Switzerland, and other places, to the number of eight hundred, and upwards. Among theſe were Scory, late Biſhop of Chicheſter; Barlow, Biſhop of Bath and Wells; Coverdale, Biſhop of Exeter; and Bale, Biſhop of Oſſory (*k*). David Lloyd tells us, that Gardiner threatened concerning theſe exiles, that "he would watch their "ſupplies, ſo that they ſhould eat their nails, and then feed on "their fingers ends (*l*)." Indeed, the Biſhop of Wincheſter had ever ſhewn himſelf an hearty friend to perſecution, before he had received any provocation from the Proteſtants; and, therefore, as he had in the preceding reign really received ſome perſecution from them, though in no reſpect comparable to what he had before cauſed Proteſtants to ſuffer; it was natural to ſuppoſe, that he would now promote perſecution to the utmoſt of his power, not only from that love of it which he had ſo often ſhewn, but alſo from a ſpirit of retaliation.

Accordingly we find, that great numbers of the Proteſtants were now thrown into priſon. "For Wincheſter (ſays Mr. Strype) did reſolve to make quick work, to reduce, if he could, the Realm to the old religion. So that they came into the Marſhalſea thick and three-fold for religion, ſent by him thither. And that they might be ſure to ſuffer hardſhip enough, when the Biſhop's Almoner, Mr. Brooks, came to this priſon with his maſter's alms-baſket, he told the porter, that it was his Lord's pleaſure, that none of the Heretics that lay there, ſhould have

reign in favour of the Reformation in ſix years, was, we apprehend, being ſufficiently expeditious. As to Gardiner's not haſtening the coming of Pole into England, his motives for that are ſufficiently obvious; and we have not the leaſt reaſon to ſuppoſe, that his conduct in this reſpect aroſe from any unwillingneſs to acknowledge the Papal ſupremacy. The true ſtate of the caſe was this: Gardiner conſidered Pole as a formidable rival; and was apprehenſive that, on the Cardinal's arrival in England, he would be raiſed to the Archbiſhopric of Canterbury, which was the object of his own ambition.

It is alſo ſaid in the Biograph. Brit. that Gardiner "did not expreſs any great violence in the beginning of his adminiſtration." But according to Mr. Strype, (Memorials of Cranmer, P. 312.) Gardiner cauſed many of the Proteſtant Clergy to be impriſoned for conforming to King Edward's laws, whilſt thoſe laws were ſtill in force; which, we think, was acting with ſufficient *violence* againſt men, whom he could not legally act againſt at all. And certainly this was not very conſiſtent with that reſpect for the laws, and the conſtitution, for which Gardiner has been applauded.

(*i*) *Vid.* Strype's Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, P. 309.

(*k*) Strype, as before, P. 314.

(*l*) State Worthies, Vol. I. P. 333.

any part of his alms. And that if he knew any of them had any part thereof, that houſe ſhould never have it again ſo long as he lived. To which the porter replied, "That he would have "a care of that, he would warrant him; and that if they had "no meat till they had ſome of his Lordſhip's, they ſhould be "like to ſtarve. And ſo he bad him tell his Lord; and added, "That they ſhould get no favour at his hand (*m*)."

Peter Martyr, a learned and celebrated Proteſtant Divine, a native of Italy, who had been made Divinity Profeſſor at Oxford by King Edward, but who was now obliged to leave the kingdom, obſerves, in a letter to Calvin, that "although the "infirmity of ſome of the Proteſtants betrayed them, yet great "was the conſtancy of far more than he could have thought. "So that he doubted not but England would have many famous "martyrs, if Wincheſter, who then did all, ſhould begin to "rage according to his will." The ſame learned man ſays, in another letter, "That he had many ſcholars in England, ſtu"dents in divinity, not to be repented of, whoſe harveſt was al"moſt ripe. Whom he was forced to ſee, either wandering "about in uncertain ſituations, or remaining at home unhap"pily ſubverted. And that there were in this kingdom many "holy as well as learned Biſhops, that were then in hard con"finement, and ſoon to be dragged to the extremeſt puniſh"ments, as if they were robbers."

Biſhop Gardiner was now rechoſen Chancellor of Cambridge, and reſtored to the Maſterſhip of Trinity Hall there, of which, among his other preferments, he had been deprived in the preceding reign; when the Protector would have had him reſign that houſe into the hands of the Crown, giving out that from his affection to the civil law, he was inclined to erect a College for promoting that ſtudy, and to endow it with the revenues of that foundation, and of Clare Hall. But Gardiner apprehending ſome deſign or caſualty might intervene between the diſſolution of the old, and the ſettling of this new foundation, civilly declined the motion; informing his Grace, that the way to advance the ſtudy of the law, was by promoting the preſent profeſſors of that faculty, then ſo generally diſcouraged, and not by founding a new College for the future ſtudents thereof, ſince Trinity Hall alone could breed more Civilians, than all England did prefer according to their deſerts. This remark, we are told, coſt Gardiner the Maſterſhip, but is ſuppoſed to have ſaved the foundation.

In the beginning of the year 1554, Ambaſſadors arrived from Charles V. King of Spain, and Emperor of Germany, in order to adjuſt a treaty of marriage, which had been for ſome time in agitation, between Queen Mary and the Emperor's ſon Philip. "In the managing of this treaty (ſays Burnet) Gardiner "had

(*m*) Memorials of Cranmer, P. 310, 311.

" had the chief hand; for he was now the Oracle at the Coun-
" cil Board. He had thirty years experience in affairs, a great
" knowledge of the Courts of Chriſtendom, and of the ſtate
" of England; and had great ſagacity, with a marvellous cun-
" ning, which was not always regulated by the rules of candour
" and honeſty. He, in drawing the articles of the marriage,
" had a double deſign: the one was to have them ſo framed,
" that they might eaſily paſs in Parliament; and the other was,
" to exclude the Spaniards from having any ſhare in the Go-
" vernment of England, which he intended to hold in his own
" hands (*n*)."

This projected marriage was extremely odious to the nation in general; and though the articles of it were drawn with great art and plauſibility, and ſeemingly much in favour of England, yet, when they were publiſhed, they gave no ſatisfaction to the people. The friends to the Reformation were under great apprehenſions, that this marriage would put a period to all their hopes, and not only that Popery would be confirmed, but that a Spaniſh Government and Inquiſition would be eſtabliſhed. And thoſe who conſidered the civil liberties of the kingdom, without any reference to religion, concluded that England would in conſequence of this match become a Province to Spain; and in conſequence be ſubjected to the moſt arbitrary Government in Chriſtendom. In ſhort, the general diſcontent was ſo great, that it gave riſe to the inſurrection under Sir Thomas Wyat. The Duke of Suffolk, and Sir Peter Carew, were alſo engaged in this conſpiracy. This rebellion, however, was at length quelled; but "the effuſion of blood after it (ſays Burnet) was
" thought too liberal; and this exceſs of puniſhment was ge-
" nerally caſt on Gardiner, and made him become very hateful
" to the nation."

On the 18th of March, the Princeſs Elizabeth was committed to the Tower, it being pretended that ſhe was privy to Wyat's conſpiracy againſt the Queen, and ſhe was accordingly very ſtrictly examined by the Council on this ſubject. Sir Thomas Wyat, however, publicly acquitted the Princeſs of this charge on the ſcaffold, at his execution; and as the Princeſs defended herſelf extremely well, and nothing could be produced againſt her, they at length releaſed her from her confinement in the Tower. It is, however, ſaid that the Queen was adviſed to take Elizabeth off; and that this deſign was carried ſo far, that a writ for her execution was ſent down to the Tower. And it is affirmed by ſeveral writers, that Gardiner was the Princeſs's greateſt enemy; and that he let fall ſome bitter ſpeeches, which were underſtood to refer to her: ſuch as, "We may ſhake off
" the leaves, and lop the branches; but if we do not deſtroy
" the

(*n*) Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. P. 267.

" the root, the hope of Heretics, we do nothing." However, there are ſome other writers, by whom the truth of this is diſputed.

In April, a new Parliament being aſſembled, it was opened with a ſpeech by Gardiner, as Chancellor. He had previouſly taken meaſures to prevail upon the Commons to give their ſanction to the Spaniſh match, by giving penſions to the moſt conſiderable Members; ſome had one hundred, and ſome two hundred pounds a year, for their votes on this occaſion (*o*). The firſt act which was paſſed in this Parliament, was of a ſingular nature; and imported, that the Prerogative Royal was attached to the perſon who enjoyed the Crown, whether male or female; and conſequently, that the Queen poſſeſſed all the rights of her progenitors, according to the conſtitution of England. This act was oppoſed by ſome as a trifling and abſurd one; the matter itſelf, it was ſaid, being ſo ſelf-evident, that it could admit of no doubt. But we are told, that this act was planned by Gardiner, with a view of hindering Philip from taking poſſeſſion of the Adminiſtration, and rendering himſelf abſolute in England. The Commons alſo paſſed a bill for reviving the ſtatutes made againſt Lollardy, but the Lords threw it out after the ſecond reading, as they did alſo ſome other bills which had been contrived againſt the Proteſtants. Both Houſes, however, ratified the treaty of marriage with the Spaniſh Prince (*p*).

On the 20th of July, Philip arrived at Southampton, with a fleet of ſixty ſhips. We are told by Sir William Monſon, that the Admiral of England fired at the Spaniſh Squadron, when Philip was on board, becauſe they had not lowered their top-ſails,

(*o*) *Vid.* Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. P. 277.

(*p*) Before the arrival of Philip, a report had been ſpread about, that the Queen was with child by her Chancellor, Biſhop Gardiner. This rumour had got as far as Norfolk; and the Earl of Suſſex, Lord Lieutenant of that county, endeavoured to find out the author of this foul ſcandal upon her Majeſty; and ſeveral perſons were examined concerning it. And Mr. Strype tells us that, in the courſe of this enquiry, one Laurence Hunt, of Diſſe in Norfolk, came to Robert Lowdal, chief Conſtable, and told him, "That he did hear ſay, that the Queen's Majeſty was with child by the ſaid Biſhop, and that his wife did tell him ſo." And when his wife was examined, ſhe ſaid, ſhe had it of one Sheldrake's wife. And when Sheldrake's wife was examined, ſhe ſaid, ſhe had it of her huſband. And when he was examined, he ſaid, he had it of one Wilby of Diſſe. And Wilby being examined, ſaid, he had it of one John Smith, of Cock-ſtreet. And John Smith ſaid, he had it of one widow Miles. And ſhe being examined, ſaid, ſhe had it of two men; but what they were ſhe could not tell, nor where they dwelt. What followed of this, ſays Strype, I know not. Only there is a memorial of one John Albone, of Trunch in Norfolk, who was indicted for ſaying, "That the Queen was with child by Wincheſter.

Biſhop Burnet ſays, that this report of the Queen was ſo much reſented at Court, that her Majeſty wrote a letter to the Juſtices in Norfolk, to enquire into thoſe falſe reports, and to look to all that ſpread falſe news in the county. This letter is preſerved by Burnet in his collection of Records, Vol. II. No. 14.

ſails, as a mark of deference to the Engliſh navy in the narrow ſeas. The Queen met the Spaniſh Prince at Wincheſter, where they were married by Gardiner, and their nuptials ſolemnized with great ſtate and magnificence. Philip was in the twenty-ſeventh year of his age, and Mary turned of eight and thirty. After the ceremony of the marriage, they were proclaimed King and Queen of England, France, Naples, and Jeruſalem, with the addition of many other pompous titles. From Wincheſter they removed to Windſor, where Philip was inſtalled a Knight of the Garter.

Gardiner was ſtill continued in the chief management of public affairs; and, in order to ingratiate himſelf with Philip, he preached a ſermon at St. Paul's on the 30th of September; in which, after he had inveighed againſt the preachers in King Edward's time, which was now a common topic with the Popiſh Clergy, he launched out into very liberal encomiums of King Philip, affirming him to be as wiſe, ſober, gentle, and temperate, as any Prince that ever was in England; and if he did not prove ſo, he was content that all his hearers ſhould eſteem him an impudent liar.

On the 11th of November, Mary's third Parliament was aſſembled. And "it ſoon appeared," ſays Burnet, "that all "things were ſo well prepared by Gardiner's policy, and the "Spaniſh gold, that it would be an eaſy matter to carry every "thing in this ſeſſion." It had now been determined, that Cardinal Pole ſhould come over into England, as the Pope's Legate; and therefore the firſt thing the Parliament did, was to repeal the act of attainder which had been paſſed againſt Pole in the reign of Henry VIII. The Cardinal landed at Dover on the 21ſt of November, and three days after he came to London; and being introduced to the King and Queen, was by them very joyfully received. And the Parliament being ſummoned to attend their Majeſties in the Houſe of Lords, the Cardinal declared the ſubject of his Legation, which was to invite the Parliament to reconcile themſelves and the kingdom to the Apoſtolic See, and to return into the boſom of the Catholic Church. This gracious offer being accepted with a due degree of ſubmiſſion and gratitude, the Parliament and kingdom in conſequence obtained abſolution from the Legate, in the name of his Holineſs. And an act was ſoon after paſſed, by which the authority of the Roman Pontiff was re-eſtabliſhed in England, though under certain limitations. A bill was alſo brought in for reviving the ſtatutes made in the reigns of Richard II. Henry IV. and Henry V. againſt Heretics. It was brought into the Houſe of Commons on the 12th of December, and ſent up to the Lords on the 15th, who paſſed it on the 18th of that month.

It has been urged as an argument of Gardiner's moderation, that during the time he had hitherto preſided in the Adminiſtration, ſince the acceſſion of Mary, no perſons had yet been put to

death on account of religion. We have, however, not the leaſt reaſon to ſuppoſe, that this aroſe from any reluctance to perſecution in Gardiner. The true ſtate of the caſe was, that till this time there was no law in force in this reign, which would juſtify the putting Proteſtants to death. Attempts had been made to procure an act for that purpoſe in the ſecond Parliament of Mary's reign, but without ſucceſs, the bill being thrown out by the Lords.

As a law, however, was now enacted, ſufficient to anſwer the purpoſes of cruelty and bigotry, it was very ſpeedily put into execution; and a very ſevere and bloody perſecution was commenced againſt the Proteſtants, which was chiefly carried on by the Prelates Gardiner and Bonner (*q*). They began with John Rogers, who was Prebendary of St. Paul's, and a man eminent for piety and learning. He had already been impriſoned a year in Newgate; but he was now brought before Gardiner, and the reſt of the Council, on the 22d of January, 1555, and examined by them. He was brought before them again on the 26th and 29th of the ſame month; and he told Gardiner, that he had been treated illegally, as well as cruelly. "My Lord, "(ſaid he) ye have dealt with me moſt cruelly; for ye have put "me in priſon without law.——I have been a full year in New-"gate at great coſt and charge, having a wife and ten children "to provide for, and I had never a penny of my livings; which "was againſt the law." However, as he refuſed to renounce his opinions, he was declared an obſtinate Heretic, ordered to be degraded, and delivered into the Sheriff's hands. When he had received ſentence, he deſired that his wife might be permitted to come to him in priſon; but that Gardiner refuſed, and would not allow that ſhe was his wife, on account of his being a Prieſt. He was burnt in Smithfield on the 4th of February, and ſuffered with great fortitude. As his unhappy wife and children were not permitted to come to him in priſon, they were neceſſitated to take their laſt farewell of him in the ſtreet. He was offered a pardon at the ſtake, on condition of his recantation, but he nobly refuſed to accept it. Four days after this, Laurence Saunders, a Proteſtant Clergyman, who had been examined in London by Bonner and Gardiner, was burnt for hereſy at Coventry. He had been impriſoned one year and a quarter. He ſeems to have been removed into the country to ſuffer death, with a view of ſtriking terror into others there, who might be infected with hereſy.

The

(*q*) "The perſecution was carried on againſt the Goſpellers with much fierceneſs by thoſe of the Roman perſuaſion, who were generally exceeding hot as well as ignorant; chiefly headed by two moſt cruelly natured men, Biſhop Gardiner, and Biſhop Bonner; in whoſe Dioceſes were London and Southwark, and the next bordering counties, wherein were the greateſt numbers of profeſſors."——Strype's Memorials of Cranmer, P. 362.

The day after this, the 9th of February, Hooper, late Biſhop of Glouceſter, was likewiſe burnt in that city for hereſy. He had been tried and condemned in Southwark by Biſhop Gardiner, Bonner, Biſhop of London, and the Biſhops of Durham, Landaff, and Chicheſter, who were appointed Commiſſioners for that purpoſe. He ſuffered inexpreſſible torment at the ſtake, being burned as it were by piecemeal; for the wind, which was vehement, blew the flame of the reeds from his body; and the faggots, being green, did not kindle eaſily; ſo that all his lower parts were conſumed, before his vitals were attacked. One of his arms dropped off, but with the other he continued to beat his breaſt; and he was heard to pray till his tongue, ſwoln with the violence of his agony, could no longer permit him utterance. He was three quarters of an hour in torture, which he endured with admirable conſtancy.

The ſame day, Dr. Rowland Taylor, Vicar of Hadley, was conſumed in the flames at that place, in the view of his friends and pariſhioners. He was a Clergyman of great piety and benevolence, and had been impriſoned from about the beginning of Queen Mary's reign. For Gardiner and the Popiſh party had thrown the moſt eminent and able Proteſtants into priſon, from the beginning of this reign; and there they detained them till they had procured a law for putting Heretics to death (*k*). But the particular reaſon for which Dr. Taylor was firſt taken up, was his oppoſing ſome Romiſh Prieſts, who came to Hadley, and reſolved to ſay maſs in his church. This Taylor openly declared againſt, as he had an undoubted right to do, as the laws of King Edward were ſtill in force. However, the Romiſh Prieſts prevailed, and drove Taylor out of his church; and he was afterwards ſent for up to London, to appear before Gardiner, who received him (ſays Burnet) with his ordinary civilities of Traytor, Villain, Heretic, and Knave. Taylor anſwered, He was none of theſe; and put Gardiner in mind of the oaths he had ſworn, both to King Henry and King Edward. Gardiner ſaid, An unlawful oath was not to be kept; and charged him with oppoſing the celebration of the maſs in his church. But Taylor told him, that as he was Parſon of Hadley, it was againſt all right, conſcience, and laws, that any man ſhould come into his charge, and endeavour to infect his flock with the idolatrous maſs. However, Gardiner committed

(*k*) Mr. Strype tells us, that ſome of the Proteſtants were put to death, when the law would not warrant it. "Proteſtants (ſays he) were already not only impriſoned, but put to death, without any warrant of law, but only by virtue of commiſſions from the Queen, and the Lord Chancellor. Whereupon, when one in the Convocation ſtarted this objection, *That there was no law to condemn them*; Weſton, the Prolocutor, anſwered, *It forceth not for a law: we have a commiſſion to proceed with them: and when they be diſpatched, let their friends ſue the law.*" Memorials of Cranmer, P. 349.

him to priſon, where he ſuffered a long confinement, being deprived of his Living, till his final condemnation. There were ſome circumſtances of uncommon barbarity attended his execution. When he was conducting to the ſtake, he ſaid to the people, that he had taught them nothing but GOD's holy word, and was now about to ſeal it with his blood; upon which one of the guards ſtruck him on the head. He was then fixed in a barrel of pitch, and one of the ſpectators flinging a faggot at the good old man, which wounded him ſeverely, ſo that his whole viſage was covered with blood, he replied, "Oh friend, "I have harm enough; what needed that?" When he repeated the 51ſt Pſalm in Engliſh, one of the guards ſtruck him on the mouth, bidding him ſpeak Latin; and while he was employed in recommending his ſoul to GOD, another cleft his head with an halbert in ſuch a manner, that his brains came out, and he expired. Indeed, the ſcene of inhumanity and unprovoked cruelty which was here exhibited, is not eaſily to be parallelled.

John Bradford was condemned for hereſy about the ſame time with thoſe now put to death; but Gardiner ſuſpended his execution for the preſent, though he was burnt in Smithfield about the middle of the year. Many other Proteſtants were alſo now thrown into priſon; but Gardiner now transferred to Bonner the buſineſs of perſecuting them. It is ſuppoſed that he now declined acting in this bloody work, from a conviction that it contributed but little towards the purpoſe intended; namely, ſtopping the progreſs of hereſy. But it is abundantly more probable, from a conſideration of Gardiner's character and general conduct, that his inclination to promote perſecution was nothing leſſened; but that he conſidered that the buſineſs might as well be done by another, without his appearing ſo openly in it, by which he had already rendered himſelf ſufficiently odious (*l*). This, at leaſt, is certain, that after a ſhort ſuſpenſion, the flame of perſecution broke out again with redoubled fury, though Gardiner ſtill continued to preſide in the Adminiſtration.

On

(*l*) To this purpoſe the ingenious Mr. Gilpin obſerves, that "Bonner was indeed little more than an agent in the hands of Gardiner, who on many occaſions choſe rather to ſit concealed, and work miſchief by proxy. It ſuited the darkneſs of his diſpoſition, and he found in Bonner an inſtrument entirely adapted to his purpoſe; open ears, an impetuous temper, raging zeal, a hardened heart, and an obſtinate perſeverance: ſo that Gardiner had only to wind him up occaſionally, and give him a proper direction; and the zealot moved with the regularity of a machine, and with what impetuoſity his director impreſſed." Life of Latimer, P. 144.

It is certain, that the cruel executions which have been above mentioned, were diſapproved not only by the Proteſtants, but by all moderate and humane Papiſts. 'The whole nation (ſays Burnet) ſtood amazed at theſe proceedings, and the burning of ſuch men, only for their conſciences, without the mixture of any other thing,

On the 30th of March, Dr. Robert Farrar, late Biſhop of St. David's, was burnt for hereſy at Caermarthen. He had been examined before Gardiner and the Council; but refuſing to recant, was ſent down into Wales, and there condemned, and put to death. In the courſe of his examination before the Council, Gardiner told the Biſhop, that he was a FROWARD FELLOW, and a FALSE KNAVE; a polite mode of expreſſion, which was not uncommon with our Prelate. Beſides Biſhop Farrar, many other perſons were committed to the flames about this time, in different parts of the kingdom.

On the 18th of May, Biſhop Gardiner, together with the Earl of Arundel and the Lord Paget, went over to Calais, to a kind of congreſs which was held there, in order to mediate a peace between France and Spain; but this they could not effect, but could only procure a truce. While they were employed in this negociation, the Pope died; and the Queen thereupon wrote very preſſing letters to Gardiner and his colleagues, to engage the Powers with whom they were treating, to conſent that Cardinal Pole ſhould be raiſed to the Papal dignity: but in this alſo they were unſucceſsful; for Pope Paul IV. was elected. Gardiner returned again to England on the 26th of June. During his abſence, the Great Seal had been committed to the cuſtody of the Marquis of Wincheſter.

The new Pope is ſaid to have been an inveterate enemy to Cardinal Pole; but knew not how to vent his hatred towards him, on account of his having done ſuch an eminent ſervice to the Church, as the reconciling of England to the Holy See. Gardiner, however, wrote privately to Rome, alledging what he could againſt Pole, in order to heighten the Pope's averſion to him. For Gardiner hoped to be made a Cardinal, and to get Pole recalled, and himſelf made Archbiſhop of Canterbury. The Pope was reſolved, on the firſt occaſion, to take the Legatine power from Pole, and give it to Gardiner; but Pole was ſo

thing, ſo much as pretended againſt them. And it was looked upon as a horrible cruelty, becauſe thoſe men had acted nothing contrary to the laws: for they were put in priſon, at firſt for ſmaller matters, and there kept till thoſe laws were paſſed by which they were now burnt. So that, remembering Gardiner's plea for himſelf in his impriſonment, when he deſired to be firſt tried and diſcharged in the particular for which he was committed, before new matter was brought againſt him; all men ſaw now, how much more juſtly thoſe men might have demanded the like at his hands. But now the ſpirit of the two religions ſhewed itſelf. In King Edward's time, Papiſts were only turned out of their benefices, and at moſt impriſoned; and of thoſe there were but very few: but now, that could not ſerve the turn, but barbarous cruelties muſt be executed on innocent men only for their opinions. One piece of ſeverity was taken notice of among the reſt: The Council ſent for thoſe who were to be burnt in the country, and required of them a promiſe to make no ſpeeches; otherwiſe they threatened to cut out their tongues immediately: ſo they, to avoid that butchery, promiſed to obey thoſe cruel orders." Hiſt. of Reform. Vol. II. P. 304.

much in the Queen's favour, that this required ſome time to bring about. This made Gardiner ſtudy to prolong Cranmer's life. It ſeemed more reaſonable (ſays Burnet) to have begun with him, who had indeed been the chief author of the Reformation, and promoter of that they called Hereſy; nor had Gardiner ſuch kindneſs for him, as to interpoſe on his account; but he knew, that as ſoon as he was burnt, Pole would be preſently inveſted in the See of Canterbury. Therefore, he ſuggeſted, that if he could be any way brought off, it would be the moſt effectual means poſſible to extirpate Hereſy: for if he who had ſo much ſet on theſe doctrines, did forſake them, it would confound the whole party, and bring over at leaſt all that were weak and ſtaggering; whereas, on the other hand, if he died reſolutely for it, his death would confirm them all very much (*m*).

On the 21ſt of October, Biſhop Gardiner opened the Parliament with a ſpeech; and attended there again on the 23d, which was the laſt time of his appearing in that Aſſembly. About this time he fell ill, and continued to grow worſe and worſe to the 13th of November, 1555, when he expired about the age of ſeventy-two. It is ſaid, that a ſuppreſſion of urine was the cauſe of his death; but, indeed, there were different reports concerning both the manner, and the cauſe of it. He had great remorſe for his paſt life; and often repeated theſe words, ERRAVI CUM PETRO, SED NON FLEVI CUM PETRO; I have erred with Peter, but I have not mourned with him. He died at the Royal Palace of Whitehall, about one in the morning; and about Three the ſame morning, his body was carried over to Wincheſter-Houſe in Southwark, from whence the funeral was performed with great magnificence and ſolemnity (*n*). Our Prelate's private eſtate is ſaid to have amounted to thirty thouſand

(*m*) Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. P. 314, 315.

(*n*) Many of our readers will, perhaps, not be diſpleaſed to ſee the particulars of the funeral ceremony. At five o'clock in the afternoon of the ſame day in which he died, his bowels, being greatly mortified, were buried before the high altar in the church of St. Mary Overy's. The knell began at ſix, and a dirge and maſs, all the bells continuing to ring till ſeven at night. November the fourteenth, began the knell again; there was then a hearſe adorned with four branches of gilt candleſticks, two white branches, and three dozen of ſtaff torches. The choir was hung with black, and coats of arms and eſcutcheons; dirge ſung that evening; the next day, maſs of Requiem was ſung by Dr. Bonner, Biſhop of London, many Prelates, Noblemen, Knights, and Gentlemen, being preſent; after which, Dr. White, Biſhop of Lincoln, aſcended the pulpit, and preached the funeral ſermon; and this being ended, they went to Wincheſter palace to dinner. The ſame day, in the afternoon, was dirge ſung in every pariſh in London, with a hearſe and ringing of bells; and the next day a maſs of Requiem and prayers. On the 21ſt of the ſame month, about noon, began the knell, when the body was brought to the church of St. Mary Overy's, attended by all the Biſhops who were in

thouſand pounds in caſh, beſides plate and rich furniture, which he diſpoſed of by his will. His executors were, Sir Anthony Browne, Viſcount Montacute, and Dr. Thomas Thirlby, Biſhop of Ely.

Biſhop Gardiner was very far from being agreeable in his perſon. Some idea may perhaps be formed of it, by the following deſcription of him, written in his life-time by Dr. Poynet, who ſucceeded him in the See of Wincheſter, when he was deprived in the reign of Edward VI. though the portrait is evidently caricatured by perſonal ill-will. "Albeit (ſays he) this "Doctor be now but too late thoroughly known, yet it ſhall be "requiſite, that our poſterity know what he was; and, by his "deſcription, ſee how nature hath ſhaped the outward parts, to "declare what was within. This Doctor hath a ſwart colour, "hanging look, frowning brows, eyes an inch within his head, "a noſe hooked like a buzzard, noſtrils like a horſe, ever ſnuf-"fing in the wind, a ſparrow mouth, great paws, like the De-"vil's talons, on his feet, like a gripe, two inches longer than "the natural toes, and ſo tied to with ſinews, that he cannot "abide to be touched, nor ſcarce ſuffer them to touch the "ſtones. And nature having thus ſhaped the form of an old "monſter, it gave him a vengeable wit, which at Cambridge, by "labour

in town, and by a great number of the Clergy; the Biſhop of London performed the funeral ſervice, and wore his mitre; before the corpſe went the King at Arms in his coat, and five banners of his arms, and four images wrought with gold and jewels. On the morrow were ſaid three maſſes; one of the Trinity, one of our Lady, and one of Requiem: after which, the company repaired to dinner at Wincheſter palace, and the body was depoſited in a vault till it could be carried to Wincheſter. On the twenty-fourth of February following, his obſequies were celebrated after the following manner. In the afternoon, began the knell of St. Mary Overy's, and ringing; and after that began the dirge. A pall of cloth of gold, and two white branches, and two dozen of ſtaff torches burning, and four great tapers. The Lord Montacute, chief mourner, and the Biſhop of Lincoln, Sir Robert Rocheſter, Comptroller, and divers other attendants in black, and many black gowns and coats. And the morrow, maſs of Requiem and Offering done, began the ſermon; and ſo maſs being done, all repaired to a dinner at Lord Montacute's. At the gate, the corpſe was put into a chariot with four horſes, all covered with black. Over the corpſe was placed an image reſembling the deceaſed, with his mitre on his head; and five gentlemen bore five banners of his arms. Then followed an hundred men in gowns and hoods. Then two Heralds, Garter and Rouge Croix, in their coat armour. Then came ſixty men riding about the corpſe all the way with burning torches in their hands. Laſtly, came the mourners in gowns and coats, to the number of two hundred, before and behind; and when the knell ceaſed, they had a great torch given them. And ſo through every pariſh till they came to Wincheſter. And as many as came to meet them had money given them; and a dirge and maſs was performed at every ſtation. And all theſe ceremonies being over, the corpſe was interred, according to the Biſhop's direction, on the north ſide of the high altar in Wincheſter cathedral, in a tomb anſwerable to that of Biſhop Foy on the other ſide."

" labour and diligence, he had made a great deal worſe, and " brought up many in that faculty."

Gardiner was a man of very quick parts, and great acuteneſs of underſtanding, which he improved by long practice in the world. He was of an active ſpirit, and well fitted for buſineſs, to which he applied himſelf with great application. He was remarkably ſkilled in the civil and canon laws; and well verſed in claſſical learning. He wrote a good Latin ſtyle, and was well acquainted with the Greek language. And as he was learned himſelf, ſo he is ſaid to have been a lover of learning in others (*o*). He had great abilities as a Stateſman; and was well qualified for foreign Embaſſies, and public employments. But then he was proud and arrogant, obſtinate and vain, of unbounded ambition, and a maſter of the moſt profound diſſimulation. He was a zealous perſecutor, and at the ſame time a ſervile Courtier, and made very little ſcruple of violating his conſcience, to anſwer the purpoſes of his intereſt or ambition. Much pains hath been taken to palliate his vices, and to varniſh his character (*p*); but it is in vain. The general tenor of Gardiner's actions ſufficiently demonſtrates, that he was, upon the whole, a very bad man. That he was a well-meaning Papiſt, and acted from miſguided principles of conſcience, cannot with any colour of reaſon be pretended. The part he acted againſt the papal ſupremacy in the reign of Henry VIII. and the conceſſions which he offered to make in the reign of Edward VI. compared with his ſubſequent conduct in the reign of Mary, ſufficiently evince the contrary. It has been ſaid, that " no maxim " was more conſtantly profeſſed, nor more uniformly obſerved " by

(*o*) Of this the two following inſtances are mentioned. Sir Thomas Smith, who had been Secretary to King Edward VI. was permitted by Gardiner to live in a ſtate of privacy unmoleſted in Mary's days, and with a penſion of 100l. a year for his better ſupport, though he had a good eſtate of his own. " This muſt be remembered to this Biſhop's commendation (ſays Mr. Strype), among the many evil things that aſperſe and blacken his name to this day. Nor muſt the like favour, or a greater, be forgotten, by him ſhewn to ſuch another learned and grave Proteſtant, friend and cotemporary with Smith, I mean Roger Aſcham:——whom the Biſhop of Wincheſter did not only ſpare, but called to Court, and preferred to be Secretary of the Latin tongue to Queen Mary. Whom, for his learning in the languages, and incomparable faculty of a clean ſtyle, and beautiful writing, he greatly loved, and obliged with many benefits. And when Sir Francis Engleſield, Maſter of the wards and liveries, a fierce Papiſt, had often cried out upon Aſcham to the Biſhop as an Heretic, and fit to be rejected and puniſhed as ſuch, he never would hearken to him, either to puniſh him or remove him from his place. Thus lived two excellent Proteſtants, under the wings as it were of the ſworn enemy and deſtroyer of Proteſtants." Life of Sir Thomas Smith, P. 65.

(*p*) In the BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA. See Gardiner's article in that work.

" by Gardiner, than that of making the law the rule of his " conduct (*q*)." But this is not true. It is certain, that many of the Proteſtants were thrown into priſon by him, while the laws of King Edward VI. were yet in force, contrary to the laws of the kingdom, and the fundamental principles of juſtice and equity; and they were continued in a cruel and illegal confinement for a conſiderable time, till a law could be procured which would bring them to the ſtake (*r*). Gardiner could indeed talk of law and the conſtitution, and declaim againſt illegal proceedings, with much plauſibility, whilſt he was himſelf in the Tower; but when he was at the head of the Adminiſtration in the reign of Mary, his religious attachment to the laws manifeſtly forſook him. It is true, that he took ſome meaſures towards preventing Philip from aſſuming the Sovereignty of England; but it is likewiſe true, that he was a great promoter of the Spaniſh match; which, notwithſtanding his precautions, might have been very fatal to the liberties of the kingdom.

Gardiner poſſeſſed great courage, and no inconſiderable degree of eloquence; but when he was employed in trying Heretics, as well as at other times, he would frequently deſcend to the loweſt abuſe, and the groſſeſt ſcurrility; and behave in a manner very unworthy of the characters either of a gentleman or a ſcholar, and ſtill more inconſiſtent with thoſe of a Chriſtian and a Biſhop. It is ſaid, that he was of a liberal diſpoſition, kept a good houſe, and brought up ſeveral young gentlemen, who afterwards became conſiderable perſons. But he is charged by Proteſtant writers (*s*) with being addicted to drunkenneſs and whoredom.——Biſhop Gardiner publiſhed many pieces, the chief of which are the following:

I. DE VERA OBEDIENTIA, Lond. 1534, 1535. 4to. at Hamburgh in 1536, 8vo. with Biſhop Bonner's epiſtle prefixed. This was written againſt the Papal Supremacy. There were ſeveral other editions of this work; and an Engliſh tranſlation of it was printed abroad in Queen Mary's time, with a preface before it by one Dr. Turner, with a view to expoſe Gardiner's inconſtancy.

II. PALINODIA DICTI LIBRI; that is, A Retractation of the foregoing work.

III. AN EXPLICATION AND ASSERTION OF THE TRUE CATHOLIC FAITH, TOUCHING THE MOST BLESSED SACRAMENT OF THE ALTAR, WITH THE CONFUTATION OF A BOOK WRITTEN AGAINST THE SAME. This was written againſt Cranmer, and was printed abroad in 1551. It was anſwered by the Archbiſhop,

(*q*) Biographical Dictionary, 8vo. Vol. V. P. 304.

(*r*) *Vid.* Strype's Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, P. 310, 312. Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. P. 304. Acts and Monuments, V. III. Edit. 1641. P. 123.

(*s*) *Vid.* Life of Biſhop Ridley, P. 293, 672.

biſhop, and Gardiner replied again in Latin, under the feigned name of Marcus Antonius Conſtantius, a Divine of Louvain, giving his book the following title:

IV. CONFUTATIO CAVILLATIONUM, QUIBUS, SACROSANCTUM EUCHARISTIÆ SACRAMENTUM, AB IMPIIS CAPERNAITIS IMPETI SOLET. He compoſed this piece whilſt he was priſoner in the Tower.

After the acceſſion of Mary, he wrote replies in his own defence againſt the attacks of Dr. Turner, Dr. Poynet, and other Proteſtant exiles. He was alſo ſuſpected to be the author of a treatiſe againſt the married Clergy, publiſhed in Dr. Martyn's name. And ſome of his letters to Smith and Cheke on the pronunciation of the Greek language are yet extant.---It may not be improper here to obſerve, that in the former part of our Prelate's life, he was more generally known by the name of STEPHENS, than by that of GARDINER, being commonly called Dr. STEPHENS.

The Life of THOMAS CRANMER, Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

THOMAS CRANMER was born at Aſlacton, in the county of Nottingham, on the 2d of July, 1489. He was ſon to Thomas Cranmer, Eſq; a gentleman of an antient family in that county. He was initiated in grammar learning by "a rude Pariſh-Clerk," as Mr. Strype expreſſes it, "under whom he learned little, and endured "much." His father was deſirous that he ſhould be accuſtomed to polite and gentleman-like rural exerciſes, as well as inſtructed in literature; and therefore cauſed him to be taught to ride, to ſhoot, to hunt and hawk, whilſt he was very young (*t*).

He loſt his father early; but his mother, in 1503, when he was fourteen years of age, ſent him to the Univerſity of Cambridge, where he was admitted of Jeſus College. And he was chiefly employed in the acquiſition of the uſeleſs and trifling ſchool-learning of thoſe times, till he was twenty-two years of age. But he afterwards applied himſelf to the reading of valuable Latin authors, and ſtudied the writings of Eraſmus. And when the works of Luther made their appearance in the world, he was very attentive to the controverſies which were then ſo much agitated. And that he might be the better enabled to judge on which ſide the truth lay, he applied himſelf for three years with great diligence to the ſtudy of the Sacred Writings.

He then continued to proſecute his ſtudies by reading the moſt valuable antient and modern authors, eſpecially in Divinity, and ſuch as were beſt calculated to throw light upon the ſubjects in diſpute between the Papiſts and the Lutherans. And Cranmer

(*t*) "Though his father were minded to have his ſon educated in learning, yet he would not he ſhould be ignorant of civil and gentleman-like exerciſes. Inſomuch that he uſed himſelf to ſhoot. And many times his father permitted him to hunt and hawk, and to ride rough horſes. So that when he was Biſhop, he feared not to ride the rougheſt horſes that came into his ſtables; which he would do very comely. As otherwiſe at all times there was not any in his houſe that would become an horſe better. And after his ſtudies, when it was time for recreation, he would both hawk and hunt, the game being prepared for him. And ſometimes he would ſhoot in the long bow, and many times kill the deer with his croſs-bow, though his ſight was not perfect; for he was purblind." Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, by John Strype, M. A. Edit. 1694. P. 2.

was no haſty or ſuperficial reader. He peruſed his authors with the utmoſt care and attention, and ſeldom read without a pen in his hand. By which means he acquired a very large fund of theological learning.

When he had been ſome time a Maſter of Arts, and Fellow of his College, he married, and thereby loſt his Fellowſhip; but his wife dying in child-bed within a year, he was again admitted into it. And in 1523, he took the degree of Doctor in divinity, and became the reader of the divinity lecture in his own College. And he had now acquired ſo much reputation in the Univerſity, that he was appointed one of the examiners of thoſe who commenced Batchelors and Doctors in divinity; according to whoſe approbations the Univerſity allowed them to proceed.

In this place Dr. Cranmer did much good. It was his cuſtom to examine theſe candidates out of the Scriptures; and he would by no means let them paſs, if he found them unacquainted with the Sacred Writings. This was a ſort of learning, of which the Friars in general were extremely ignorant. They were much better read in Scotus and Aquinas, than in the Bible. The Friars, therefore, Dr. Cranmer ſometimes turned back as inſufficient, adviſing them to ſtudy the Scriptures for ſome years longer, before they came for their degrees, it being, he ſaid, a ſhame for a profeſſor in divinity to be unſkilled in the book, wherein the knowledge of GOD, and the grounds of divinity lay. In conſequence of this behaviour, he was very heartily hated by the Friars. However, ſome of the more ingenuous of them afterwards returned him great and public thanks, for refuſing them their degrees; acknowledging, that having been thereby put upon the ſtudy of the Scriptures, they had attained to a more ſound knowledge in religion than they otherwiſe ſhould have done. One of theſe was Dr. Barat, a White Friar, who lived afterwards in Norwich.

It was the affair of King Henry's divorce, and the opinion which Cranmer gave thereon, that was the immediate cauſe of his advancement in the Church. It happened in the following manner: Dr. Cranmer had, on account of the plague at Cambridge, retired to Waltham Abbey in Eſſex, to the houſe of one Mr. Creſſy, whoſe wife he was related to, and whoſe ſons were his pupils at the Univerſity; and at this time Edward Fox, the King's Almoner, and Stephen Gardiner, then the King's Secretary, chanced accidentally to come to Mr. Creſſy's houſe. Here the converſation turning upon the King's divorce, which was then almoſt the only thing talked of, Fox and Gardiner, knowing Cranmer to be a man of conſiderable reputation for his extenſive knowledge in divinity, endeavoured to prevail upon him to declare his ſentiments upon the ſubject. Cranmer accordingly gave it as his opinion, "That it would be much better to "have this queſtion, Whether a man may marry his brother's "wife

" wife or no, diſcuſſed and decided by the Divines upon the au-
" thority of GOD's word, than thus from year to year to pro-
" long the time, by having recourſe to the Pope. That there
" was but one truth in it, which the Scripture would ſoon de-
" clare and manifeſt, being handled by learned men; and that
" might be done as well at the Univerſities here in England, as
" at Rome, or elſewhere." This opinion being communicated by Dr. Fox to the King, Henry very much approved of it, ſaying, that " the man had the ſow by the right ear." And he commanded that Dr. Cranmer ſhould be immediately ſent for to Court.

This being done accordingly, and our Divine introduced into the preſence of the King, his Majeſty conferred with him for ſome time concerning the affair of his divorce: and Henry was much pleaſed with the gravity, modeſty, and learning of Cranmer; and accordingly made him his Chaplain, and commanded him to digeſt his thoughts on the ſubject on which he had diſcourſed with him, and to commit them to writing. This was about the month of Auguſt, 1529. And the King deſired Sir Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Wiltſhire and Ormond, (father of Lady Anne Boleyn) to entertain Dr. Cranmer in his houſe, and to furniſh him with books, and all other conveniencies for ſtudy. His ſituation in this family was a very agreeable one; for the Earl of Wiltſhire was eſteemed one of the moſt learned Noblemen in England, was a friend to Eraſmus, and a patron of learning and learned men. And Cranmer, by his excellent and amiable qualities, much endeared himſelf to the Earl and his family; and the attachment which the Lady Anne Boleyn afterwards diſcovered towards the Reformation, was probably chiefly owing to the converſation of Cranmer, which ſhe enjoyed the benefit of in her father's houſe.

Dr. Cranmer had now, in obedience to the King's command, committed his thoughts to writing on the buſineſs of the divorce; and in the treatiſe which he wrote on this occaſion, he ſhewed, by the teſtimonies of the Scriptures, of general Councils, and antient writers, that the Biſhop of Rome had not authority ſufficient to diſpenſe with the word of GOD. When he had finiſhed this book, he was ſent to Cambridge to diſpute upon the ſubject, and he brought over many to his opinion. He was accompanied by Gardiner and Fox, and other learned men. He afterwards returned again to Court; and was about this time preſented to a living, and made Archdeacon of Taunton. And he was now not only beloved by the Earl of Wiltſhire and his family, but alſo much eſteemed by the Nobility in general, and in great favour with the King, who frequently converſed with him, and ſeemed unwilling to have him abſent from Court.

In 1530, Dr. Cranmer was ſent by the King into France, Italy, and Germany, with the Earl of Wiltſhire, chief Ambaſſador, and others, to diſpute concerning the King's divorce, carry-

ing with him the treatiſe which he had written upon that ſubject. From France they went into Italy, where Dr. Cranmer's book was delivered to the Pope; and he offered to juſtify it, and to diſpute openly againſt Henry's marriage with Catherine of Arragon, upon theſe two points, which his book chiefly treated of. I. "That no man, Jure Divino, could, or ought "to marry his brother's wife." II. "That the Biſhop of "Rome by no means ought to diſpenſe to the contrary." But after ſundry promiſes and appointments made, there was no man found who would oppoſe him, or publicly diſpute the matter with him. And in more private argumentations with them that were about the Pope, he ſo puſhed them, that at laſt they openly granted, even in the Pope's chief court of the Rota, that Henry's marriage was againſt GOD's law. But as for the Pope's power of diſpenſing with the laws of GOD, that was too advantageous a tenet to be parted with. Cranmer, however, before them all, boldly aſſerted that the Pope had no ſuch power (*x*).

Dr. Cranmer continued at Rome for ſome months; and the Earl of Wiltſhire ſent ſuch high commendations of his behaviour to the King, that when the others were returning home, he ſent him a commiſſion, with inſtructions to be his ſole Ambaſſador to the Emperor in the ſame cauſe. This commiſſion was dated the 24th of January, 1531, and Cranmer is ſtiled therein CONSILIARIUS REGIUS ET AD CÆSAREM ORATOR. By this opportunity of travelling through Germany, and following the Emperor's Court, he by his conferences brought many learned Germans, and ſome even of the Emperor's own Court and Council, to acknowledge, that Henry's marriage with Catherine was unlawful.

Whilſt he was in Germany, he went to Nuremberg, where Oſiander was paſtor; who being celebrated for his parts and learning, our Ambaſſador cultivated his friendſhip, ſending for him ſometimes to diſcourſe with him, and ſometimes going to Oſiander's houſe, to viſit him and his ſtudy. In one of their converſations, Oſiander told Cranmer, that he had begun to write an Harmony of the Goſpels, but had laid aſide his deſign, on account of the difficulty which he found in it. However, he ſhewed Cranmer what he had already written, who greatly encouraged him to proceed in the work, which he accordingly did. He publiſhed it in 1537, and dedicated it to Cranmer. In the courſe of his viſits to Oſiander, Cranmer became acquainted with the niece of that learned man, and at length married her. By this affinity, and their frequent viſits, a very cordial friendſhip was eſtabliſhed between Cranmer and Oſiander, and they kept up a conſtant literary correſpondence for many years after.

Beſides his negociations in the affair of the divorce, Dr. Cranmer was alſo employed in eſtabliſhing a treaty of commerce between

(*x*) Strype's Memorials, as before, P. 9.

tween England and the Emperor's dominions in the Low Countries. He went likewiſe on an Embaſſy to the Duke of Saxony, and other Proteſtant States; and tranſacted ſundry other affairs of importance.

In Auguſt, 1532, Archbiſhop Warham died; upon which Henry reſolved to raiſe Dr. Cranmer to the Archbiſhopric. This, indeed, ſeemed too high a dignity for him, as he had not yet had any conſiderable preferment in the Church. But Henry thought him the fitteſt man of all the Engliſh Clergy to preſide over the Church, and therefore reſolved to confer upon him this high office, though he was now employed abroad; and with that view ordered him to return home, which he accordingly did, though not till upwards of three months after Warham's death.

Cranmer ſeems to have been really averſe to the high honour which was intended for him. He loved ſtudy and retirement, and knew the dangers and temptations which would naturally attend ſuch a ſtation; and, therefore, would have preferred an humbler ſituation. He begged his Majeſty would ſuffer him to decline the dignity which he had graciouſly intended to confer on him; and when the King was not to be prevailed upon to permit him to do this, Cranmer told him, "That if he ſhould "accept it, he muſt receive it at the Pope's hand, which he nei- "ther would, nor could do: for that his Majeſty was the only "Supreme Governor of the Church of England, as well in "cauſes eccleſiaſtical as temporal; and that the full right of "donation of all manner of benefices and Biſhoprics, as well as "any other temporal dignities and promotions, appertained to "him, and not to any other foreign authority. And therefore "if he might ſerve GOD, his King, and his country, in that "vocation, he would accept it of his Majeſty, and not of a "ſtranger, who had no authority within this Realm."

Henry made a pauſe at this declaration of Cranmer's, and then aſked him how he was able to prove what he had ſaid. Upon this Cranmer alledged ſeveral paſſages from Scripture, and the Fathers, proving the ſupreme authority of Kings in their own Realms and dominions; and at the ſame time he pointed out the intolerable uſurpations of the Roman Pontiffs. The King talked ſeveral times with him upon this ſubject; and finding that he could not be brought to acknowledge the Pope's authority, his Majeſty conſulted with one Dr. Oliver, an eminent Lawyer, and with ſome able Civilians, in what manner he might beſtow the Archbiſhopric upon Cranmer, conſiſtent with the ſcruples of the latter. They ſaid, he might do it by way of proteſtation; and ſo one be ſent to Rome to take the oath, and do every thing in his name. Cranmer acquieſced in this; and accordingly when he was conſecrated, which was on the 30th of March, 1533, he made his proteſtation, "That he did not ad- "mit the Pope's authority, any further than it agreed with the "expreſs word of GOD. And that it might be lawful for him

"at

" at all times to ſpeak againſt him, and to impugn his errors, " when there ſhould be occaſion (*w*)."

His conſecration was, however, uſhered in by a number of Bulls from Pope Clement. By one Bull, directed to the King, he was, upon the Royal nomination, made Archbiſhop of Canterbury. The ſecond, which was directed to himſelf, was to the ſame purpoſe. A third abſolved him from all ſentences of excommunication, ſuſpenſion, interdiction, &c. A fourth was to all the Biſhops in the Province of Canterbury, requiring them to receive and acknowledge him as their metropolitan. A fifth was to the Dean and Chapter, to the ſame purpoſe. A fixth, to the Clergy of Canterbury. A ſeventh, to all the Laity in his See. An eighth, to all that held lands of it. By a ninth he was ordained to be conſecrated, taking the oath that was in the pontifical. By a tenth Bull the pall was ſent him. And by an eleventh, the Archbiſhop of York, and the Biſhop of London, were required to put it on him. Theſe Bulls were ſo many artifices, as Biſhop Burnet obſerves, " to make compoſitions " high, and to enrich the Apoſtolic Chamber; for now THAT " about which St. Peter gloried, that he had none of it, (neither " ſilver nor gold), was the thing in the world for which his ſuc- " ceſſors were moſt careful (*x*)." Cranmer, agreeable to the uſual cuſtom, received thoſe Bulls which the Pope had directed to himſelf, in order to inveſt him with the Archbiſhopric: but he ſurrendered them up to the King, becauſe he would not own the Pope as the giver of this eccleſiaſtical dignity, but the King only (*y*).

On the 23d of May, this year, Archbiſhop Cranmer pronounced the ſentence of divorce between King Henry and Queen Catherine. Henry had been ſome time before married to Anne Boleyn, at which ceremony Cranmer was preſent. The Pope threatened him with excommunication, on account of his pronouncing the ſentence of divorce againſt Queen Catherine; but he appealed from the Pope to a General Council. And at the cloſe of this year, when the Pope's ſupremacy was debated in Parliament, the Archbiſhop argued zealouſly and learnedly againſt it. " The chief, and in a manner the whole burthen of " this weighty cauſe," ſays Mr. Strype, " was laid upon his " ſhoulders. Inſomuch that he was forced to anſwer to all that " ever the whole rabble of the Papiſts could ſay for the defence " of the Pope's ſupremacy. And he anſwered ſo plainly, di- " rectly, and truly to all their arguments, and proved ſo evi- " dently and ſtoutly, both by the word of GOD, and conſent of " the primitive Church, that this uſurped power of the Pope is " a mere tyranny, and directly againſt the law of GOD: and " that

(*w*) Strype, P. 14, 16, 17.
(*x*) Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. P. 128.
(*y*) Strype, P. 19.

" that the power of Emperors and Kings is the higheſt power " here upon earth; unto which Biſhops, Prieſts, Popes, and " Cardinals, ought to ſubmit themſelves, and are as much " bound to obey as their temporal ſubjects, or Laymen, (as the " Prieſts call them), that the iſſue was the aboliſhing of that fo- " reign Papal power, and the expulſion of it out of this Realm, " by the full conſent of Parliament."

As the Papal ſupremacy was now aboliſhed in England by the Parliament, Archbiſhop Cranmer vigorouſly exerted himſelf to promote the work of Reformation. But when Biſhop Fiſher and Sir Thomas More refuſed to take the oath required by the act of Succeſſion, he laboured to ſave their lives, and was very deſirous that they might be permitted to ſwear to the Succeſſion in the manner that they themſelves propoſed: but in this he was not able to ſucceed (*x*). The Archbiſhop was now very ſolicitous to procure to the people the liberty of reading the Scriptures in Engliſh; and with that view, by his own influence and that of his friends, and thoſe who favoured the Reformation, prevailed upon the Convocation, in 1534, to petition the King, that the Bible might be tranſlated by ſome learned men of his Majeſty's nomination. And ſome time after, that a tranſlation might not be prohibited under pretence of the ignorance or unfaithfulneſs of the tranſlators, he took an old Engliſh verſion of the New Teſtament, and dividing it into nine or ten parts, cauſed each part to be written in a paper book, and then ſent to the moſt learned of the Biſhops, deſiring that they would carefully correct the tranſlation, and ſend back their ſeveral parts to him at a certain time. It is ſuppoſed, that he took the ſame method with the Old Teſtament. The ſeveral Prelates ſent back their parts corrected at the time appointed, agreeable to the Archbiſhop's deſire, except Stokeſley, Biſhop of London. This Prelate was a bigotted Papiſt; and, therefore, when Cranmer ſent for the part which had been aſſigned him, which was the Acts of the Apoſtles, Stokeſley returned this anſwer: " I marvel what my " Lord of Canterbury meaneth, that he thus abuſeth the peo- " ple, in giving them liberty to read the Scriptures; which " doth nothing elſe but infect them with Hereſy. I have be- " ſtowed never an hour upon my portion, nor never will. And " therefore my Lord ſhall have this book again; for I will ne- " ver be guilty of bringing the ſimple people into error." When this anſwer was reported to the Archbiſhop, he ſaid, he wondered that the Biſhop of London was ſo froward, that he would not do as other men did. At which Mr. Thomas Lawney, who ſtood by, ſaid to the Archbiſhop, " I can tell your " Grace why my Lord of London will not beſtow any labour or " pains

(*x*) See the firſt Volume of this Work, P. 351, and P. 90, of the preſent Volume.

" pains this way. Your Grace knoweth well, that his portion " is a piece of the New Teſtament. But he being perſuaded, " that CHRIST had bequeathed him nothing in his Teſtament, " thought it mere madneſs to beſtow any labour or pains, where " no gain was to be gotten. And beſides this, it is the Acts " of the Apoſtles; who were poor ſimple fellows, and there- " fore my Lord of London diſdained having any thing to do " with them (*a*)."

The Archbiſhop had, however, at length, the ſatisfaction of ſeeing an Engliſh tranſlation of the Bible publiſhed under the ſanction of the Royal authority, to which Lord Cromwell greatly contributed, and on which account Cranmer returned him a letter of thanks. The Archbiſhop was alſo concerned in forwarding the diſſolution of the Monaſteries; and in the year 1535, performed a provincial viſitation, in order to vindicate the King's ſupremacy, which he did in many places by preaching. And in his ſermons he ſhewed, I. " That the Biſhop of Rome " was not GOD's Vicar upon earth, as he was taken to be; " and pointed out by what arts he had uſurped that authority. " II. That the holineſs which the Roman See ſo much boaſted " of, and by which name Popes affected to be ſtiled, was but a " holineſs in name; and that there was no ſuch holineſs at " Rome: from whence he took occaſion to launch out into the " vices of the Court of Rome. III. He inveighed againſt the " Biſhop of Rome's laws; which, he ſaid, were miſcalled Di- " vinæ Leges, and Sacri Canones." But on account of theſe ſermons, the Archbiſhop met with much oppoſition from the Friars.

In 1536, Archbiſhop Cranmer pronounced the ſentence of divorce againſt Queen Anne Boleyn. He had before, however, written to the King on this occaſion, and ſaid many things in the Queen's behalf: and there is no doubt but that he was in his heart diſpoſed to favour her. He has, notwithſtanding, been cenſured for his conduct in this affair, as acting in it with too much obſequiouſneſs to the King's will; and, indeed, this charge againſt the Archbiſhop, appears to be not altogether unjuſt. For the fear of incurring the King's diſpleaſure, ſeems to have prevented him from acting in this tranſaction with a proper degree

(*a*) This Mr. Lawney was eſteemed a man of great wit and humour. He was Chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk, and had been one of the ſcholars placed by Cardinal Wolſey in his New College at Oxford. He had a Living in Kent, which Mr. Strype ſuppoſes was given him by Archbiſhop Cranmer. About the time that the act of the Six Articles was paſſed, the Duke of Norfolk meeting his Chaplain Lawney, whom he knew to be a favourer of Prieſts marriages, ſaid to him, " Ah! my Lawney! what ſay you to the new act? will Prieſts now be able to get wives?" " May it pleaſe your Grace," replied the Chaplain, " I cannot pretend to ſay whether Prieſts will have wives; but this I will anſwer for, that, notwithſtanding your act, wives will have prieſts." *Vid.* Strype, P. 35.

degree of firmneſs, and from expreſſing his ſentiments concerning it to the King with a juſt freedom. Indeed, as to the ſentence which Cranmer pronounced againſt the Queen, that, Biſhop Burnet ſays, "was unavoidable. For whatever motives drew "from her the confeſſion of that precontract (*b*), he was "obliged to give ſentence upon it: and that which ſhe con-"feſſed, being ſuch as made her incapable to contract marriage "with the King, he could not decline the giving of ſentence "upon ſo formal a confeſſion (*c*)."

The German Proteſtants, who had formed an high opinion of Cranmer, entertained great expectations of the advantage which the Proteſtant cauſe would receive by the authority and influence of Cranmer in England; and they, therefore, did occaſionally addreſs themſelves to him. This year Martin Bucer publiſhed a large book in folio upon the Epiſtles to the Romans, intitled, METAPHRASIS ET ENARRATIO; and dedicated it in a long epiſtle to the Archbiſhop. In this epiſtle dedicatory, Bucer tells Cranmer, "That all men proclaimed him endowed with a "mind worthy of an Archbiſhop and Primate of ſo great a "kingdom, and ſo diſpoſed to the glory of CHRIST. That "he had ſo attained to this high eſtate in CHRIST, by his ſpi-"ritual wiſdom, holineſs of life, and moſt ardent zeal to ren-"der CHRIST's glory more illuſtrious; that gathering toge-"ther the humble, and taking pity upon the ſheep-fold, being "indeed diſperſed and ſcattered abroad, he always ſought and "ſaved that which was loſt, and brought back CHRIST's poor "ſheep to his fold, and the paſtures of everlaſting life, when "they had been before moſt miſerably harraſſed by the ſervants "of ſuperſtition, and the emiſſaries of the Roman tyranny."

The Archbiſhop thought it would contribute much to the increaſe of true Chriſtian knowledge, to have a plain and ſound expoſition of the Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the grounds of religion, recommended to the people by public authority. And for this purpoſe he conſulted with the Lord Cromwell, his conſtant aſſociate and aſſiſtant in matters of this kind; and they prevailed upon the King, in 1537, to iſſue out a commiſſion to the Archbiſhop himſelf, and moſt of the Biſhops, to prepare ſuch an expoſition. They met for this purpoſe at the Archbiſhop's palace at Lambeth: and "in the diſ-"putations which happened among them in this work, (ſays "Mr. Strype), Wincheſter, the Pope's chief champion, with "three or four other of the Biſhops, went about with all ſubtil "ſophiſtry, to maintain all idolatry, hereſy, and ſuperſtition,

(*b*) The ſentence pronounced by Cranmer, which declared Anne Boleyn's marriage with Henry to be null and void, is ſuppoſed to have been chiefly founded on her confeſſing a pre-contract with the Earl of Northumberland.

(*c*) Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. P. 206.

" written in the canon law, or uſed in the church under the " Pope's tyranny. But at the laſt, whether over-powered with " number, or convinced by the word of GOD, and conſent of " antient authors, and the primitive Church, they all agreed " upon, and ſet their hands to a godly book of religion.'" When the Biſhops had ſigned this book, it was preſented to the King for his peruſal and approbation; and accordingly Henry made ſome alterations in it. It was publiſhed this year, and was intitled, " The godly and pious Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man;" and was commonly called, from the compoſers of it, THE BISHOPS BOOK. It conſiſted of a declaration of the Lord's Prayer, and of Ave Mary, the Creed, the ten Commandments, and the ſeven Sacraments; ſigned by the two Archbiſhops, nineteen Biſhops, eight Archdeacons, and ſeventeen Doctors of Divinity and Law (*d*).

In 1537, the Archbiſhop viſited his Dioceſe, and endeavoured to aboliſh the ſuperſtitious obſervation of holidays. " The " great inconvenience of theſe holidays, (Mr. Strype obſerves) " lay partly in the numerouſneſs of them: ſo that the atten- " dance upon them hindered diſpatching and doing juſtice in " Weſtminſter-Hall in the terms, and the gathering in harveſt " in the country: partly in the ſuperſtitions that theſe holidays " maintained, in the idolatrous worſhip of ſuppoſed Saints: " and partly in the riot, debauchery, and drunkenneſs, that " theſe times were celebrated with among the common people; " and laſtly, the poverty it brought upon the meaner ſort, being " detained from going about their ordinary labours and call- " ings, to provide for themſelves and families."

In

(*d*) Among the manuſcripts of John Fox, there is a Life of Cranmer, in which the following account of this book is given. " A godly book of religion, not much unlike the book ſet forth by King Edward VI. except in two points. The one was the real preſence of Chriſt's body in the Sacrament of the Altar. Of the which opinion the Archbiſhop was at that time, and the moſt part of the other Biſhops and learned men. The other error was of praying, kiſſing, and kneeling before images; which was added by the King after the Biſhops had ſet their hands to the contrary." *Vid.* Ridley's Life of Biſhop Ridley, P. 124, 125, and Memorials of Cranmer, P. 50, 51, 52.

With reſpect to the mixture of Popery which was in this book, notwithſtanding the ſhare Cranmer had in it, we may here apply a juſt obſervation made by Mr. Strype on another occaſion. There were, indeed, in it, " many Popiſh errors mixed with evangelical truths: which muſt either be attributed to the defectiveneſs of our Prelate's knowledge as yet in true religion, or being the principles and opinions of the King, or both. Let not any be offended herewith, but let him rather take notice, what a great deal of Goſpel doctrine here came to light, and not only ſo, but was owned and propounded by authority to be believed and practiſed. The ſun of truth was now but riſing, and breaking through the thick miſts of that idolatry, ſuperſtition, and ignorance, that had ſo long prevailed in this nation, and the reſt of the world, and was not yet advanced to its meridian brightneſs." Memorials, P. 44.

In 1538, the Archbiſhop read lectures upon the Epiſtle of St. Paul to the Hebrews, half the Lent, in the Chapter-Houſe of the Monaſtery of the Holy Trinity at Canterbury. About this time Cranmer's influence at Court appears to have ſuffered ſome diminution, and the Popiſh intereſt ſeems to have prevailed. And this year Fox, Biſhop of Hereford, died (*e*); who was the beſt friend and ableſt aſſiſtant that Cranmer had at that time among the Biſhops, and a great promoter of the Reformation.

In 1539, the Archbiſhop, together with ſome of the Biſhops, fell under the King's diſpleaſure, becauſe they could not be brought to give their conſent in Parliament, that the King ſhould have all the Monaſteries ſuppreſſed to his own ſole uſe. They were willing that he ſhould have all the lands which his anceſtors gave to any of them; but the reſidue they would have had beſtowed upon hoſpitals, grammar ſchools, and other inſtitutions of public utility.

The influence of Gardiner and the Popiſh party was now more than ordinarily prevalent at Court; and this opportunity they improved by procuring the bloody act of the Six Articles (*f*).

(*e*) EDWARD FOX was born at Durſley in Glouceſterſhire, and educated at Eton ſchool. He was from thence ſent to King's College in Cambridge in 1512, and elected Provoſt of the ſame in 1528, which place he kept till the time of his death. He was in his youth remarkable for his vivacity, but having withal prudence to govern that ſpirit, at leaſt when he attained to the years of manhood, it contributed to raiſe him to eminence. D. Lloyd ſays, "In his firſt years, none was more wild; in his laſt, none more ſtayed." He obſerves further, that "his friend's devotion to the Church, and relation to the Biſhop of Wincheſter (Rich. Fox), made him a ſcholar; his own inclination, a politician: an inclination that brake through all the ignoble reſtraints of pedantic ſtudies." His abilities recommended him to the notice of Cardinal Wolſey, who took him into his ſervice; and in 1528, he was ſent Ambaſſador to Rome, in conjunction with Stephen Gardiner, in order to obtain new Bulls from the Pope for King Henry's divorce. He was then Almoner to the King, and eſteemed a very able Divine. He was afterwards employed in other Embaſſies, both in France and Germany. We have taken notice in another place of his being principally concerned in introducing Cranmer to the King. In 1531, he was inſtalled Archdeacon of Leiceſter, upon the reſignation of Gardiner; and in 1533, was made Archdeacon of Dorſet. In 1535, he was promoted to the Biſhopric of Hereford; and the ſame year he was ſent Ambaſſador to the Proteſtant Princes in Germany, then aſſembled at Smalcald; whom he exhorted to unite, in point of doctrine, with the Church of England. He ſpent the winter at Wirtemberg, and held ſeveral conferences with ſome of the German Divines, endeavouring to conclude a treaty with them upon many articles of religion; but nothing was effected. He returned to England in 1536; and, after having enjoyed his epiſcopal dignity only two years and ſeven months, died at London on the 8th of May, 1538. He was buried, agreeable to his own deſire, in the church of St. Mary Monthaw, in Thames-ſtreet; in which pariſh the Biſhops of Hereford then had an houſe. He was a man of great abilities, and conſiderable learning; and publiſhed ſome pieces, particularly a treatiſe, in Latin, "Of the true difference between the Royal and Eccleſiaſtical power;" which was tranſlated into Engliſh by Henry, Lord Stafford. *Vid.* BIOGRAPH. BRITAN.

(*f*) *See* P. 161, 162, and 213, of this Volume.

Archbiſhop Cranmer, however, made a noble ſtand againſt this perſecuting ſtatute. He diſputed, in the military phraſe, every inch of ground; and with ſuch force of reaſon, that if reaſon had been his adverſaries weapon too, he had carried his point. Againſt the firſt article, indeed, he ſaid nothing; for at that time he believed the doctrine of the real preſence. But againſt the ſecond, (which declared, That vows of chaſtity ought to be obſerved), he was extremely earneſt. It was very hard, he ſaid, to force religious men from their houſes, and not allow them that common intercourſe with the world, which the reſt of his Majeſty's ſubjects enjoyed: that the Parliament had already abſolved them from their vow of poverty; and he could ſee no reaſon why they ſhould be abſolved from one vow more than another: beſides, he added, that, in his opinion, ſuch a treatment of them was very impolitic; for while they continued in a ſtate of celibacy, they were ſtill in a capacity, if a fair occaſion ſhould offer, to re-enter their Monaſteries. Againſt the third article, which enjoined the uſe of private maſſes, he ſaid it was a plain condemnation of the King's proceedings againſt religious houſes; for if maſſes were really beneficial to departed ſouls, it was ſurely an unjuſtifiable ſtep to deſtroy ſo many noble foundations, which were dedicated to that only purpoſe. The Archbiſhop oppoſed the reſt of the articles with equal ſpirit; for he argued three days in the Parliament againſt them; but all his reaſoning, and all his eloquence, were ineffectual (*f*). King Henry was ſo deſirous of having this act paſſed, that he went to the Houſe himſelf, in order to induce the Members to paſs it the ſooner. And as he knew of what weight Cranmer's vote would be, though not to prevent the paſſing, yet to the diſrepute of the bill, the King deſired the Archbiſhop to withdraw without voting at all. But the Archbiſhop knew his duty, and modeſtly excuſing himſelf to the King, ſtaid and bore his teſtimony againſt it (*g*).

Notwithſtanding this oppoſition of our Archbiſhop to the King's will, Henry had ſo good an opinion of him, and was ſo well convinced of the uprightneſs of his intentions, that he did not teſtify any diſpleaſure againſt him on this account. On the contrary, when the Parliament was prorogued, the King ſent for the Archbiſhop, and told him, That he had heard how much, and with what learning, he had argued againſt the act of the Six Articles, and therefore he deſired he would put all his arguments in writing, and bring them to him (*b*). The next day, Henry ſent

(*f*) Gilpin's Life of Latimer, P. 86, 87.

(*g*) Ridley's Life of Biſhop Ridley, P. 128.

(*b*) It was dangerous for the Archbiſhop to obey this command of the King's; for to write againſt the doctrines contained in the Six Articles, was death by the ſtatute. However, Cranmer did what his Majeſty deſired him; "and made (ſays Burnet) a book of the reaſons that led

ſent the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the Lord Cromwell, to dine with the Archbiſhop; and his Majeſty ordered them to aſſure him of his conſtant and unſhaken kindneſs to him, and to encourage him all they could. When theſe Noblemen were at dinner with the Archbiſhop at Lambeth, they paid him many compliments, and run out much in his commendation; acknowledging, that he had oppoſed the act with ſo much learning, gravity, and eloquence, that even thoſe who differed from him were much taken with what he ſaid; and aſſuring him, that he had nothing to fear from the King. The Archbiſhop told them, that he heartily thanked his Majeſty for his goodneſs towards him, and them for the pains they had taken in their preſent viſit; and added, that he "hoped in GOD, that hereafter his allega-"tions and authorities (againſt the doctrines enforced by the "ſtatute of the Six Articles) would have their proper effect, to "the glory of GOD, and the advantage of the Realm." After ſome converſation, Lord Cromwell, addreſſing himſelf to "Cranmer, ſaid, "You, my Lord, were born in an happy hour, "I ſuppoſe; for do or ſay what you will, the King will always "take

led him to oppoſe the Six Articles; in which the places out of the Scriptures, the authorities of the antient Doctors, with the arguments drawn from theſe, were all digeſted in a good method. This he commanded his Secretary to write out in a fair hand, that it might be given the King. The Secretary returning with it from Croydon, where the Archbiſhop was then, to Lambeth, found the key of his chamber was carried away by the Archbiſhop's Almoner: ſo that he being obliged to go over to London, and not daring to truſt the book to any other's keeping, carried it with himſelf; where both he and the book met with an unlooked for encounter. Some others that were with him in the wherry, would needs go to the Southwark ſide, to look on a bear-baiting that was near the river, where the King was in perſon. The bear broke looſe into the river, and the dogs after her. They that were in the boat leaped out, and left the poor Secretary alone there. But the bear got into the boat, with the dogs about her, and ſunk it. The Secretary, apprehending his life was in danger, did not mind his book, which he loſt in the water. But being quickly reſcued, and brought to land, he began to look for his book, and ſaw it floating in the river. So he deſired the bear-ward to bring it to him; who took it up; but before he would reſtore it, put it into the hands of a Prieſt that ſtood there, to ſee what it might contain. The Prieſt reading a little in it, found it a confutation of the Six Articles; and told the bear-ward, that whoſoever claimed it, would be hanged for his pains. But the Archbiſhop's Secretary thinking to mend the matter, ſaid it was his Lord's book. This made the bear-ward more intractable; for he was a ſpiteful Papiſt, and hated the Archbiſhop; ſo that no offers nor entreaties could prevail with him to give it back. Whereupon Morice (that was the Secretary's name) went and opened the matter to Cromwell the next day. Cromwell was then going to Court, and he expected to find the bear-ward there, looking to deliver the book to ſome of Cranmer's enemies; he therefore ordered Morice to go along with him. Where, as they had expected, they found the fellow with the book about him; upon whom Cromwell called, and took the book out of his hands, threatening him ſeverely for his preſumption in meddling with a Privy Counſellor's book." Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. P. 265, 266.

" take it well at your hands. And I muſt needs confeſs, that " in ſome things I have complained of you to his Majeſty; but " all in vain; for he will never give credit againſt you, whatſo- " ever is laid to your charge: but let me, or any other of the " Council, be complained of, his Grace will moſt ſeriouſly " chide, and fall out with us; and therefore you are moſt " happy, if you can keep you in this ſtate (*i*)."

In 1540, ſeveral new Biſhoprics were founded out of old Monaſteries; and ſeveral Deaneries and Colleges of Prebends out of divers Priories belonging to cathedral churches. Cranmer had projected, that in every cathedral there ſhould be proviſion made for readers of divinity, and of Greek and Hebrew, and a number of ſtudents to be trained up in religion and learning; from whence, as from a nurſery, the Biſhops might furniſh their Dioceſes with pious and learned Miniſters: but this deſign miſcarried. This year, the Archbiſhop was one of the Commiſſioners appointed to inſpect into matters of religion, and to explain ſome of its principal doctrines; and the book, intitled, " A neceſſary erudition of any Chriſtian man," was the reſult of their commiſſion. But on the fall and death of his great friend and aſſiſtant in the work of Reformation, Lord Cromwell, which happened about this time, the Archbiſhop lived in great privacy and retirement, not intermeddling at all in State affairs (*k*).

In 1541, Cranmer gave orders, purſuant to the King's directions, for taking away ſuperſtitious ſhrines. It is ſuppoſed that the Archbiſhop himſelf procured the King's letters for this end; ſome former orders to the ſame purpoſe having not been properly regarded.

In 1542, the Archbiſhop endeavoured to get the ſevere acts about religion moderated, and to procure to the people the liberty of reading the Scriptures; the progreſs of the Reformation having now been for ſome time conſiderably obſtructed. And with this view he propoſed a bill with this title, " An act " for the advancement of true religion, and the aboliſhment of " the

(*i*) *Vid.* Strype's Memorials of Cranmer, P. 73, 74. and Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. P. 265.

(*k*) Biſhop Burnet obſerves, that Cromwell, " in his fall had the common fate of all diſgraced Miniſters, to be forſaken by his friends, and inſulted over by his enemies. Only Cranmer retained ſtill ſo much of his former ſimplicity, that he could never learn thoſe Court arts." The Archbiſhop, therefore, wrote a letter to the King, in which he urged many things with great earneſtneſs in Cromwell's behalf. *See* P. 118. *of* this Volume. " This ſhews (Burnet adds) both the firmneſs of Cranmer's friendſhip to him, and that he had a great ſoul, not turned by the changes of men's fortunes, to like or diſlike them, as they ſtood or declined from their greatneſs. And had not the King's kindneſs for Cranmer been deeply rooted, this letter had ruined him. For he was the moſt impatient of contradiction, in ſuch caſes, that could be." Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. P. 277.

" the contrary:" in which he was ſeconded by the Biſhops of Worceſter, Hereford, Chicheſter, and Rocheſter, who had promiſed to ſtick by him in it. Gardiner and the Popiſh party oppoſed it with all poſſible earneſtneſs; ſo that the timorous Prelates forſook Cranmer, and the Biſhops of Rocheſter and Hereford were very importunate with him to ſtay for a better opportunity. But the Archbiſhop generouſly choſe rather to obey the dictates of his conſcience, than to be influenced by motives of worldly policy; and therefore ſaid, that " he would puſh it as " far as it would go." Accordingly he at length ſo far prevailed, that the bill paſſed; but Gardiner and his party had found means to clog it in ſuch a manner with proviſoes, that it came much ſhort of what the Archbiſhop had deſigned (*l*). However, the Laity were delivered by it from the hazard of burning, and the Clergy were not in danger but upon the third conviction. Both were allowed to bring witneſſes for their own purgation, which was not permitted before; and no offences were to be objected, which had been committed above a year.

The Duke of Norfolk was ſent this year with an army againſt the Scots; and a body of his troops, about five hundred horſe, ſurprized and routed the Scottiſh army, which was in ſome diſorder on account of a new General being appointed, who was diſagreeable to the troops. Many priſoners were taken by the Engliſh; particularly the Earls of Glencairn and Caſſilis, the Lords Maxwell, Fleming, Somerville, Oliphant, and Grey, Oliver Sinclair, the new General, and about two hundred gentlemen, and eight hundred ſoldiers, and all the ordnance and baggage. The Scottiſh Noblemen who were taken priſoners, were brought to London, and committed to the cuſtody of ſeveral perſons of rank. The Earl of Caſſilis was committed to the care of Archbiſhop Cranmer, and reſided with him at Lambeth, as a priſoner on his parole. And the Archbiſhop, agreeable to the benignity of his character, treated this Nobleman with great kindneſs, and took much pains to convince him of the errors of Popery; in which he was ſo ſucceſsful, that the Earl was afterwards a great promoter of the Reformation in Scotland (*m*).

In 1543, the Archbiſhop held a viſitation in Canterbury. Many preſentments were made on this occaſion, ſome of which are preſerved by Mr. Strype, and are very curious. One Brooks, a preacher, was accuſed for preaching, " That all " maſters and miſtreſſes were bound to eat eggs, butter, and " cheeſe, in Lent; to give example to their houſholds to do the " ſame." This the Papiſts thought a breaking of Lent, to allow the eating of ſuch white meats, as fiſh only ought to be eaten. Brooks was alſo charged with ſaying, " That the cere- " monies of the church were but BEGGARLY CEREMONIES, and " that was the meeteſt term he could give them."

Thomas

(*l*) *Vid.* P. 215. of this Volume. Vol. I. P. 320. and Memorials of
(*m*) Hiſt. of the Reformation, Cranmer, P. 98.

Thomas Carden, Vicar of Lyme, was charged with ſaying, in a Lent ſermon, "That he ſuppoſed St. Catharine was rather a "Devil in Hell, than a Saint in Heaven. And that the people "ſaid naught, and that this term was naught to ſay, That they "ſhould receive their Maker at Eaſter; but they ſhould ſay, "We ſhall receive our Houſel." He alſo preached, "That "the water in the font is no better than other water is."

John Tofts, Chriſtopher Levenyſh, and Bartholomew Joy, were charged with pulling down all the pictures in the church of Northgate in Canterbury, except only the Rood, Mary and John, the twelve Apoſtles, the picture of our Lady, and St. John Baptiſt. At another time, Tofts pulled down "the picture of "our Lady, and had her and the tabernacle home to his houſe, "and there did hew her all to pieces. And at another time, "the ſaid Tofts openly, with a loud voice, read the Bible in "Engliſh in the church to his wife, Sterkie's wife, George "Toft's wife, to the midwife of the ſame pariſh, and to as "many others as then were preſent." Another was accuſed for forſaking his own pariſh church at the time of Eaſter, two years together, and for going to Walſingham in pilgrimage; and "that he would at no time ſhew to the Vicar a lawful certifi-"cate, that he had received the bleſſed Sacrament at the time "commonly accuſtomed, as a Chriſtian man ought to do. And "obſtinately refuſed to learn his Pater-noſter, Ave, Credo, and "ten Commandments in Engliſh, according to the King's in-"junctions."

Lancaſter, Parſon of Pluckley, was accuſed with not uſing in the church-porch any holy water, according to the laudable cuſtom of the church. It was alſo alledged againſt him, that when he was going on proceſſion, he did not rehearſe Sancta Maria, nor any other Saints names. Turner was likewiſe accuſed with not caſting any holy water, neither before the Sacrament, nor upon any altar in the church, except the high altar: nor before the crucifix in the Rood-loft, according to the laudable ceremony. He neither incenſed the crucifix in the Rood-loft, nor any altar in the church, except the high altar; nor diſtributed any holy candles among his pariſhioners. And not content with theſe enormities, in order to fill up the meaſure of his iniquities, "he chriſtened three children upon one day, and did "not anoint them with holy oil, neither upon back nor "belly (*n*)."

This year a ſcheme was formed by Gardiner, Biſhop of Winchester, and his emiſſaries, to ruin Archbiſhop Cranmer, and ſome other eminent perſons who favoured the Reformation (*o*). The Prebendaries, and others of the church of Canterbury, were for the moſt part much addicted to Popery; and therefore hated the Archbiſhop as the great promoter of the Reformation, and

(*n*) Ibid. Memorials of Cranmer, P. 100, 101, 102, 103, 107, 108.
(*o*) Vide P. 217, of this Volume.

and were on that account the more eaſily diſpoſed to concur in any deſigns againſt him. Accordingly ſeveral of the Popiſh Prebendaries and Preachers at Canterbury, were employed by Gardiner's agents to collect and draw up accuſations againſt the Archbiſhop and his friends. "At one and the ſame time "Wincheſter, (ſays Mr. Strype) with his truſty partner, Lon-"don, was driving on two games together. The one was to "bring into trouble ſeveral of the King's own Court, that "were favourers of the Goſpel; not liking that ſuch ſhould be "ſo near the King: and the other was to overthrow the good "Archbiſhop, and his friends in his Dioceſe of Canterbury, "and to extinguiſh that light of the Goſpel that began no-"tably to ſhine there." In conſequence of this ſcheme, accuſations were collected againſt ſeveral of the Archbiſhops friends, and other eminent perſons of the Proteſtant party, in order to be laid before the King and Council (*p*). A book of articles againſt Cranmer was to accompany the accuſations againſt his friends, and the others of the Proteſtant party. The rough draughts were brought to Dr. London, and the Biſhop of Wincheſter's Secretary, German Gardiner, copied them out fair: theſe being ſigned by ſome of the Prebendaries, were by them, in the name of the church of Canterbury, preſented to the Council; and from thence they came into the King's hands.

The King hereupon went to divert himſelf upon the river, taking the book of articles againſt the Archbiſhop with him, and ordering the bargeman to row towards Lambeth. The Archbiſhop's ſervants perceiving it, acquainted their maſter with it, who haſted down to the ſtairs to pay his reſpects to the King. The King calling him into his barge, lamented the growth of Hereſy, and the diſſentions and confuſions that were like to follow upon it; and ſaid, he intended to find out the chief encourager and favourer of theſe Hereſies, and make him an example to the reſt. He then aſked the Archbiſhop's opinion upon this; who anſwered him, that it was a good reſolution; but entreated the King to conſider well what Hereſy was, and not to condemn thoſe as Heretics, who ſtood for the word of GOD againſt human inventions. "O my Chaplain, (ſaid the King) now I "know who is the greateſt Heretic in Kent." And ſhewed him the book of articles againſt him and his Chaplains, which was ſigned by ſome Prebendaries of Canterbury, and Juſtices of the peace in Kent. This, ſays Mr. Strype, both ſurprized and troubled the Archbiſhop not a little: that thoſe of his own

(*p*) "They drew up a bundle of indictments againſt a very great many, and ſome of eminency about the King, as Cardin and Hobby, Knights, of the King's Privy Chamber; with the Ladies Harman and Welden, Snowbal and his wife, and a great many more of the King's true and peaceable ſubjects. One Ockham, that ſerved for Clerk of the peace at that time, had theſe indictments ready, to carry them to the chief

church, and Juſtices of the peace whom he had obliged, ſhould deal ſo treacherouſly with him. However, the Archbiſhop having looked the articles over, and knowing both the malice and falſhood of them, kneeled down to the King, and deſired him to grant a commiſſion, to whomſoever he pleaſed, to try the truth of theſe accuſations, ſo as from the higheſt to the loweſt they might be well puniſhed, if they had done otherwiſe than became them. He acknowledged, as to himſelf, that he was ſtill of the ſame mind as when he oppoſed the Six Articles; but that he had done nothing againſt them. Then the King aſked him, if his Grace's bed-chamber could ſtand the ſcrutiny of that act? He frankly confeſſed he had a wife: but that he had ſent her to Germany upon the paſſing of that act. The King, in return for his ſincerity and openneſs, told him, he would grant a commiſſion for the trial; but that he had ſuch affiance and confidence in his fidelity, that he ſhould be the chief Commiſſioner himſelf; to whom, with two or three more, ſuch as he ſhould chuſe, he would wholly commit the examination. The Archbiſhop deſired to be excuſed, as it would not ſeem equitable or impartial to make him a Commiſſioner, who was a party accuſed. But the King inſiſted upon it, telling him, "That he was ſure he "would not halt with him, although he were driven to accuſe "himſelf; but would ſpeak the truth of himſelf, if he had "offended." The King added, "That he knew partly how "the matter came about; and that if he handled the matter "wiſely, he ſhould find a pretty conſpiracy againſt him." The King then named Dr. Bellhouſe for one of the Commiſſioners, and left the reſt to the Archbiſhop's choice; who appointed Dr. Cocks his Vicar-General, and Anthony Huſſey his Regiſter; both of them ſecret favourers of the Papiſts. The commiſſion was preſently made out, and the Archbiſhop was commanded to go himſelf upon it: the King requiring particularly, that the Commiſſioners ſhould ſift out who was the firſt occaſion of this accuſation.

Accordingly

chief patron of theſe plots, the Biſhop of Wincheſter. But this deſign, notwithſtanding the privacy and crafty contrivance of it, took not effect; but he rather brought himſelf into diſgrace thereby. For one Fulk, belonging unto the Queen, being at ſeſſions at Windſor at that time, and obſerving what was done, haſtily rode to Court, and diſcovered to the perſons concerned what was hatching againſt them, letting them know, that Ockham was coming with his indictments to the Biſhop of Wincheſter: who, as ſoon as he had received them, would without doubt have laid them before the King and his Council. But by this ſeaſonable notice they way-laid Ockham, and Cardin and others ſeized him, and all his papers, as ſoon as he came to Court, before he got to Wincheſter. Theſe papers were peruſed by ſome of the Privy Council; and ſeeing what large numbers, it may be, of themſelves and of their friends, as well as others, were indicted, and deſigned for death, they thought fit to acquaint the King with it. And he, not liking ſuch bloody doings, gave them all a pardon: and obſerving how Wincheſter was the great agent in all this, never liked him after." Strype, as before, P. 110.

Accordingly the Archbiſhop, and the other Commiſſioners, went down to Feverſham, and ſat three weeks, to find out the contrivers of theſe articles. The Archbiſhop, ſending for the accuſers, expoſtulated with them for their ingratitude and diſingenuity to him, who had been their patron; expreſſing his ſurprize more particularly at Sentleger and Parkhurſt, two of the Prebendaries, of whom he had conceived a good opinion. And he argued in ſo affectionate a manner with Shether, that the latter could not refrain from weeping; but both he and Serles, two of the preachers, and chief agents, were committed to cuſtody. Cranmer left the further diſcovery of this tranſaction to the diligence of Cocks and Huſſey. But they, from their inclination to favour the conſpirators, proceeding ſlowly in the affair, the King diſpatched Dr. Leigh, and Dr. Rowland Taylor, Civilians, as new Commiſſioners, with inſtructions and a ring, which were delivered to the Archbiſhop on Alhallows eve.

Dr. Leigh immediately gave commiſſion to nine or ten of the Archbiſhop's officers and gentlemen, to go and ſearch the cheſts and houſes of certain Prebendaries and gentlemen, who were ſuſpected to be of the confederacy; with orders to bring whatever letters or writings they could find to the Archbiſhop and himſelf. They all went about their work at the ſame hour; and within four hours after, the whole conſpiracy was diſcovered, by finding letters, ſome from the Biſhop of Wincheſter, ſome from Dr. London, and others. The ſeized papers were put into a cheſt, and brought up to Lambeth; they were peruſed by the King himſelf; and ſeveral of the perſons concerned were committed to priſon. But it appeared that the chief author, contriver, and encourager of the whole tranſaction, was the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

Among the reſt of the ſeized papers, two letters came to hand, which aſtoniſhed the Archbiſhop. One from Dr. Thornden, Suffragan of Dover, made by him Prebendary of Canterbury, whom, contrary to the cuſtom of thoſe days, he honoured ſo far as to ſet him at his own table with the Nobility and Dioceſan Biſhops; the other from Dr. Barber, retained by the Archbiſhop in his family, for expediting of matters in ſuit before him, and as a Counſellor to him in the law, when need required. The Archbiſhop taking them apart, ſhewed them their letters; and lifting up his hands to heaven, returned thanks to GOD, "that "he had, in the midſt of ſo many enemies and falſe friends, "vouchſafed one Great Friend and Maſter, without whoſe pro-"tection he was not able to live ſecurely one day." He added, "That now he perceived there was no fidelity nor truth among "men; and that he was brought to that point, that he was "afraid his left hand would accuſe his right." They fell on their knees, and with many tears begged his pardon; acknowledging that they had been a year ago tempted to do what they had done. He prayed GOD to make them good men, and bad

them aſk GOD forgiveneſs, ſeeing he had never deſerved ſuch uſage at their hands. As he could not think it fit to truſt them any more, he diſcharged them from his ſervice; but he diſmiſſed them with gentle and comfortable words. And it was obſerved, that there never after appeared, either in his countenance, or his words, any remembrance of the injury (*q*).

Archbiſhop Cranmer was, indeed, ſo remarkable for his mild and forgiving temper, that it was become a kind of common proverb in his time, "Do my Lord of Canterbury an ill turn, "and he will be your friend as long as you live." About the time that the tranſaction which we have juſt related happened, a perſon of quality came to the Archbiſhop, to obtain his favour and aſſiſtance in a ſuit which he had to move to the King. Cranmer accordingly went to his Majeſty about it, and had almoſt procured it: but the King recollecting, that the perſon for whom the Archbiſhop was now ſoliciting, had been one of his ſecret accuſers, aſked him whether he took that perſon for his friend. Cranmer anſwered, he did. To which the King replied, "He is a knave. and your mortal enemy:" and he bad the Archbiſhop, when he ſhould ſee him next, to call him knave to his face. Cranmer ſaid, that ſuch language did not become a Biſhop. But the King ſullenly commanded him to do it. However, the Archbiſhop paſſed the matter over. "When theſe "things came to be known, (ſays Biſhop Burnet) all perſons, "that were not unjuſtly prejudiced againſt him, acknowledged "that his behaviour was ſuitable to the example and doctrine "of the meek and lowly SAVIOUR of the world; and very "well became ſo great a Biſhop, and ſuch a Reformer of the "Chriſtian religion; who, in thoſe ſublime and extraordinary "inſtances, practiſed that which he taught others to do (*r*)."

In 1544, Sir John Goſtwick, one of the Members for Bedfordſhire, ſtood up in the Houſe of Commons, and accuſed Archbiſhop Cranmer of manifeſt Hereſy againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, in his ſermons and lectures both at Sandwich and Canterbury (*s*). This being reported to the King, he immediately perceived that this accuſation againſt the Archbiſhop proceeded from malice; for Goſtwick was a ſtranger in Kent, and had not heard Cranmer either preach or read there. Henry, therefore, knowing that this man was ſet on, and only an inſtrument to ſerve the purpoſes of others, was violently enraged: and he called Goſtwick openly, VARLET; and ſaid, "That he had "play'd a villainous part, to abuſe in open Parliament the Pri-"mate

(*q*) Ridley's Life of Biſhop Ridley, P. 153——158. Memorials of Cranmer, P. 109--121. Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. P. 327, 328.

(*r*) Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. P. 329.

(*s*) Mr. Strype obſerves, that "it was much they ſhould accuſe the Archbiſhop in that point, ſeeing he then held a corporal preſence; but it diſpleaſed them, that it was after the Lutheran way, rather than after their's of Tranſubſtantiation." Memorials, P. 123.

" mate of the Realm, eſpecially being in favour with his Prince " as he was."-- " What will they do with him," ſaid Henry, " if I were gone?" The King alſo ſent the following meſſage to Goſtwick by one of his Privy Chamber. " Tell the varlet " Goſtwick, (ſaid he) That if he do not acknowledge his " fault unto my Lord of Canterbury, and ſo reconcile himſelf " towards him, that he may become his good Lord, I will ſoon " both make him a poor Goſtwick, and otherwiſe puniſh him to " the example of others. He wondered (he ſaid) he could hear " my Lord of Canterbury preaching out of Kent. And that " if he had been a Kentiſh man, he might with more plauſibi- " lity have brought an accuſation againſt him." Notwithſtanding that what Goſtwick had done was in Parliament, the Knight was ſo well acquainted with Henry's temper, and ſo deſirous of averting the conſequences of his diſpleaſure, that he haſtened to Lambeth, and not only obtained the Archbiſhop's forgiveneſs, but alſo eaſily prevailed upon him to intercede in his behalf. And it was not without difficulty that Cranmer prevailed upon the King to overlook Goſtwick's offence, and that only on condition that he might hear no more of the Knight's meddling in this way (*t*).

About this time the Archbiſhop's palace at Canterbury was burnt down, and his brother-in-law, and ſome other perſons who were in it, were conſumed in the flames. And the Popiſh party, to whom Cranmer was exceedingly obnoxious, were now concerting other ſchemes to ruin him. This year the Duke of Norfolk, and others of the Popiſh party in the Privy Council, at the inſtigation of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, went to the King, and made a formal complaint againſt the Archbiſhop, alledging, " That he, with his learned men, had ſo infected the whole " Realm with their unſavoury doctrine, that three parts of the " land were become abominable Heretics. And that it might " prove dangerous to the King, being like to produce ſuch com- " motions and uproars, as were ſprung up in Germany. And " therefore they deſired, that the Archbiſhop might be com- " mitted to the Tower, until he could be examined." The King was extremely unwilling to agree to this: but they told his Majeſty, " That the Archbiſhop being one of the Privy " Council, no man would dare to object matters againſt him, " unleſs he were firſt put into confinement. But if that were " done, men would be bold to tell the truth, and ſay their con- " ſciences." Upon this the King gave his conſent, that they ſhould ſummon the Archbiſhop the next day before them, and if they ſaw juſt reaſon, they ſhould commit him to the Tower.

However, at about eleven o'clock, the ſame night, the King ſent one Mr. Denny to the Archbiſhop at Lambeth, deſiring him to come immediately to him at Weſtminſter. The Archbiſhop was

(*t*) Strype, P. 123.

was then in bed; but he directly got up, on receiving this meſſage, and repaired to his Majeſty, whom he found in the gallery at Whitehall. The King then told Cranmer, what a grievous complaint the Council had brought againſt him; that they had affirmed, that he and his learned men had ſown ſuch doctrine in the Realm, that almoſt all men were infected with Hereſy; and that they had alſo alledged, that as he was at liberty, and a Member of the Council, men would not venture to bring thoſe matters of accuſation againſt him, which they otherwiſe would do. "I have, therefore, (ſaid Henry) granted their requeſt; "and given them permiſſion to ſend you to the Tower. But "whether I have done well or no, what ſay you, my Lord?" Cranmer, upon this, humbly thanked his Majeſty, for having given him him this timely notice: and ſaid, that he was very well contented to be committed to the Tower, that his doctrines and actions might be the more impartially examined; as he did not doubt but his Majeſty would ſee that he ſhould have a fair hearing. At this this the King cried out, "O LORD GOD! "what fond ſimplicity have you! thus eaſily and contentedly to "permit yourſelf to be impriſoned, that every enemy of your's "may take advantage againſt you? Do you not know, that "when they have you once in priſon, three or four falſe knaves "will ſoon be procured to witneſs againſt you; who elſe, now "you are at liberty, would not once dare to open their lips, or "appear before your face? No, not ſo, my Lord; I have more "regard for you, than to permit your enemies to overthrow you "in this manner. And, therefore, I will have you come to-"morrow to the Council, which no doubt will ſend for you. "And when they break this matter unto you, require them, "that being one of them, you may have ſo much favour as they "would have themſelves; that is, to have your accuſers brought "before you. And if they oppoſe this, diſregard your allega-"tions, and will not comply with your requeſt; but will needs "commit you to the Tower, then do you appeal from them to "our perſon, and give to them this my ring; (which he then "delivered to the Archbiſhop); by the which (ſaid the King) "they ſhall well underſtand, that I have taken your cauſe into "my hand from them. Which ring, they well know, I uſe for "no other purpoſe, but to call matters from the Council into "mine own hands, to be ordered and determined." The King then diſmiſſed the Archbiſhop, who humbly thanked his Majeſty for his goodneſs towards him, and departed.

The Council, agreeable to the permiſſion which they had received from the King, ſent for the Archbiſhop to appear before them, by eight o'clock the next morning. When he came to the door of the Council-Chamber, he was not permitted to enter, but was forced to ſtand without amongſt ſervants and lacquies, above three quarters of an hour, many of the Members of the Council going in and out in the mean time. The Archbiſhop's

biſhop's Secretary, who attended him, being amazed at this treatment of his maſter, ſlipped away and related the matter to Dr. Butts, the King's phyſician, who ſoon after came, and kept the Archbiſhop company for ſome time. However, before the Archbiſhop was called into the Council-Chamber, Dr. Butts went to the King, and told him, that he had ſeen a ſtrange ſight. "What is that?" ſaid the King. "Marry, (ſaid the "Doctor) my Lord of Canterbury is become a lacquey, or a "ſerving-man: for to my knowledge he hath ſtood among "them almoſt this hour, at the Council-Chamber door." "Have they ſerved my Lord ſo?" ſaid Henry: "It is well "enough; I ſhall talk with them by and by." At length, however, the Archbiſhop was called into the Council-Chamber, where it was declared unto him, by the Council, That a great complaint was made of him, both to the King and to them, That he, and others by his permiſſion, had infected the whole Realm with Hereſy: and therefore it was the King's pleaſure that they ſhould commit him to the Tower, in order that he might be examined, and brought to his trial. The Archbiſhop then offered many reaſons to induce them to permit his accuſers to appear there againſt him, and to ſuffer him to defend himſelf againſt their accuſations, before they proceeded to any further extremities againſt him. But he could not prevail; he was told that he muſt go to the Tower. "I am ſorry, my Lords, (ſaid "the Archbiſhop) that you drive me to the neceſſity of appeal-"ing from you to his Majeſty; who by this token hath re-"ſumed this matter into his own hand, and diſchargeth you "thereof." He then delivered the King's ring to them: whereupon the Lord Ruſſel ſwore a great oath, and ſaid, "Did "not I tell you, my Lords, what would come of this matter? "I knew right well, that the King would never permit my "Lord of Canterbury to have ſuch a blemiſh as to be impri-"ſoned, unleſs it were for high treaſon." The enemies of Cranmer, thus baffled, having received the King's ring, were obliged, though filled with vexation and diſappointment, to repair immediately to his Majeſty.

When they came to the King, he ſaid to them, with a ſevere countenance, "Ah! my Lords! I thought that I had had a "diſcreet and wiſe Council, but now I perceive that I am de-"ceived. In what an unworthy manner have ye treated my "Lord of Canterbury? Have ye not uſed him like a ſlave, by "ſhutting him out of the Council-Chamber, among ſerving-"men? Would ye be ſo handled yourſelves?" After ſome other expreſſions of this ſort, the King added, "I would have "you all know, that I eſteem my Lord of Canterbury to be as "faithful a man towards me, as ever any Prelate in this Realm "was; and one (ſaid the King, laying his hand upon his breaſt) "to whom I am many ways beholden, by the faith I owe unto "GOD. And, therefore, whoſoever loveth me, will upon that

"account

" account regard him." Upon this the Duke of Norfolk anſwered, that they meant no manner of harm to the Archbiſhop, by requeſting to have him put into confinement: " which we " only did (ſaid he) that he might, after his trial, be ſet at li- " berty to his greater glory." " Well, (ſaid the King) I beg " that you will not again expreſs your regard for any of my " friends in this manner. I perceive now well enough how the " world goeth among you. There remaineth malice amongſt " you one to another; but let it be avoided out of hand, I " would adviſe you. And as to my Lord of Canterbury, be " friends with him, and treat him as his worth deſerves." Upon this the Lords of the Council all ſhook hands with the Archbiſhop, after which the King departed. And, from this time, no more open attacks were made by the Popiſh party upon the Archbiſhop during this reign. However, Henry altered Cranmer's paternal coat of arms (in teſtimony, as it is ſaid, of his conviction of the Archbiſhop's integrity, and the malice of his enemies), from Three Cranes Sable to Three Pelicans; ſignifying that he, like thoſe birds, was ready to ſhed his blood for his young ones, brought up in the faith of CHRIST. " For " (ſaid the King) you are likely to be taſted, if you ſtand to " your tackling at length (*u*)."

In 1545, the Archbiſhop ſet about making ſome Reformation in the Eccleſiaſtical Laws; being deſirous of having the Canon Laws ſet aſide, and ſuch a body of new Eccleſiaſtical Laws drawn up, as ſhould have authority in England. And in order to ſhew the inconſiſtency of the Canon Law with the King's ſupremacy, or the principles of the Reformation, he made a collection of paſſages out of it, ſome of which are as follows: " He that acknowledgeth not himſelf to be under the Biſhop of " Rome, and that the Biſhop of Rome is ordained by GOD to " have Primacy over all the world, is an Heretic, and cannot " be ſaved, nor is not of the flock of CHRIST.---Princes laws, " if they be againſt the Canons and decrees of the Biſhop of " Rome, be of no force nor ſtrength.---All the decrees of the " Biſhop of Rome ought to be kept perpetually of every man, " without any repugnancy, as GOD's word ſpoken by the " mouth of Peter; and whoſoever doth not receive them, nei- " ther availeth them the Catholic faith, nor the four Evange- " liſts, but they blaſpheme the Holy Ghoſt, and ſhall have no " forgiveneſs.---The See of Rome receiveth holy men, or elſe " maketh them holy.---The Biſhop of Rome hath authority to " judge all men, and eſpecially to diſcern the articles of the " faith, and that without any Council, and may aſſoil them that " the Council hath damned; but no man hath authority to " judge him, nor to meddle with any thing that he hath " judged

(*u*) *Vid.* Strype, P. 124, 125, 126. P. 642. Edit. 1641. Life of Ridley, Acts and Monuments, Vol. III. P. 158.

" judged, neither Emperor, King, people, nor the Clergy: and " it is not lawful for any man to diſpute his power.---The " Biſhop of Rome may excommunicate Emperors and Princes, " depoſe them from their States, and abſoil their ſubjects from " their oath and obedience to them, and ſo conſtrain them to " rebellion.——The Biſhop of Rome may open and ſhut Hea- " ven unto men.---All Kings, Biſhops, and Noblemen, that " believe or ſuffer the Biſhop of Rome's decrees in any thing " to be violated, be accurſed, and for ever culpable before GOD, " as tranſgreſſors of the Catholic faith.---The See of Rome " hath neither ſpot nor wrinkle in it, nor cannot err (ϖ)."

The Archbiſhop applied himſelf with much aſſiduity to perfecting his intended ſyſtem of Eccleſiaſtical Law; and, with the aſſiſtance of ſome of his learned friends, it was at length completed. The Archbiſhop, however, could not ſo far prevail, as to have theſe Eccleſiaſtical Laws confirmed by Parliament. " I have ſeen (ſays Mr. Strype) the Digeſt of theſe Eccleſiaſti- " cal Laws in a manuſcript in Folio, fairly written out by the " Archbiſhop's Secretary, with the title to each chapter pre- " fixed, and the index of the chapters at the beginning, both of " the Archbiſhop's own hand. In many places there be his own " corrections and additions, and ſometimes a croſs by him ſtruck " through divers lines. And ſo he proceeded a good way in " the book. And where the Archbiſhop left off, Peter Martyr went on, by his order, to reviſe the reſt in the method he had begun. And in the title, De Præſcriptionibus, the greateſt part of the ſeventh chapter is Martyr's own writing. --So that this manuſcript I conjecture was the firſt draught of theſe laws, prepared in the reign of King Henry, and reviſed in the reign of King Edward his ſucceſſor, when Peter Martyr was appointed by that King's letters to be one of thoſe that were to be employed in this work; who was much at this time with the Archbiſhop. In this draught were ſeveral chapters afterwards added, partly by Cranmer, and partly by Martyr. There was yet a latter, and more perfect draught of theſe laws, as they were compleated and finiſhed in King Edward's reign. This draught fell into the poſſeſſion of Archbiſhop Parker. From whence he publiſhed the book in the year 1571, intitling it, " Reformatio Le- " gum Eccleſiaſticarum, &c." Which was printed again in the year 1640. Both theſe manuſcript draughts were diligently compared together by John Fox; and the main difference ſeemed to conſiſt in putting the latter into a new method, and placing the titles differently (*x*)."

(ϖ) Biſhop Burnet has publiſhed entire, from an Original, this collection of paſſages made by Cranmer from the canon law, in the collection of records at the end of the firſt Volume of his Hiſtory of the Reformation, P. 257——264.

(*x*) Memorials of Cranmer, P. 133, 134.

In the beginning of the year 1547, King Henry VIII. died; and a ſhort time before his death, the King, being aſked whether he would chuſe to have any of his Biſhops or Chaplains to attend him, replied, that if any were ſent for, it ſhould be Archbiſhop Cranmer. The Archbiſhop, who was then at Croydon, was accordingly ſent for; but before his arrival, Henry was ſpeechleſs. Cranmer, however, deſired the King to give him ſome token, that he put his truſt in GOD through JESUS CHRIST; upon which Henry ſqueezed the Archbiſhop's hand, and ſoon after expired.

King Henry by his laſt will appointed ſixteen executors, the firſt of whom was Archbiſhop Cranmer, who were alſo to be Governors of Edward and the kingdom, till the young King ſhould attain the age of eighteen years. Theſe were at firſt equal in power; but the Earl of Hertford, the King's uncle, ſoon after created Duke of Somerſet, was raiſed above the reſt with the title of Protector of the kingdom. This alteration was not diſagreeable to Cranmer; for he had no deſire to meddle in State matters, any further than as the intereſts of religion were concerned. It was, indeed, matter of joy to the Proteſtant party in general; becauſe the Protector was known to be a favourer of the Reformation. So that the friends of the Reformation had a very agreeable proſpect before them; for the counſels of Cranmer had now all the weight which the Protector's authority could give them; and as the young King had been bred up from his infancy, either among moderate men, or profeſſed Proteſtants, he had received early impreſſions in favour of the reformed doctrines.

On the 20th of February, Archbiſhop Cranmer crowned the young King in Weſtminſter-Abbey; and ſoon after a Royal viſitation was ſet on foot, with a view of promoting the Reformation. And the Archbiſhop thinking it was neceſſary that ſome means ſhould be found out for the inſtruction of the people in true religion, till the Church could be better ſupplied with learned Prieſts and Miniſters, reſolved upon having ſome good homilies or ſermons compoſed, to be read in the churches to the people, which ſhould in a plain manner teach them the true grounds and principles of religion, and deliver them from popular errors and ſuperſtitions. In conſequence of this reſolution of the Archbiſhop's, the book of Homilies was compoſed, publiſhed by authority, and commanded to be read in churches. The Archbiſhop had himſelf a principal hand in drawing up theſe homilies. And Eraſmus's Paraphraſe of the New Teſtament in Engliſh, was alſo now appointed to be placed in all churches, for the better inſtruction of Prieſts, as well as people, in the knowledge of the Scriptures.

About this time the Archbiſhop publiſhed his treatiſe AGAINST UNWRITTEN VERITIES. It was written by the Archbiſhop in Latin; but an Engliſh tranſlation of it was publiſhed in Queen Mary's

Mary's reign, by one of the Proteſtant exiles. The deſign of it was to prove, "That the Canon of the Bible is a true, and "ſound, and perfect doctrine, containing all things neceſſary to "ſalvation: that neither the writings of the old Fathers, with-"out the word of GOD, nor General Councils, nor the oracles "of Angels, nor apparitions from the dead, nor cuſtoms, can "be ſufficient in religion to eſtabliſh doctrine, or maintain new "articles of faith (*y*)."

Our Archbiſhop was indeed indefatigable in carrying on the work of the Reformation. He was chiefly inſtrumental in procuring the repeal of the act of the Six Articles; the eſtabliſhment of the communion in both kinds; a new office for the Sacrament; and the reviſal and amendment of the reſt of the offices of the Church. He alſo procured an order from the Council to forbid the carrying of candles on Candlemas-day, and the uſe of aſhes on Aſh-Wedneſday, and of palms on Palm-Sunday, as ſuperſtitious ceremonies. And on the 11th of February, 1548, he obtained an order of Council for the total demolition of all the images in churches.

As our Archbiſhop was a very learned man himſelf, ſo he was alſo a great patron of all ſolid learning, and of whatever he thought calculated to promote it. "And knowing very well (ſays Mr. Strype) how much the Libertas Philoſophandi, and the knowledge of tongues, and the other parts of human learning, tended to the preparing men's minds for the reception of true religion, and for the detecting the groſs errors and frauds of Popery, which could ſubſiſt only in the thick darkneſs of ignorance: theſe things made him always caſt a favourable aſpect upon the Univerſities, and eſpecially that of Cambridge, whereof he himſelf was once a Member." Some of King Edward's Council, and others of the Nobility and Courtiers, ſeemed diſpoſed to favour the Reformation, not from a regard to religion of any kind, but from an inclination to make free with, and to ſhare in, the revenues of the Church. Many of the Courtiers were penſioned upon Eccleſiaſtical benefices: and in conſequence of proceedings of this kind, the Univerſities began to be under much apprehenſion for their revenues. But Cranmer, from his love of learning, always ſhewed himſelf a friend to the Univerſities, and was a patron to them, by defending their rights, and ſecuring their revenues.

(*y*) Mr. Strype obſerves, that from a paſſage in this book, "it may be ſeen what a Clergy was now in England." The Archbiſhop having quoted the Canons of the Apoſtles, Can. 3. *Let not a Biſhop or Deacon put away his wife*, &c. makes a heavy complaint againſt the frequent practice of beaſtly ſins in the Prieſts, adultery, ſodomy, &c. and that they never were puniſhed. "And in my memory, (ſays Cranmer) which is above thirty years, and alſo by the information of others, that be twenty years elder than I, I could never learn that one Prieſt was puniſhed." Memorials, P. 161.

In 1549, Archbiſhop Cranmer was put into commiſſion, together with Latimer and Ridley, the Biſhops of Ely, Weſtminſter, Chicheſter, and Lincoln, Sir William Petre, Sir Thomas Smith, Dr. Cox, and others, to ſearch after all Anabaptiſts, Heretics, and Contemners of the Common Prayer. For complaint had been brought to the Council, that, with the ſtrangers who had lately come into England, ſome Anabaptiſts were mingled, who were labouring to make proſelytes to their opinions. The Commiſſioners were directed to endeavour to reclaim them from their errors, to enjoin them penance, and to give them abſolution; or if they were obſtinate, to excommunicate and impriſon them, and to deliver them over to the ſecular power, to be further proceeded againſt. Biſhop Burnet tells us, that at this time there were many Anabaptiſts in ſeveral parts of England. "They were (ſays he) generally Germans, whom the revolutions there had forced to change their ſeats. Upon Luther's firſt preaching in Germany, there aroſe many, who building on ſome of his principles, carried things much further than he did. The chief foundation he had laid down was, That the Scripture was to be the only rule of Chriſtians. Upon this many argued, that the myſteries of the Trinity, and CHRIST's incarnation and ſufferings, of the fall of man, and the aids of grace, were indeed philoſophical ſubtilties, and only pretended to be deduced from Scripture, as almoſt all opinions of religion were; and therefore they rejected them. Among theſe, the baptiſm of infants was one. They held that to be no baptiſm, and ſo were re-baptized: but from this, which was moſt taken notice of, as being a viſible thing, they carried all the general name of Anabaptiſts (z)." Thus it appears, that men of various opinions were comprehended under the general name of Anabaptiſts: but an ill opinion had been conceived of them all, on account of ſome irregular proceedings which ſome of them had been guilty of in Germany; though it appears that many of them greatly diſapproved of thoſe diſorders: but others of them were conſidered and treated as blaſphemers, on account of their denying the doctrine of the Trinity.

Some perſons who were now brought before the Archbiſhop and the reſt of the Commiſſioners, abjured their opinions; but the moſt remarkable of thoſe who were taken up under the name of Anabaptiſts, was Joan Bocher, commonly called Joan of Kent. She denied, "that CHRIST was truly incarnate of the Virgin, whoſe fleſh being ſinful, he could (ſhe ſaid) take none of it: but the Word, by the conſent of the inward man in the Virgin, took fleſh of her." Theſe were her words. They took much pains to convince her of her errors, and had many conferences with her; but ſhe continuing intractable, was adjudged

(z) Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. P. 119.

judged an obſtinate Heretic, and delivered over to the ſecular power. The ſentence againſt her being returned to the Council, the King was moved to ſign a warrant for burning her, but could not be prevailed on to do it. He thought it too much like the cruelty, which they had juſtly condemned in Papiſts; and in a long diſcourſe which he had with Sir John Cheke, he was much confirmed in that opinion. Cranmer, however, endeavoured to prevail upon the King to ſign the warrant. He argued from the law of Moſes, by which blaſphemers were to be ſtoned. He told the King, he made a great difference between errors in other points of divinity, and thoſe which were directly againſt the Apoſtles Creed: that theſe were impieties againſt GOD, which a Prince, as being GOD's deputy, ought to puniſh; as the King's deputies were obliged to puniſh offences againſt the King's perſon. Theſe reaſons, ſays Burnet, did rather ſilence than ſatisfy the young King, who ſtill thought it a hard thing to proceed ſo ſeverely in ſuch caſes: however, he did at length ſet his hand to the warrant, though with tears in his eyes, ſaying to Cranmer, That if he did wrong, ſince it was in ſubmiſſion to his authority, he ſhould anſwer for it to GOD. This ſtruck the Archbiſhop with much horror, ſo that he was very unwilling to have the ſentence executed. And both he, and Ridley, took the woman to their own houſes, to ſee if they could prevail upon her to renounce her opinions. But as ſhe abſolutely refuſed to do this, the ſentence was executed upon her, ſhe being burnt on the ſecond of May the following year. Some time after, one George Van Parre, a Dutchman, was alſo tried before the Commiſſioners, being accuſed with ſaying, that GOD the Father was only GOD, and that CHRIST was not very GOD: much pains were taken to make him abjure this opinion; but he refuſing to do ſo, was burnt in Smithfield.

The part which Archbiſhop Cranmer and his Proteſtant colleagues acted, in bringing theſe two unfortunate perſons to the ſtake, cannot be defended. We have too much regard for the intereſts of humanity, and of religious liberty, to attempt to defend it. All that we can ſay with relation to theſe two acts of blood, which reflect the greateſt diſhonour upon the Proteſtant Adminiſtration in King Edward's reign, is, that Cranmer and his aſſociates, who had been brought up in the Romiſh religion, and were not yet entirely freed from its errors, did ſtill retain too much of that worſt part of Popery, the ſpirit of perſecution. They had not yet ſufficiently learned, that the mild, the benevolent religion of JESUS, gave no authority to its profeſſors to perſecute others for difference in opinion. That the only methods of converting Infidels or Heretics, which are ſuited to the genius of Chriſtianity, are thoſe of reaſoning, argument, and mild perſuaſion. We muſt, however, obſerve, that the inference which has been ſometimes drawn from theſe two inſtances of perſecution in the reign of Edward, namely, that Papiſts and Proteſtants

Proteſtants are alike diſpoſed to perſecution, when poſſeſſed of power, is by no means a fair one. That the putting theſe two unfortunate perſons to death was utterly indefenſible, we readily grant: but ſurely it cannot juſtly be pretended, on account of two perſons only being put to death for religion in the reign of Edward, that Papiſts and Proteſtants were equally actuated by the ſpirit of perſecution, when it is conſidered that near three hundred Proteſtants were committed to the flames, in the ſtill ſhorter reign of Mary.

In 1549, Archbiſhop Cranmer was appointed one of the Commiſſioners for examining Biſhop Bonner, who was deprived in October; and an inſurrection being excited this year in Devonſhire, Cranmer wrote an anſwer to ſome articles publiſhed by the rebels, and ordered ſermons to be compoſed and preached upon that occaſion. In 1550, by his means a review was made of the book of Common Prayer, which had been before appointed by act of Parliament; and ſeveral things which favoured of ſuperſtition were changed or amended. And this year the Archbiſhop was one of the Commiſſioners by whom Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, was deprived.

Our Archbiſhop did not confine his concern for the intereſts of the Proteſtant religion to the Church of England only, but alſo extended his care to ſome Proteſtant foreigners, who had taken ſhelter in England to avoid Perſecution in their own countries, though they were not inclined to conform to ſome of the rites and ceremonies eſtabliſhed at this time in the Church of England. Cranmer had a chief hand in forming many French, Dutch, Spaniſh, and Italian Proteſtants, who were now in England, into diſtinct congregations for the worſhip of GOD, and in procuring them convenient churches to meet in, and ſetting preachers of their own over them. The Archbiſhop alſo entertained in his own family, and treated with the utmoſt reſpect, John A Laſco, a Poliſh Nobleman, and a man of great learning and piety, who had been exiled from his country by the perſecution of the Papiſts. When he firſt retired from Poland, he had ſettled, during ſome time, at Embden in Eaſt Friezland, where he became preacher to a congregation of the reformed. But foreſeeing the perſecutions which enſued, he came over into England, and was afterwards permitted to bring over his congregation likewiſe; and they had the Auguſtine Friars church given them for the exerciſe of their religion. A Laſco was alſo appointed Superintendant of the other foreign Proteſtant churches which were ſet up in London, and of their ſchools of learning and education (*a*).

In 1551, Archbiſhop Cranmer publiſhed his treatiſe of the Sacrament, the deſign of which was to confute the doctrine of the real preſence. He had now been for ſome time convinced of

(*a*) Strype, P. 234, 235, 236.

of the error of that doctrine: and the Archbiſhop himſelf acknowledged, that it was his converſation with his Chaplain Dr. Ridley, now Biſhop of London, that firſt occaſioned his diſcovery of the truth in this matter. This treatiſe of Cranmer's on the Sacrament was a very elaborate and learned work; and gave great offence to the Papiſts. Gardiner wrote againſt it.

In 1552, the book of Common Prayer was printed again, with amendments and alterations, by the Archbiſhop's care, and authorized by Parliament. And this year, for the preſerving and maintaining unity of doctrine in the church, a book of articles of religion, drawn up by Archbiſhop Cranmer, aſſiſted chiefly as is ſuppoſed by Biſhop Ridley, was publiſhed by the King's authority. Theſe articles were approved of by the Convocation, and were in number forty-two, agreeing in general with our preſent articles confirmed under Queen Elizabeth. Our Archbiſhop alſo endeavoured to preſerve the revenues of the Church, which ſome of Edward's Courtiers were much diſpoſed to parcel out amongſt themſelves. And on this account ſome of Cranmer's enemies at Court charged him with covetouſneſs, and with living in a mean and parſimonious manner: but it ſoon appeared, upon examination, that there was not the leaſt foundation for this charge (*b*). Indeed, the Archbiſhop was ſo far from being addicted to covetouſneſs, that he was ſometimes reduced to ſtraits, in conſequence of his extenſive liberalities, his penſions and gratuities to learned men, and his hoſpitable manner of living.

This year Biſhop Tonſtal was deprived of his Biſhopric: but the Archbiſhop had exerted himſelf much in his favour, notwithſtanding Tonſtal's attachment to Popery. "There was a "conſtant good correſpondence (ſays Burnet) between Cran"mer and him: though in many things they differed in opi"nion, yet Tonſtal was both a man of candour and great mo"deration; which agreed ſo well with Cranmer's temper, "that no wonder they lived always in good terms. So when "the bill for attainting him as guilty of miſpriſion of treaſon "was paſſed in the Houſe of Lords, on the 31ſt of March, be"ing put in on the 28th, Cranmer ſpake ſo freely againſt it, "that

(*b*) This was not the firſt time, as Mr. Strype obſerves, that the Archbiſhop was thus ſlandered. "For ſome of his enemies, divers years before, had charged him to his loving maſter, King Henry VIII. with covetouſneſs and ill houſe-keeping. And the chief of thoſe that raiſed this report, was Sir Thomas Seymour. But the King made him to convince himſelf, by ſending him to Lambeth about dinner-time upon ſome pretended meſſage. Where his own eyes ſaw, how the Archbiſhop lived in far other ſort than he had told the King, keeping great and noble hoſpitality. So that when he returned, he acknowledged to his Majeſty, that he never ſaw ſo honourable a hall ſet in this Realm, beſides his Majeſty's, in all his life, with better order, and ſo well furniſhed in each degree. And the King then gave this teſtimony of him, *Ah, good man! all that he hath, he ſpendeth in houſe-keeping.*" Memorials, P. 280.

At laſt, however, after ſome months, Mary granted him a pardon for his treaſon, having mercifully determined, as ſufficiently appeared in the event, to burn him for an Heretic.

Archbiſhop Cranmer was therefore ſtill continued in his confinement in the Tower; but when he had been continued there about ſix months, from his firſt commitment, he was removed from thence to Oxford, together with his fellow-priſoners, Latimer and Ridley, in order to aſſiſt at a pretended ſolemn diſputation concerning Tranſubſtantiation, and the ſacrifice of the Maſs, which was appointed to be held there between the Proteſtants and Papiſts. Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, were to maintain the diſpute on the part of the Proteſtants: in ſhort, the truth was, theſe three principal Reformers were, like criminals in an amphitheatre, to be firſt baited, and then ſacrificed. The particular reaſons which occaſioned this diſputation, have been already given in our account of the Life of Latimer (*g*).

On Saturday the 14th of April, 1554, the Archbiſhop was brought before the Commiſſioners appointed to preſide in this diſputation, who were aſſembled in St. Mary's church. He was brought in by a guard of armed men; and when the tumult was a little compoſed, the Prolocutor, Dr. Weſton, made a ſhort oration to his audience in praiſe of religious unity; and then turning to the Archbiſhop, he reminded him, that he had once been in the unity of the Catholic Church; "but that he had "ſeparated himſelf from it by teaching and ſetting forth erro-"neous doctrine, making every year a new faith. And there-"fore that it had pleaſed the Queen to ſend him to him to re-"cover him again, if it might be, to that unity." He then ſhewed the Archbiſhop the articles which were to be diſputed on (*h*); upon which Cranmer read them over to himſelf three or four times; and then aſking a few pertinent queſtions with regard

the Archbiſhop then greatly intereſted himſelf in her behalf. When the differences became irreconcileable between her father King Henry and her mother Queen Catherine, ſhe followed her mother's intereſts, which were indeed her own, and for a great while could not be perſuaded to ſubmit to the King; who being impatient of contradiction from any, but eſpecially from his own child, was reſolved to ſtrike a terror into all his people, by putting her openly to death. "At Court (ſays Burnet) many were afraid to move the King for her; both the Duke of Norfolk and Gardiner looked on, and were unwilling to hazard their own intereſts to preſerve her. But Cranmer was the only perſon that would adventure on it. In his gentle way, he told the King, that ſhe was young and indiſcreet, and therefore it was no wonder if ſhe obſtinately adhered to that which her mother, and all about her, had been infuſing into her for many years: but that it would appear ſtrange if he ſhould for this cauſe ſo far forget he was a father, as to proceed to extremities with his own child: that if ſhe were ſeparated from her mother, and her people, in a little time there might be ground gained on her: but to take away her life, would raiſe horror through all Europe againſt him. By theſe means he preſerved her at that time."---Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. P. 240, 241.

(*g*) *See* P. 168, 169. of this Volume.

(*h*) *See* P. 172. of this Volume.

it to Scory, who had been Biſhop of Chicheſter, deſiring him to conſider it. Scory indiſcreetly gave copies of this paper, one of which was publicly read in Cheapſide on the fifth of September, which made people apprehend that Cranmer would be ſent to the Tower. And theſe apprehenſions were ſo ſtrong, that ſome adviſed the Archbiſhop to eſcape by flying beyond ſea. But to this advice he anſwered, "Were I accuſed of theft, "parricide, or ſome other crime, although I were innocent, I "might peradventure be induced to ſhift for myſelf: but be- "ing queſtioned for my allegiance, not to men, but unto GOD, "the truth of whoſe holy word is to be aſſerted againſt the er- "rors of Popery, I have at this time reſolved, as becomes a "Chriſtian Prelate, rather to leave my life than the kingdom."

On the 8th of September, in conſequence of this paper being made public, the Archbiſhop was cited to make his appearance in the Star-Chamber, and was there aſked whether he was the author of that ſeditious bill that was given out in his name. He acknowledged the bill to be truly his, but ſaid he was ſorry it had gone from him in ſuch a manner; for he had reſolved to have enlarged it in many things, and to have ordered it to be affixed to the doors of St. Paul's, and of the other churches in London, with his hand and ſeal to it. Contrary to his own expectation, and that of his friends, he was, however, diſmiſſed for the preſent: but that day ſe'nnight he was again called before the Council, and was the next day committed to the Tower, for matters of treaſon againſt the Queen, and for aggravating his offence by ſpreading abroad ſeditious bills, moving tumult, to the great diſquietneſs of the State. Latimer and Ridley had been before committed to the Tower, and our Archbiſhop, therefore, made up the venerable triumvirate there (*e*).

On the 3d of November, Archbiſhop Cranmer, with the Lord Guildford Dudley, and the Lady Jane, and two more ſons of the Duke of Northumberland, were brought to their trials, and were all attainted of high treaſon. The Archbiſhop, upon this, made humble ſubmiſſion to the Queen, intreating for his pardon; repreſenting, and appealing to the Council, in proof, with what difficulty and reluctance he had been prevailed on to ſubſcribe to the late King's will, and to the alteration of the ſucceſſion; and that not before thoſe, whoſe profeſſion it was to underſtand the laws, had aſſured him of the legality of it. The reſt of the Council, though none of them had exerted themſelves ſo much in favour of Mary's right of ſucceſſion as he had done, were preſently received to favour: but his pronouncing her mother's divorce from King Henry, by which ſhe had been illegitimated, could not be forgiven; though the Queen herſelf was under great perſonal obligations to the Archbiſhop (*f*).

(*e*) *Vid.* Life of Ridley, P. 430, 431.

(*f*) Mary's life was in great danger in the time of her father, and the

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(*b*) *See* P. 172. of this Volume.

gard to the import of ſome of the terms, he with ſome earneſtneſs denied them all; ſaying, that he was as great a friend to unity as any of them, but that he could never think of making falſhood the bond of peace. Nevertheleſs, he ſaid, if they would give him a copy of the articles, he would conſider of them, and return an anſwer to them the next day. A copy of the articles was accordingly delivered to him; and the following Monday was appointed for him to hold his diſputation againſt theſe articles. The Prolocutor then gave the Mayor charge of the Archbiſhop; and he was conveyed again to Bocardo, the priſon in which he had been confined from the time of his arrival in Oxford. After Cranmer was diſmiſſed, Ridley and Latimer were brought in like manner before the Commiſſioners; and they alſo refuſing to aſſent to the truth of the articles, two ſeveral days were likewiſe appointed for them to diſpute againſt them.

When the day appointed for the Archbiſhop's diſputation came, he was again brought under a guard before the Commiſſioners. This diſputation began at eight in the morning, and laſted till two in the afternoon. And the Archbiſhop, "after "having (ſays Mr. Strype) learnedly and boldly maintained "the truth againſt a great many clamorous opponents, was car-"ried back by the Mayor to priſon. And then the two next "days Ridley and Latimer took their courſes." It has, however, been obſerved, and we think not without reaſon, that in the courſe of theſe diſputations, Cranmer and Ridley, by not diſavowing the authority of the Fathers, which their opponents chiefly reſted upon, did injury to their cauſe. As for Latimer, he very judiciouſly diſclaimed the authority of the Fathers, except when what they ſaid was confirmed by the Scriptures.

Two days after theſe diſputations were ended, the Archbiſhop, with his fellow priſoners, was brought again before the Commiſſioners at St. Mary's church. And the Prolocutor, after having in vain exhorted them to recant, read the ſentence of excommunication and condemnation againſt them. Upon which the Archbiſhop ſaid, "From this your judgment and ſentence I "appeal to the juſt judgment of the ALMIGHTY; truſting to "be preſent with him in Heaven." He was then carried back to Bocardo, and the other two to other priſons; for they were kept ſeparate almoſt all the time they were in Oxford.

After the condemnation of theſe three eminent Reformers, their ſervants were diſcharged, that they might not by their means have any communication together, or receive any intelligence of any thing abroad. "But GOD (ſays Mr. Strype) pro-"vided for every one of them, inſtead of their ſervants, faithful "fellows, that would be content to hear and ſee, and do for "them whatſoever they could." They were all in great want of money, and other neceſſaries. From the firſt of the Archbiſhop's impriſonment, his revenues had been ſequeſtered. He

did, however, receive ſupplies from ſome of his Proteſtant friends: but ſuch was the malice of his perſecutors, that they were not content with reducing him to abſolute want themſelves, but laboured to prevent others from ſupplying his neceſſities, and gave orders for that purpoſe. A gentleman of Glouceſterſhire having conveyed ſome money to the Bailiffs at Oxford for the Archbiſhop's uſe, two of the Biſhops, Bonner and Thirlby, were about to have ſent him up to the Council, to anſwer for what he had done; but he found means to get off by the interceſſion of ſome friends (*i*).

The Archbiſhop employed himſelf, during his confinement, in reviewing his writings on the Sacrament, and vindicating them from the attacks of the Biſhop of Wincheſter. In the mean time, a ſevere perſecution was carried on againſt the Proteſtants; and it was a matter of general ſurprize, that whilſt great numbers of Proteſtants of inferior note were committed to the flames, the lives of Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, were hitherto ſpared (*k*). However, on the 16th of October, 1555, the two latter were brought to the ſtake. A freſh proceſs had been

(*i*) Strype, P. 450.

(*k*) "The rage of this perſecution had now continued yet unabated, near three quarters of a year. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the two Biſhops, Ridley and Latimer, were ſtill in priſon, unmoleſted: and they who were acquainted with the Biſhop of Winchcſter's maxims, and knew that he had the direction of affairs, were ſurprized at his lenity, and at a loſs for the reaſon of it. In anſwer to this popular inquiry, it was given out, 'That an overſight had 'been committed in condemning 'theſe Biſhops, before the ſtatutes, 'on which they were condemned, 'had been revived: that a commiſ'ſion therefore from Rome was ne'ceſſary for a new trial: that this 'had been ſent for; but the delays 'of that Court were notorious.' And in part this was fact, for they had indeed been too haſty in condemning the three Biſhops. However, afterwards, the whole truth appeared, when it was found that theſe delays, which had been charged upon the Court of Rome, were really occaſioned by the Biſhop of Wincheſter himſelf.

"It was the ſecret grief of that ambitious Prelate, that there was one ſtill higher than himſelf, in Eccleſiaſtical affairs. The Cardinal's hat on the head of Pole, and the Pope's authority, had long been the objects of his envy. With all his ſubtilty and addreſs, therefore, he was now ſecretly working the Cardinal's ruin." "He knew, and was diſtreſſed in knowing, that the Archbiſhopric of Canterbury, upon the death of Cranmer, was intended for the Legate. This dignity his heart was ſet on, of which he made himſelf ſure upon the removal of Pole. With this view he did what he could to delay the execution of Cranmer, till the Legate was recalled, and his own head ready for the mitre.

"Theſe delays, however, at length grew notorious, and occaſioned ſome clamour among the warmer Papiſts: and Wincheſter finding himſelf preſſed by the curioſity of ſome, and the zeal of others, was obliged, in part at leaſt, to abandon his ſcheme. It was his original deſign, as leſs liable to ſuſpicion, to have treated the three Biſhops in the ſame way. However, now, to wipe off the offence that had been taken, he reſolved to give up Ridley and Latimer to their immediate fate; and to delay Cranmer's execution, by procuring a different form of proceſs againſt him."—Gilpin's Life of Latimer, P. 181, 182, 183.

been previouſly carried on againſt them, on account of the irregularity of the proceedings in the firſt condemnation of them: and, for the ſame reaſon, a new commiſſion was ſent from Rome, for the trial and conviction of Cranmer. Accordingly he appeared before the Commiſſioners at St. Mary's church in Oxford, proteſting, however, againſt the authority of the Pope, and refuſing to pay any reſpect to Brooks, Biſhop of Glouceſter, who ſat in the Court as the Pope's Repreſentative. He was charged with Blaſphemy, Hereſy, Perjury, and Incontinency. Blaſphemy and Hereſy, for what he had written and acted againſt Popery; Perjury, for breaking his oath to the Pope; and Incontinency, on account of his being married. He defended himſelf againſt theſe accuſations, and anſwered ſixteen interrogatories which were put to him; after which they cited him to appear at Rome within eighty days, to make there his anſwer in perſon. He was then remanded back to priſon: and an account of theſe proceedings being diſpatched to Rome, on the 14th of December, the Pope ſent his letters executory to King Philip and Queen Mary, and to Bonner and Thirlby, Biſhops of London and Ely, to degrade and deprive him: and in theſe letters he was declared contumacious, for not appearing at Rome within eighty days, agreeable to his citation, though he was all the time forcibly detained in priſon (*l*).

In conſequence of theſe letters from the Pope, on the 14th of February, 1556, Bonner and Thirlby were ſent down to Oxford to degrade the Archbiſhop. He was brought before them at Chriſt's Church, where they read to him their commiſſion, and afterwards clothed him in pontifical robes, a mitre, and the other ornaments and garments of an Archbiſhop, and put a crofier in his hand; but the robes were made of Canvas, by way of deriſion. After they had clothed him in this manner, they proceeded to degrade him, by ſtripping him again, piece by piece, of this ridiculous attire. Thirlby, who had lived upon very good terms with the Archbiſhop, and was under conſiderable obligations to him, expreſſed much reluctance at performing his part in this ceremony. He ſhed many tears; and proteſted to Cranmer, that it was the moſt ſorrowful action of his whole life; and that no conſideration, but the Queen's command, could have induced him to come, and do what they were then about. The Archbiſhop replied, that his degradation was no trouble to him at all. He reckoned himſelf, he ſaid, as long ago cut off from all dependence and communion with the See of Rome; and, therefore, their doing it now with ſo much pageantry did not affect him. However, he preſented to Thirlby an appeal from the Pope to the next General Council. As to Bonner, he treated the Archbiſhop with great inſult and indignity, and in a manner which

(*l*) Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, died about a month before theſe letters were ſent from the Pope.

which demonſtrated the baſeneſs and brutality of his mind. He railed at him, and reviled him, during the whole ceremony; and addreſſing himſelf to the ſpectators, made this ſpeech. "This is the man that hath ever deſpiſed the Pope's Holineſs, "and now is to be judged by him. This is the man who hath "pulled down ſo many churches, and now is come to be "judged in a church. This is the man that contemneth the "bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, and now is come to be con-"demned before that bleſſed Sacrament hanging over the Al-"tar. This is the man that like Lucifer ſat in the place of "CHRIST upon an Altar to judge others, and now is come "before an Altar to be judged himſelf." Thirlby was greatly offended with Bonner's behaviour, and reproached him afterwards with breaking a promiſe which he had made to him, that he would treat the Archbiſhop with reſpect. When they had taken off his mock robes, they put on him a poor thread-bare yeoman-beadle's gown, and a townſman's cap; Bonner telling him, that "he was no Lord any more:" and in this dreſs the Archbiſhop was carried back to priſon.

Some time before his degradation, he wrote two letters to the Queen, in which he pointed out to her very largely, the great evils which would reſult from the re-eſtabliſhment of the Pope's authority in England; which, he ſaid, would ſubvert not only the laws of the nation, but the laws of GOD. He alſo endeavoured to convince her of the erroneouſneſs of the Romiſh doctrine of the Sacrament. He vindicated himſelf in his refuſal to acknowledge the Papal authority; and reminded her Majeſty, that at her coronation ſhe took an oath to the Pope, to be obedient to him, to defend his perſon, and to maintain his authority, honour, laws, and privileges; and at the ſame time another oath to the kingdom, to maintain the laws, liberties, and cuſtoms of the ſame. He intreated her ſeriouſly to examine both oaths, and to ſee how well they would agree, and then to act as her conſcience ſhould direct her. He feared, he ſaid, there were contradictions in her oaths; and that thoſe who ſhould have informed her Majeſty thoroughly, had not done their duties therein. He complained, that he was kept from the company of learned men, from books, from counſel, and from pen and ink, except what was now granted him, in order to write to her Majeſty. And as to his appearance at Rome, if ſhe would give him leave, he ſaid, he would appear there; and he truſted in GOD, that he would enable him to defend his truth there, as well as here (*m*). Theſe letters of the Archbiſhop, the Queen delivered to Cardinal Pole, who anſwered them, but in a manner that does no great honour either to his learning, or his humanity.

After

(*m*) Strype, P. 377.....381.

After the degradation of Cranmer, his Popiſh perſecutors went a new way to work with him. They were very deſirous of prevailing on him to recant; as if by any means they could do this, it would be a matter of great triumph to their party. He had now been near two years and an half in confinement, and had been treated with great ſeverity and cruelty: but he had always hitherto diſcovered great firmneſs of mind under his ſufferings, and his enemies had found him unmoved by their threats, and ſteady to his principles. They reſolved, therefore, to try whether more gentle uſage would not operate more upon the natural mildneſs of his temper. They removed him from the rigorous reſtraints of his priſon to the Deanery of Chriſt-Church, where he was handſomely lodged, and elegantly entertained. They aſſaulted him with the pleaſures of life; they endeavoured to work upon him by the pleaſing arguments of eaſe, of affluence, of ſtation; they told him of the Queen's perſonal eſteem and regard for him; and reminded him of the reſpect, the love, and the attention paid him, when in power. They told him, that he would be permitted to enjoy his former dignity in the Church; or, if he liked it better, might live a comfortable and peaceful life in privacy and ſafety. And all this only by ſetting his name to a piece of paper. They ſaid, he was ſtill ſtrong and healthy, and might live many years more, if he did not voluntarily put a period to his own days, by the terrible death of burning. He reſiſted their temptations for a conſiderable time: but they continued to treat him with great apparent kindneſs and reſpect; they gave him liberty to take his pleaſure in the open air; they flattered, they careſſed him; and, in ſhort, in an unguarded hour, they prevailed upon the Archbiſhop to ſet his hand to a paper, renouncing all the errors of Luther and Zuinglius, acknowledging the Pope's ſupremacy, the ſeven Sacraments, the corporal preſence in the Euchariſt, purgatory, prayer for departed ſouls, and the invocation of Saints; declaring himſelf ſorry for his former errors, exhorting all who had been deceived by his example or doctrine, to return to the unity of the Church, and proteſting that he had ſigned it willingly, only for the diſcharge of his own conſcience.

When the Popiſh party had obtained this triumph over the unfortunate Archbiſhop, they cauſed his recantation to be printed and diſperſed with all poſſible expedition. It was, however, never intended that his life ſhould be ſpared: and all the promiſes which had been made him of that kind, were only ſo many inſtances of the baſeneſs and perfidiouſneſs, as well as of the cruelty, of his perſecutors. Even the pious and merciful Queen herſelf ſaid, that, "As he had been the great promoter of Hereſy, and the corrupter of the whole nation, his recanting "muſt not ſerve his turn, though it would be ſufficient in other "caſes. It was, indeed, good (ſhe ſaid) for his own ſoul, that

"he

" he repented, and might do good to others : but notwithſtand-
" ing the ſentence muſt be executed (*n*)."

The writ for the Archbiſhop's execution was accordingly ſent down to Oxford ; but he was kept in profound ignorance of this, they being apprehenſive that he might retract the recantation which their artifices had drawn from him. Dr. Cole, Provoſt of Eton, was ſent down with orders to preach a ſermon at his burning ; and the day before that appointed for his execution, Cole viſited him in the priſon, where he now was, and exhorted him to conſtancy in the faith to which he had ſubſcribed, but without giving him the leaſt intimation of his approaching end.

The next morning, March 21, 1556, being appointed for his execution, Lord Williams, Lord Chandos, Sir Thomas Bridges, Sir Thomas Brown, ſeveral Members of the Council, and other perſons of rank, arrived at Oxford in purſuance of orders from Court for that purpoſe, with a view of preventing any tumult among the people on account of the Archbiſhop's death. It was propoſed that a ſermon ſhould be preached at the ſtake ; but as it was a rainy morning, it was appointed to be preached in St. Mary's church, whither the Archbiſhop was brought by the Mayor and Aldermen, accompanied by Lord Williams, and the other perſons of diſtinction who had been appointed to attend his execution. It does not appear that they gave him any information of what they were about to do, even when they brought him out of priſon (*o*) : they ſeem only to have intimated to him, that he was to go to St. Mary's church, to confeſs there openly what he had before privately ſubſcribed. However this be, he had privately drawn up a declaration of his faith, which he carried with him to the church.

When he came there, he was led to a place that was raiſed on purpoſe oppoſite the pulpit, in order that he might be the more conſpicuous. When he had aſcended it, he knelt down and prayed, ſhedding many tears. After which Cole began his ſermon, in which he expatiated on the mercy and juſtice of God, which he ſaid were equally eſſential attributes of the DEITY: he applied this to Princes, who were, he ſaid, Gods on earth, who muſt be juſt, as well as merciful ; and therefore they had appointed Cranmer to ſuffer that day ; as it was he who had diſſolved the marriage between the Queen's father and mother, had ſet aſide the Pope's authority, and been the author of all the Hereſies in England. He afterwards addreſſed himſelf to the Archbiſhop, and magnified his converſion, which he ſaid was cauſed

(*n*) *Vid.* Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. P. 333, 334.

(*o*) Fox tells us, that Dr. Cole paid him a ſecond viſit in priſon the morning of his execution ; and after exhorting him to conſtancy, aſked if he had any money, and the Archbiſhop anſwering in the negative, Cole gave him fifteen crowns to give to the poor, and then departed, but without giving him any information of his approaching death.—Acts and Monuments, Vol. III. P. 677. Edit. 1641. See alſo Strype, P. 383.

cauſed by the immediate hand of GOD. And he gave him great hopes of his ſalvation, and aſſured him there ſhould be dirges and maſſes ſaid for his ſoul, in all the churches in Oxford.

During the whole time that Cole was in his ſermon, the Archbiſhop frequently lifted up his eyes to Heaven, and then caſt them downward, like one aſhamed of himſelf, whilſt his tears flowed in great abundance. At length Cole bid him declare his faith; upon which he knelt down, and prayed with great fervency. He then roſe up, and addreſſed himſelf to the people; exhorting them not to ſet their hearts on the things of the world; to obey the King and Queen from a principle of conſcience to GOD; to live in mutual love; to avoid covetouſneſs; and to relieve the poor according to their abundance. He then proceeded to a declaration of his faith; and began with repeating the Apoſtles Creed; adding, that "he believed every article of the Catholic faith, every word and ſentence taught by our SAVIOUR "JESUS CHRIST, his Apoſtles and Prophets, in the Old and "New Teſtament." "And now (ſaid he) I come to the great "thing, that troubleth my conſcience more than any other "thing that ever I ſaid or did in my life." This, he ſaid, was ſigning a recantation, contrary to the truth, and againſt his conſcience, being influenced by the fear of death, and the love of life. He added, that as his hand had offended in writing contrary to his heart, his hand ſhould firſt be puniſhed; and, when he came to the fire, ſhould be firſt committed to the flames. He rejected the Pope as CHRIST's enemy, and Anti-Chriſt, and renounced all his falſe doctrine: and ſaid that he had the ſame belief concerning the Sacrament, as he had publiſhed in his book againſt the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

This declaration of the Archbiſhop's threw the whole Aſſembly into diſorder. It ſurprized all the auditors, and filled the zealous Papiſts with rage and reſentment. They called out to him, not to diſſemble any more. He replied, with the tears trickling down his cheeks, that he had ever been a hater of falſehood, and a lover of ſimplicity; and till the unhappy time of his ſubſcribing a recantation, he had never diſſembled in his whole life. He was proceeding to ſpeak further, but the Papiſts interrupted him by their clamours, and Dr. Cole cried out from the pulpit, "Stop the Heretic's mouth, and take him away." Upon which they pulled him down with violence from the place on which he ſtood, and led him away immediately to the ſtake, which was in the ſame place where Latimer and Ridley had been burnt about five months before.

His countenance appeared chearful when they led him to the place of execution; and when he arrived there, he firſt prayed, and then pulled off his clothes; and ſtanding in his ſhirt, and without ſhoes, was faſtened with a chain to the ſtake. A Batchelor of divinity, whoſe name was Ely, laboured much to make

him confirm his former recantation, as did alſo two Spaniſh Friars. But all their endeavours were in vain; for he perſiſted in declaring, that he died in the ſame opinions which he had long taught, and moſt ſincerely and heartily repented his recantation. Upon which the Friars ſaid in Latin one to another, "Let us go from him; we ought not to be nigh him; for the "Devil is with him." When the fire was kindled, he ſtretched out his right hand into the flame, and held it there unmoved (except that once he wiped his face with it) till it was conſumed; crying with a loud voice, "This hand hath offended;" and often repeating, "This unworthy right hand." At laſt, the fire reaching his body, he in a ſhort time expired, never ſtirring or crying out all the time, only ſometimes repeating, "LORD "JESUS, receive my ſpirit (*p*)."

Thus died, in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age, THOMAS CRANMER, Archbiſhop of Canterbury.——He was a Prelate of conſiderable abilities, and of great learning. His chief ſtudy was Divinity, but he was well ſkilled in the Civil and Canon Laws. He was of an open and generous temper, of great probity, candour, and ſincerity, and remarkable for the mildneſs and ſweetneſs of his manners. He was ſincerely pious, and his private life was regular, and unblameable. He was not ſoon heated, or ſubject to paſſion; nor apt to give his opinion haſtily, of perſons, or of things. He was ever ready to forgive, and to be reconciled to his enemies; and this placable and Chriſtian temper appeared not in words only; but he demonſtrated it, in the beſt manner, by his actions; by his readineſs to ſerve, or to confer benefits on, thoſe who had done him the greateſt injuries. He was benevolent and charitable, affable and humble; laborioufly ſtudious, and a generous patron of learning, and of learned men. In a word, he was a wiſe, a great, and a good man; though not without ſome mixture of human weakneſs and infirmity (*q*).

When

(*p*) A Roman Catholic, who was preſent at the Archbiſhop's death, and wrote an account of it in a letter to one of his friends, which is preſerved by Mr. Strype, (Memorials, P. 384---389.) expreſſes himſelf thus. "His patience in the torment, his courage in dying, if it had been taken either for the glory of GOD, the wealth of his country, or the teſtimony of truth, as it was for a pernicious error, and ſubverſion of true religion, I could worthily have commended the example, and matched it with the fame of any Father of antient time."

It was ſaid, that the Archbiſhop's heart was not conſumed in the fire, but was found entire and unhurt among his aſhes.------Vid. Strype, P. 391. Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. P. 335.

(*q*) Mr. Thomas Phillips, in that laboured and artful defence of Popery, publiſhed under the title of "The Hiſtory of the Life of Reginald Pole," hath traduced and vilified the character of Archbiſhop Cranmer in the moſt groſs and injurious manner, without any regard to truth, candour, or decency. But the impotent and malevolent attacks of this advocate of ſuperſtition, bigotry, and ſlavery, againſt our venerable Primate, have been well and judiciouſly anſwered by the learned Dr. Neve.

When he was not employed in any public or important buſineſs, he generally ſtudied three parts of the day; and he extracted from moſt of the authors he read, whatever was remarkable, digeſting thoſe quotations into common places. His library was a very large and valuable one, and men of learning were readily admitted to make uſe of it. He patronized many learned foreigners; particularly, Peter Martyr, Paul Fagius, Martin Bucer, and John Sleidan, the Hiſtorian. He had a very extenſive foreign correſpondence; and among his correſpondents were Melancthon, Oſiander, and Calvin. He allowed Eraſmus an honorary penſion; and that great man, in one of his epiſtles, ſpeaking of our Archbiſhop, ſays, that he was "a man of the "greateſt integrity, and of the moſt unblameable manners. "Who of his own accord promiſed (ſays he) that in favour and "kindneſs towards me, he would be no way behind his prede-"ceſſor. And that which he voluntarily promiſed, he hath vo-"luntarily begun to make good. So that methinks Warham "is not taken away from me, but rather reſtored to me again in "Cranmer."

He was very kind to his ſervants and dependents, and extremely hoſpitable and generous to the poor. Biſhop Burnet ſays, that Cranmer "laid out all his wealth on the poor, and pious uſes: "he had hoſpitals and ſurgeons in his houſe for the King's ſea-"men; he gave penſions to many of thoſe that fled out of "Germany into England; and kept up that which is hoſpita-"lity indeed at his table, where great numbers of the honeſt "and poor neighbours were always invited, inſtead of the lux-"ury and extravagance of great entertainments, which the va-"nity and exceſs of the age we live in, has honoured with the "name of Hoſpitality."

The Archbiſhop's ſecond wife, whom he married in Germany, ſurvived him ſome years; and had for her ſubſiſtence the revenues of an Abbey in Nottinghamſhire, which King Henry, at the motion of Dr. Butts, without the knowledge of the Archbiſhop, had ſettled upon him, and his heirs. It appears that he had children by her, ſome of whom ſurvived him, but how many, is uncertain.——The works of Archbiſhop Cranmer which have been printed, are as follows:

I. Three Diſcourſes occaſioned by his review of the King's book, intitled, The Erudition of a Chriſtian man. Publiſhed in Strype's Appendix to his Memorials of the Archbiſhop.

II. Other Diſcourſes. Publiſhed alſo in Strype.

III. Anſwer to the fifteen articles of the Devonſhire rebels, in 1549. In Strype.

IV. A Catechiſm, intitled, A ſhort Inſtruction to Chriſtian Religion, for the ſingular profit of children and young people.

V. A Treatiſe againſt Unwritten Verities.

VI. A Defence of the true and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our SAVIOUR CHRIST;

with a confutation of ſundry errors concerning the ſame: grounded and eſtabliſhed upon GOD's holy word, and approved by the conſent of the moſt antient Doctors of the Church. This was tranſlated into Latin by John Young.

VII. An anſwer to a treatiſe written by Gardiner againſt the preceding book. This was tranſlated into Latin by Sir John Cheke.

VIII. Preface to the Engliſh tranſlation of the Bible.

IX. Some Queries in order to the correcting of ſeveral abuſes. Publiſhed by Burnet, Addenda to the firſt Volume of the Hiſt. of Reform. P. 316.

X. Conſiderations offered to the King, to induce him to proceed to a further Reformation. Publiſhed alſo in Burnet.

With ſeveral letters, and other ſmall pieces, publiſhed by Fox, Strype, and Burnet.

There are alſo ſtill remaining in manuſcript, two large Volumes of Collections made by the Archbiſhop out of the Scriptures, and the Fathers, and later Doctors and Schoolmen. They are chiefly upon the points controverted between the Proteſtants and the Church of Rome. The firſt Volume contains 545 pages, and the ſecond 560. The Lord Burghley had ſix or ſeven Volumes more of his writing. Biſhop Burnet mentions two other Volumes which he had ſeen, but they are now ſuppoſed to be loſt. And that Prelate obſerves, that Cranmer took great pains in collecting the ſenſe of antient writers, upon all the heads of Religion, by which he might be well directed in ſuch an important affair as that of the Reformation.

THE

The Life of Cardinal DAVID BEATON, Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's.

DAVID BEATON was deſcended from an antient family in the ſhire of Fife, in Scotland, and born in the year 1494. He was ſon to John Beaton, Laird of Balfour, and was educated at the Univerſity of St. Andrew's; where he went through a courſe of ſtudies in polite literature and Philoſophy. He diſcovered very good parts, and applied himſelf cloſely to the acquiſition of learning; which induced his uncle, James Beaton, then Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, and afterwards of St. Andrew's (*r*), to ſend him to the Univerſity of Paris, to complete his education. He there perfected himſelf in the knowledge of the Civil and Canon Laws, and alſo applied himſelf diligently to the ſtudy of Divinity, in order to qualify himſelf for the ſervice of the Church; and when he had attained to a proper age, entered into holy orders. He made a conſiderable ſtay in France; but that was no way prejudicial to his preferment, but the contrary; for it gave him an early opportunity of entering into the ſervice, and obtaining the favour, of John, Duke of Albany, whom the States of Scotland had made Regent, during the minority of King James V. but who was then in France. He was undoubtedly the more readily patronized by the Duke of Albany, on account of his near relation to Archbiſhop Beaton, who had joined that Nobleman's party in oppoſition to that of the Earl of Angus. Accordingly, Albany employed David Beaton in ſeveral affairs of conſequence, which he tranſacted with ſo much diligence and capacity, that upon the death of Secretary Pantar, he was appointed in his ſtead Reſident at the Court of France, in the year 1519. About the ſame time his uncle, the Archbiſhop, beſtowed upon him the Rectory of Campſay, though he was only in Deacon's orders; ſo that he had a benefice in the church, and was a Miniſter of State, at the age of twenty-five (*s*).

In 1523, his uncle being removed from the Archbiſhopric of Glaſgow to that of St. Andrew's, reſigned the Abbacy of Aberbrothock,

(*r*) See the Life of that Prelate in the firſt Volume of our Work, P. 408.

(*s*) *Vid.* Biographia Britannica, Vol. I. P. 575. General Dictionary, Vol. III. P. 89, 90. Biographical Dictionary, Vol. II. P. 78.

brothock, or Arbroath, in his favour. And in 1525, he returned to Scotland, and took his ſeat in Parliament as Abbot of Arbroath. He ſoon ingratiated himſelf very much into the favour of the young King, James V. and in 1528, he was made Lord Privy Seal; and from this time he is ſuppoſed to have taken the lead in the Royal Councils.

In 1533, he was ſent again to France, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Erſkine, to confirm the leagues ſubſiſting between the two kingdoms, and to negociate a treaty of marriage between the Scottiſh King, and the Princeſs Magdalen, daughter to the French Monarch: but the Princeſs being at this time in a bad ſtate of health, the marriage did not take effect. However, Beaton ſtill continued at the French Court, being employed there in ſome other negociations of a ſecret nature, and was much careſſed by the French Monarch. And the Scottiſh King going over into France in perſon, was eſpouſed to the Princeſs Magdalen on the firſt of January, 1537.

Beaton returned to Scotland with James and his new Queen, on the 29th of May; but the Queen dying in the July following, he was again ſent over to France, in conjunction with Robert Maxwell, to negociate a ſecond marriage for the King with the Lady Mary, daughter to the Duke of Guiſe, and widow of the Duke de Longueville. And the French King, Francis I. took great pains, during the time of Beaton's ſtay in France on account of this Embaſſy, to ſtrengthen his attachment to the French intereſt. And, with this view, he made him a grant, in November, 1537, by which he was allowed to hold benefices, and acquire lands, as a native of France; and in the ſame year he beſtowed upon him the Biſhopric of Mirepoix, the revenue of which was ten thouſand livres per annum.

Every thing relative to the marriage which Beaton was employed to negociate being at length adjuſted, he embarked with the new Queen for Scotland, in June, 1538; where, after great hazard of being taken by the Engliſh, they ſafely arrived; and, in the month of July, the Royal nuptials were celebrated at St. Andrew's.

The influence of David Beaton at Court was now very conſiderable; and he was alſo appointed co-adjutor to his uncle in the Archbiſhopric of St. Andrew's. And as the Archbiſhop was now aged and ſickly, he left the chief management of Eccleſiaſtical affairs to his nephew, who was very active in the perſecution which was about this time carried on againſt the Proteſtants in Scotland (*t*). The progreſs which the Reformation had made in England, had alarmed the Scottiſh Clergy; and they were determined to exert themſelves to the utmoſt to prevent the growth of Hereſy. And no man among them was more ready

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(*t*) *See* Vol. I. P. 413, 414, 415.

to employ, in the defence of Popery, thoſe admirable and convincing arguments, Fire and Faggot, than David Beaton.

As his attachment to the Roman See, and his zeal againſt Hereſy, were well known, it was thought that it would be of great advantage to the Catholic religion in Scotland, that ſo able and active a man ſhould be inveſted, in the preſent perilous ſituation of the Church, with a conſiderable ſhare of power and dignity. England was now loſt to the Holy See: there was, therefore, the more reaſon to take care of Scotland. Accordingly David Beaton was now honoured with the purple, by Pope Paul III. being raiſed to the dignity of Cardinal, by the title of St. Stephen in Monte Cœlio, on the twentieth of December, 1538.

A few months after, his uncle the Archbiſhop died, upon which the Cardinal ſucceeded to the Archbiſhopric of St. Andrew's, and the Primacy of Scotland. Soon after which, the King of England, Henry VIII. endeavoured, by means of his Ambaſſador, Sir Ralph Sadler, to prejudice the Scottiſh King againſt the Cardinal, by repreſenting, that he patronized traitors, correſponded with the Court of Rome in a clandeſtine manner, and laboured to engroſs into his own hands, both the ſpiritual and temporal juriſdiction of the kingdom (*u*). But theſe repreſentations of the Engliſh Monarch produced no effect to the diſadvantage of Beaton.

About this time, the Cardinal aſſembled a great number of perſons of the firſt rank, both Clergy and Laity, in the cathedral of St. Andrew, himſelf and his attendants making an appearance uncommonly ſplendid; and he there made a ſpeech, wherein he repreſented, how much the Catholic faith was inſulted, and the danger in which the Church was by the increaſe of Heretics, who had the boldneſs to profeſs their opinions, even in the King's Court; where, ſaid he, they find but too much countenance; and he mentioned by name Sir John Borthwick, whom he had cited to appear in that Aſſembly, to anſwer for his diſperſing heretical books, and holding heretical opinions. The articles of accuſation were then read againſt him; and Sir John appearing neither in perſon, nor by proxy, was declared an Heretic, and his goods confiſcated. Sir John, in the mean time, found means to eſcape into England, where he was kindly received by King Henry, who ſent him into Germany, to conclude a treaty in his name with the Proteſtant Princes of the Empire. Cardinal Beaton could, therefore, proceed no further againſt Borthwick; but was forced to content himſelf with burning him in effigy.

He proceeded, however, againſt ſome others more effectually; for about the end of February, 1539, five Heretics were committed to the flames, and nine recanted; but ſome made their eſcape out of priſon, among whom was the celebrated George Buchanan.

(*u*) *Vid.* Sadler's Letters and Negociations, P. 31, &c.

Buchanan. And it cannot be ſaid to what lengths the furious Cardinal might afterwards have proceeded in this bloody buſineſs, as the whole was left to his management, if the King's death had not put a ſtop to his proceedings; for it is ſaid that he had preſented to the King a liſt of three hundred and ſixty perſons, as ſuſpected of Hereſy, many of whom were of the prime Nobility, and moſt conſiderable perſons in the kingdom.

On the death of King James V. the kingdom of Scotland was in great confuſion. For that Prince left no ſucceſſor but a daughter, named Mary, who was afterwards ſo famous for her beauty and her misfortunes, and who was born but a few days before the deceaſe of her father; and no Regency had been appointed during her minority. However, Cardinal Beaton, who had long been conſidered as Prime Miniſter, claimed the office and dignity of Regent; and, in ſupport of his pretenſions, he produced a teſtament, which he himſelf had forged in the name of the late King; and, without any other right, inſtantly aſſumed the title of Regent (*w*). He hoped, by the aſſiſtance of the Clergy, the countenance of France, the connivance of the Queen Dowager, and the ſupport of the whole Popiſh faction, to hold by force what he had ſeized on by fraud. But the Cardinal had enjoyed power too long, and had exerciſed it with too little moderation, to be a favourite of the nation. The public voice was againſt him, the pretended will was ſet aſide, and the Earl of Arran was declared ſole Regent of the kingdom, during the minority of the Queen. And Beaton was not only mortified by being thus excluded from the Government, but he was alſo ſeized, and ſent priſoner to the caſtle of Blackneſs.

The new Regent Arran had ſcarce taken poſſeſſion of his dignity, when a negociation was opened with England, which gave birth to events which were of fatal conſequence to himſelf, and to the kingdom of Scotland, but which contributed to reſtore Cardinal Beaton once more to power and influence. After the death of James V. King Henry VIII. was no longer apprehenſive of any interruption from Scotland to his deſigns againſt France; and he immediately conceived hopes of rendering this ſecurity perpetual, by the marriage of his only ſon Edward with the young Queen of Scots. He communicated his intention to the Scottiſh Noblemen who were priſoners in England, and prevailed on them to favour it by the promiſe of liberty, as the reward of their ſucceſs. In the mean time, he permitted them to return into Scotland, that, by their preſence in the Parliament which the Regent had called, they might be the better able to perſuade their countrymen to fall in with his propoſals. And Henry's deſign, being ſupported by ſuch able and zealous advocates, ſeemed to bid fair for an happy iſſue: for all thoſe who feared or hated

(*w*) Dr. Robertſon's Hiſtory of Scotland, Vol. I. P. 96. 8vo. Edit. 1761. Buchan. Hiſt. lib. 15.

hated Cardinal Beaton, or who favoured the Reformation, were fond of an alliance, which afforded protection to the doctrine which they had embraced, as well as to their own perſons, againſt the rage of that powerful and haughty Prelate (*x*).

But Henry's impolitic management of this negociation, prevented him from reaping the advantages of this favourable conjuncture. The deſigns he had formed upon Scotland were obvious from the marriage which he had propoſed, and he had not dexterity enough to diſguiſe or conceal them. Inſtead of cautiouſly avoiding whatever might excite the fear or jealouſy of the Scots, he at once alarmed and irritated the whole nation, by demanding that the Queen's perſon ſhould be immediately committed to his cuſtody, and that the government of the kingdom ſhould be put into his hands during her minority. Theſe propoſals of Henry's were therefore immediately rejected by the Scots, and they were exceedingly exaſperated at him for making them; as conditions more ignominious could ſcarcely have been preſcribed to a conquered people. However, the Scottiſh Parliament, being influenced by the Nobles who had returned from England, and deſirous of a peace with that kingdom, conſented to a treaty of marriage and union, but upon a more equal footing. And after ſome dark and unſucceſsful intrigues, by which his Ambaſſador endeavoured to carry off the young Queen and Cardinal Beaton into England, Henry was obliged to give up his own propoſals, and to accept of their's. On his ſide, he conſented that the Queen ſhould continue to reſide in Scotland, and himſelf remain excluded from any ſhare in the government of the kingdom. On the other hand, the Scots agreed to ſend their Sovereign into England, as ſoon as ſhe attained the full age of ten years, and inſtantly to deliver ſix perſons, of the firſt rank, to be kept as hoſtages by Henry, till the Queen's arrival at his Court. But the terms of this treaty, though much more honourable to the Scots than thoſe at firſt propoſed by Henry, were ſtill ſo manifeſtly advantageous to England, that the Earl of Arran became not a little unpopular by conſenting to it (*y*).

In the mean time, Cardinal Beaton had found means to get out of his confinement, by offering the Lord Seaton, in whoſe cuſtody he was, a conſiderable gratification, and his conſtant friendſhip, if he would permit him to go to St. Andrew's, which Seaton accordingly agreed to. And the Cardinal having thus regained his liberty, was well pleaſed with the opportunity which was given him, by the late unpopular meaſure in which the Regent had been concerned, of recovering his former credit and influence; and he did not fail to improve this circumſtance to the utmoſt. He had ever been ſtrongly attached to the intereſt of France, and of courſe an enemy to that of England, and was

(*x*) *Vid.* Robertſon's Hiſtory, as before, Vol. I. P. 98, 99.
(*y*) Robertſon's Hiſtory, Vol. I. P. 100.

ſtill more violently averſe to all connections with the latter kingdom, ſince it had withdrawn its obedience to the Holy See, and become ſo remarkably the ſeat of Hereſy. He complained loudly, that the Regent had betrayed the kingdom to its moſt inveterate enemies, and ſacrificed its honour to his own ambition. He foretold the extinction of the true Catholic religion, under the tyranny of that excommunicated Heretic, the King of England; but, above all, he lamented to ſee an antient kingdom conſenting to its own ſlavery, and deſcending into the ignominious ſtation of a dependent Province; and, in one hour, the weakneſs or treachery of a ſingle man ſurrendering every thing for which the Scottiſh nation had ſtruggled and fought during ſo many ages. Theſe remonſtrances of Beaton had the greateſt effect upon the Scots, animated as they were by the love of independence, jealouſy of national honour, and hatred to the Engliſh, as the antient enemies of their country. In ſhort, the rage of the people roſe to ſuch an height, that the Engliſh Ambaſſador could hardly be protected from their inſults. The Clergy contributed a great ſum towards preſerving the Church from the dominion of a Prince, whoſe ſyſtem of Reformation was ſo fatal to their power. And the Nobility, notwithſtanding the ſhare which they had lately had in diſgracing the Cardinal, were now ready to applaud and to ſecond him, as the defender of the honour and liberty of his country.

Accordingly the Earls of Argyle, Huntley, Bothwell, and other powerful Noblemen, declared openly againſt the alliance with England. By their aſſiſtance the Cardinal ſeized on the perſons of the young Queen and her mother, and added to his party the ſplendor and authority of the Royal name. He received, at the ſame time, a more real acceſſion to his ſtrength, by the arrival of Matthew Stewart, Earl of Lennox, a Nobleman who had ſome pretenſions to the Throne, in caſe of the death of the Queen without iſſue, who was an enemy to the Regent, and whoſe return from France Beaton had earneſtly ſolicited. The Cardinal flattered Lennox's vanity, with the proſpect of marrying the Queen Dowager, and affected to treat him with ſo much reſpect, that the Regent became jealous of him as a rival in power. This ſuſpicion was artfully heightened by John Hamilton, Abbot of Paiſly, who returned into Scotland ſome time before the Earl of Lennox, and acted in concert with the Cardinal. He was a natural brother of the Regent, with whom he had great credit; a warm partizan of France, and a zealous defender of Popery. He endeavoured to bring about a change in the ſentiments of the Regent, and to induce him to join with the Cardinal, and to favour his views, by working upon his fears, and repreſenting to him the deſertion of the Nobility, the diſaffection of the Clergy, the rage of the people, the reſentment of France, the pretenſions of Lennox, and the great power of Beaton. In the mean time, the day appointed for the ratification of

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the treaty with England, and the delivery of the hoſtages, approached; but the Regent was ſtill undetermined in his own mind. He acted to the laſt (ſays the ingenious Dr. Robertſon) with that irreſolution and inconſiſtence, which is peculiar to weak men, when they are ſo unfortunate as to have the chief part in the conduct of difficult affairs. On the 25th of Auguſt, he ratified the treaty with Henry, and proclaimed the Cardinal, who ſtill continued to oppoſe it, an enemy to his country. On the 3d of September, he ſecretly withdrew from Edinburgh, met with the Cardinal at Callendar, renounced the friendſhip of England, and declared for the intereſts of France.

Soon after this ſudden revolution in the Earl of Arran's political principles, he alſo changed his ſentiments concerning religion. He had hitherto favoured the reformed opinions: in his firſt Parliament he had conſented to an act, by which the Laity were permitted to read the Scriptures in a language which they underſtood; and, under his countenance and protection, the Reformation had made great advances in Scotland. But being now connected with the Cardinal, the latter endeavoured to convince the Regent that it was exceedingly againſt his intereſts to favour the reformed opinions; and he at length ſo far prevailed with the Earl, that he publicly abjured the doctrine of the Reformers in the Franciſcan church at Stirling (z).

As the Cardinal had now regained his former power and influence, it was naturally to be expected from his character, that he ſhould take ſome vigorous ſteps to ſtop the progreſs of Hereſy. Accordingly we find that towards the cloſe of the year 1545, he went in a pompous manner to viſit his Dioceſe, attended by the Regent, the Earl of Argyle, the Biſhops of Dumblain and Orkney, and other perſons of diſtinction. When he came to Perth, ſeveral perſons were there tried before him for Hereſy, being indicted particularly for breaking an act of Parliament, by which the people were forbidden to argue or diſpute concerning the ſenſe of the Holy Scriptures. They were quickly found guilty, and the following perſons were condemned to die, namely, William Anderſon, Robert Lamb, James Ronald, James Hunter, James Finlayſon, and Helen Stark, his wife. Great in-

(z) The ingenious Hiſtorian before referred to, whoſe excellent hiſtory we have chiefly followed in the account of the above tranſactions, obſerves, that the Proteſtant doctrine did not ſuffer much by the apoſtacy of the Regent. "It had already (ſays he) taken ſo deep root in the kingdom, that no diſcouragement or ſeverity could extirpate it. The Regent indeed conſented to every thing that the zeal of the Cardinal thought neceſſary for the preſervation of the eſtabliſhed religion. The Reformers were perſecuted with all the cruelty which ſuperſtition inſpires into a barbarous people. Many were condemned to that dreadful death which the Church has appointed for the puniſhment of its enemies; but they ſuffered with a ſpirit ſo nearly reſembling the patience and fortitude of the primitive Martyrs, that more were converted, than terrified by ſuch ſpectacles." Robertſon's Hiſt. Vol. I. P. 106.

terceſſion was made to procure a pardon for theſe people; but Hereſy was not a crime to be eaſily pardoned: the men, therefore, were hanged, and the woman was drowned (*a*). Sir Henry Elder, Walter Piper, Laurence Pullar, with ſome other Burgeſſes, were baniſhed; and the Lord Ruthven, Provoſt of the town, was removed from his office, as a favourer of the Reformers. And, according to Knox, the Cardinal cauſed John Rogers, a black Friar, who had preached the reformed doctrines in Angus and Mearns, to be murdered in priſon at St. Andrew's.

Cardinal Beaton was now in poſſeſſion of every thing his ambition could deſire; he was High Chancellor of Scotland; had been appointed by the Pope Legate a Latere; and exerciſed all the authority of a Regent, without the envy of the name. He had nothing to fear from the Earl of Arran; who having forfeited the public eſteem by his inconſtancy, was deſpiſed by one half of the nation, and little truſted by the other. Nothing remained to embarraſs the Cardinal, but the pretenſions of the Earl of Lennox. He had very ſucceſsfully made uſe of that Nobleman to work upon the Regent's jealouſy and fear; but as he no longer ſtood in need of ſuch an inſtrument, he was willing to get rid of him as decently as he could. Lennox ſoon began to ſuſpect his intention; promiſes, flattery, and expreſſions of reſpect, were the only returns he had hitherto received for ſubſtantial ſervices; but at laſt the Cardinal's artifices could be no longer concealed; and Lennox, inſtead of attaining power and dignity himſelf, ſaw that he had been employed only to procure theſe for another. Reſentment, and diſappointed ambition, therefore, puſhed him on to ſeek revenge on that artful Prelate, who, by ſacrificing his intereſt, had ſo ungenerouſly purchaſed the Earl of Arran's friendſhip. Accordingly he withdrew from Court, and declared for the party at enmity with the Cardinal, by whom he was received with open arms.

The impatience for revenge with which Lennox was actuated, got the ſtart of the Cardinal's activity. The Earl ſurprized both Beaton and the Regent, by a ſudden march to Edinburgh with a numerous army; and might eaſily have cruſhed them, before they could prepare for their defence. But he was weak enough to liſten to propoſals for an accommodation; and the Cardinal amuſed him ſo artfully, and ſpun out the treaty to ſuch a length,

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(*a*) *Vid.* General Dictionary, Biograph. Britan. and Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. 614, 615.

Buchanan ſays, that after the above perſons were put to death at Perth, the Cardinal and his party "applied themſelves to the overthrow of all the Reformed univerſally. They went to Dundee; and, as themſelves gave out, it was to puniſh ſuch as read the New Teſtament: for in thoſe days that was counted a moſt grievous ſin. And ſuch was the blindneſs of thoſe times, that ſome of the Prieſts, being offended at the novelty of the title, did contend, that book was lately written by Martin Luther, and therefore they deſired only the OLD." Hiſt. Lib. 15.

a length, that the greater part of the Earl's troops deſerted him; and in concluding a peace, inſtead of giving the law, he was obliged to receive it. A ſecond attempt to relieve his affairs ended yet more unfortunately. One body of his troops was cut to pieces, and the reſt diſperſed; and with the poor remains of a ruined party, he muſt either have ſubmitted to the conqueror, or have fled out of the kingdom, if the approach of an Engliſh army had not brought him a ſhort relief (*b*).

Henry VIII. was not of a temper to bear tamely the indignity with which he had been treated by the Regent and Parliament of Scotland, who had not only renounced their alliance with him, but entered into a new and ſtricter confederacy with France. The execution of his vengeance had, however, been for ſome time retarded; but at length a conſiderable body of infantry, which had been deſtined for France, received orders to ſail for Scotland, and a proper number of cavalry was appointed to join it by land. The Regent and Cardinal little expected ſuch a viſit. They had truſted that the French war would find employment for all Henry's forces, and were therefore wholly unprovided for the defence of the kingdom. The Earl of Hertford commanded the Engliſh army, and landed it, without oppoſition, a few miles above Leith. He quickly made himſelf maſter of that place; and marching directly to Edinburgh, entered it with the ſame eaſe. After plundering the adjacent country, which was the richeſt and moſt open in Scotland, he ſet on fire both thoſe towns; but upon the approach of ſome troops gathered together by the Regent, he put his booty on board the fleet, and with his land forces retired ſafely to the Engliſh borders. If Henry had the marriage which had been projected ſtill in view, he loſt a great deal by this expedition. Such a rough courtſhip, as the Earl of Huntley humorouſly called it, diſguſted the whole nation; their averſion to the match grew into abhorrence; and the Scots were now ſo much exaſperated, that they were never, at any period, more attached to France, or more alienated from England. The Earl of Lennox, however, in ſpite to the Regent, the Cardinal, and the French King, ſtill continued a correſpondence with England; but this ruined his own intereſt, without promoting that of Henry. Many of his own vaſſals refuſed to concur in any deſign to favour the Engliſh; and after a few weak and unſucceſsful attempts to diſturb the Regent's Adminiſtration, he was obliged to fly for ſafety to the Court of England, where he was kindly received by Henry, who gave him in marriage his niece the Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter to the Queen Dowager of James IV. by the Earl of Angus, her ſecond huſband (*c*).

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(*b*) *Vid.* Robertſon's Hiſt. Vol. I. P. 106, 107.

(*c*) *Vid.* Hiſt. of Scotland, as before, Vol. I. P. 108, 109. Dr. Robertſon obſerves, that this unhappy exile, the Earl of Lennox, was, however

In the beginning of the year 1546, Cardinal Beaton ſummoned a provincial aſſembly of the Clergy at the Black Friars in Edinburgh, in order to concert meaſures for reſtraining Hereſy. How far they proceeded, or what was agreed upon, does not appear; however, it is certain that the Cardinal was now very active in bringing to the ſtake one of the moſt eminent perſons of the Proteſtant party. This was Mr. George Wiſhart, a man of honourable birth, and of exemplary manners, who had greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by preaching with much eloquence and zeal againſt Popery. He had received part of his education in the Univerſity of Cambridge, and was ordained in England. The Cardinal received information, that Mr. Wiſhart was at the houſe of Mr. Cockburn, of Ormiſton, in Eaſt Lothain. Upon this he immediately applied to the Regent, to cauſe him to be apprehended; with which, after great perſuaſion, and much againſt his will, he complied. And the Cardinal himſelf went in perſon, with the Earl of Bothwell, who was Sheriff of the county, to ſee Wiſhart apprehended; and when this was done, he was firſt carried to the houſe of Elphinſton, where the Cardinal then was, then to the caſtle of Edinburgh, and from thence was removed to the caſtle of St. Andrew's.

As ſoon as the Cardinal had got him here, he reſolved to proceed immediately to his trial, and for that purpoſe aſſembled the Prelates at St. Andrew's on the 27th of February. At this meeting the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow gave it as his opinion, that application ſhould be made to the Regent, to grant a commiſſion to ſome Nobleman to try the priſoner, that all the odium of putting ſo popular a man to death, might not lie upon the Clergy. To this the Cardinal agreed; but upon ſending to the Regent for this purpoſe, he received the following anſwer: "That he would do well not to precipitate this man's trial, but "delay it until his coming; for as to himſelf, he would not "conſent to his death before the cauſe was very well examined; "and if the Cardinal ſhould do otherwiſe, he would make pro"teſtation, that the blood of this man ſhould be required at his "hands." The Cardinal was extremely chagrined at this meſſage from the Regent; however, he determined to proceed in the bloody buſineſs he had undertaken; and therefore ſent the Regent word, "That he had not written to him about this mat"ter, as ſuppoſing himſelf to be any way dependent upon his "authority, but from a deſire that the proſecution and convic"tion of Heretics might have a ſhew of public conſent; which, "ſince

ever, "deſtined to be the father of a race of Kings. He ſaw his ſon, Lord Darnley, mount the Throne of Scotland, to the perpetual excluſion of that rival (the Earl of Arran) who now triumphed in his ruin. And, from that time, his poſterity have held the ſceptre in two kingdoms; by one of which he was caſt out as a criminal, and by the other received as a fugitive."

" ſince he could not this way obtain, he would proceed in that " way which to him appeared the moſt proper." Accordingly he proceeded to try Mr. Wiſhart upon eighteen articles, though he appealed, as being the Regent's priſoner, to a temporal Judicatory; and condemning him as an obſtinate Heretic, cauſed him to be burnt at St. Andrew's on the ſecond of March, forbidding all perſons to pray for him, under pain of incurring the ſevereſt cenſures of the Church.

The circumſtances of Wiſhart's death are related in the following manner by Buchanan. " Two executioners (ſays he) " were ſent to him by the Cardinal, one of whom put a black " linen ſhirt upon him, and the other bound many little bags of " gunpowder to all the parts of his body. In this dreſs they " brought him forth, and commanded him to ſtay in the Go- " vernor's outer-chamber, and at the ſame time they erected a " wooden ſcaffold in the court before the caſtle, and made up a " pile of wood. The windows and balconies over-againſt it " were all hung with tapeſtry and ſilk hangings, with cuſhions " for the Cardinal and his train, to behold and take pleaſure in " the joyful ſight, even the torture of an innocent man. Thus " courting the favour of the people, as the author of ſo notable " a deed. There was alſo a great guard of ſoldiers, not ſo " much to ſecure the execution, as for a vain oſtentation of " power: and beſides, braſs guns were placed up and down in " all convenient places of the caſtle. Thus, while the trum- " pets ſounded, George was brought forth, mounted the ſcaf- " fold, and was faſtened with a cord to the ſtake; and having " ſcarce obtained liberty to pray for the Church of GOD, the " executioners fired the wood, which immediately taking hold " of the powder that was tied about him, blew it up into flame " and ſmoke. The Governor of the caſtle, who ſtood ſo near " that he was ſinged with the flame, exhorted him in a few " words to be of good cheer, and to aſk pardon of GOD for his " offences. To whom he replied, This flame occcaſions trou- " ble to my body indeed, but it hath in no wiſe broken my " ſpirit. But he who now ſo proudly looks down upon me " from yonder lofty place (pointing to the Cardinal), ſhall e're " long be as ignominiouſly thrown down, as now he proudly " lolls at his eaſe. Having thus ſpoken, they ſtraitened the " rope which was tied about his neck, and ſo ſtrangled him, his " body in a few hours being conſumed to aſhes in the flame."

The prediction of Wiſhart, concerning Cardinal Beaton, which is above related by Buchanan, is alſo related by Archbiſhop Spotſwood, and others; but it has been doubted by ſome later writers, whether Wiſhart really made any ſuch prediction. However this be, it is certain that the death of Wiſhart did in the end prove fatal to the Cardinal himſelf. " Cardinal Bea- " ton (ſays Dr. Robertſon) had not uſed his power with mo- " deration, equal to the prudence by which he attained it.

" Notwithſtanding

" Notwithſtanding his great abilities, he had too many of the " paſſions and prejudices of an angry leader of a faction, to go- " vern a divided people with temper. His reſentment againſt " one part of the Nobility, his inſolence towards the reſt, his ſe- " verity to the Reformers, and, above all, the barbarous and il- " legal execution of the famous George Wiſhart, a man of ho- " nourable birth, and of primitive ſanctity, wore out the pa- " tience of a fierce age; and nothing but a bold hand was " wanting, to gratify the public wiſh by his deſtruction."

Soon after the death of Mr. Wiſhart, the Cardinal went to Finhaven, the ſeat of the Earl of Crawford, to ſolemnize a marriage between the eldeſt ſon of that Nobleman, and his own natural daughter Margaret. Whilſt he was thus employed, he received intelligence that an Engliſh ſquadron was upon the coaſt, and that conſequently an invaſion was to be feared. Upon this he immediately returned to St. Andrew's, and appointed a day for the Nobility and Gentry to meet, and conſult what was proper to be done on this occaſion. But as no farther news was heard of the Engliſh fleet, their apprehenſions of an invaſion ſoon ſubſided.

In the mean time Norman Leſley, eldeſt ſon of the Earl of Rothes, who had been treated by the Cardinal with injuſtice and contempt, formed a deſign, in conjunction with his uncle John Leſley, who hated Beaton, and others who were inflamed againſt him on account of his perſecution of the Proteſtants, the death of Wiſhart, and other cauſes, to aſſaſſinate the Prelate, though he now reſided in the caſtle of St. Andrew's, which he was fortifying at great expence, and had, in the opinion of that age, already rendered it almoſt impregnable. The Cardinal's retinue was numerous, the town was at his devotion, and the neighbouring country full of his dependents. However, the conſpirators, who were in number only 16, having concerted their plan, met together early in the morning, on Saturday the 29th of May. The firſt thing they did, was to ſeize the porter of the caſtle, from whom they took the keys, and ſecured the gate. They then ſent four of their party to watch the Cardinal's chamber, that he might have no notice given him of what was doing; after which, they went and called up the ſervants and attendants, to whom they were well known, and turned them, to the number of fifty, out of the gate, as they did alſo upwards of an hundred workmen, who were employed in the fortifications and buildings of the caſtle; but the eldeſt ſon of the Regent, who lodged alſo in the caſtle (*d*), they kept for their own ſecurity. All this was done with ſo little noiſe, that the Cardinal was not waked till they knocked at his chamber door; upon which he cried out, " Who " is

(*d*) It is ſaid, by the author of a ſupplement to Dempſter's hiſtory, that the Cardinal was ſo jealous of the Regent, that he kept his eldeſt ſon as an hoſtage in his houſe, under pretence of taking care of his education.

"is there?" John Leſley anſwered, "My name is Leſley." "Which Leſley?" replied the Cardinal; "Is it Norman?" It was anſwered, that he muſt open the door to thoſe who were there; but inſtead of this, he barricadoed the door in the beſt manner he could. However, finding that they had brought fire in order to force their way, and they having, as it is ſaid by ſome, made him a promiſe of his life, he opened the door. They immediately entered with their ſwords drawn, and John Leſley ſmote him twice or thrice, as did alſo Peter Carwichael; but James Melvil, as Mr. Knox relates the affair, perceiving them to be in choler, ſaid, "This work, and judgment of "GOD, although it be ſecret, ought to be done with greater "gravity:" and preſenting the point of his ſword to the Cardinal, ſaid to him, "Repent thee of thy wicked life, but eſpecially "of the ſhedding of the blood of that notable inſtrument of "GOD, Mr. George Wiſhart, which albeit the flame of fire "conſumed before men, yet cries it for vengeance upon thee; "and we from GOD are ſent to revenge it. For here, before "my GOD, I proteſt, that neither the hatred of thy perſon, the "love of thy riches, nor the fear of any trouble thou couldſt "have done to me in particular, moved or moveth me to ſtrike "thee; but only becauſe thou haſt been, and remaineſt, an ob"ſtinate enemy of CHRIST JESUS, and his holy Goſpel." Having ſaid this, he with his ſword run the Cardinal twice or thrice through the body; who only ſaid, "I am a Prieſt! Fie! "fie! all is gone!" and then expired, being about fifty-two years of age (*e*).

(*e*) The Preſident De Thou gives the following account of the aſſaſſination of Beaton. "Norman Leſley came to St. Andrew's, attended with only five perſons, that he might give no umbrage, having ſent before him ten others of his accomplices, who were diſpoſed in ſeveral places. The Cardinal was ſo intent upon fortifying the caſtle, that the work went forward by night as well as by day. Very early in the morning, when the gate was opened to let in the workmen, two men who lay in ambuſcade at a neighbouring houſe, fixed upon the porter, and, upon giving the ſignal to their companions, all of them entered without tumult. Four of them were ſent to guard the Cardinal's chamber door; the reſt roused up and ſecured the ſervants, who were half aſleep, and threatening them with death if they made the leaſt noiſe, put them out of the caſtle without doing them any injury. After this, returning to the Cardinal, they knocked at his door, and having told their names, and promiſed to offer no violence to his perſon, they were let in, and immediately diſpatched the trembling wretch with repeated ſtabs. His friends in the city, who hardly ſtirred themſelves at the firſt report, beginning to call out and to run to arms in a diſorderly manner, Leſley, to appeaſe the tumult, ordered the dead body to be expoſed to public view in that very window, where the Cardinal had lately with ſo much pleaſure beheld the death of Wiſhart. Thus his prediction was by this event fulfilled." Hiſt. ſui Temp. Lib. iii.

Dr. Robertſon obſerves, that thoſe who were concerned in the aſſaſſination of Beaton, "delivered their country, though by a moſt unjuſtifiable action, from an ambitious man, whoſe

Thus fell Cardinal Beaton, on the 29th of May, 1546. He was a man of great political abilities, but of unbounded pride and ambition. He was indefatigable in buſineſs, and managed it with great art and addreſs. He is ſaid to have underſtood the intereſts of the Courts of Rome, France, and Scotland, better than any man of his time; and he was perfectly acquainted with the temper, influence, and weight of all the Nobility of his own country. By his abilities and intrigues he raiſed himſelf to the higheſt degree of power and influence; but inſolence grew upon him from continual ſucceſs. It is mentioned in proof of his pride and arrogance, that he quarrelled with the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow in that Prelate's own city, and puſhed his quarrel ſo far, that their men fought in the very church. He made no ſcruple of ſowing diſcord among his enemies, if he could reap any advantage by it. As to his religion, Dr. Robertſon obſerves, that "as his own eminence was founded upon the "power of the Church of Rome, he was a zealous defender of that ſuperſtition, and for the ſame reaſon an avowed enemy to the doctrine of the Reformers: but political motives alone determined him to ſupport the one, or to oppoſe the other." However, he was certainly a cruel and inhuman perſecutor of all thoſe who profeſſed the reformed opinions. His private life was vicious; he kept, as his concubine, Mrs. Marion Ogilby, by whom he had ſix children; three ſons, to each of whom he gave a good eſtate in land; and three daughters, who were married into conſiderable families in Scotland.

According to Dempſter, Cardinal Beaton wrote "An Account "of his Negociations with the French King and the Pope;" and "A Treatiſe concerning St. Peter's Supremacy over the "reſt of the Apoſtles." Some copies of his letters are ſaid to be preſerved in the library of the French King.

whoſe pride was inſupportable to the Nobles, as his cruelty and cunning were the great checks to the Reformation." "His death (adds the Hiſtorian) was fatal to the Catholic religion, and to the French intereſt in Scotland. The ſame zeal for both continued among a great party in the nation, but when deprived of the genius and authority of ſo ſkilful a leader, was of ſmall conſequence. Nothing can equal the conſternation which a blow ſo unexpected occaſioned among his adherents; while the Regent ſecretly enjoyed an event, which removed out of his way a rival, who had not only eclipſed his greatneſs, but almoſt extinguiſhed his power." Hiſt. of Scotland, Vol. I. P. 113.

THE

The Life of EDMUND BONNER, Biſhop of London.

EDMUND BONNER was born at Hanley in Worceſterſhire, and is generally ſaid to have been the natural ſon of George Savage, Prieſt, Rector of Davenham in Cheſhire (*f*), by Elizabeth Frodſham, who was afterwards married to Edmund Bonner, a Sawyer, who lived at Hanley. But Mr. Strype informs us, that Baron Lechmore aſſured him, that he could make it out beyond exception, that Bonner was begotten in lawful wedlock. However this be, in 1512, young Bonner became a ſtudent in Broadgate-Hall, in Oxford, now Pembroke-College. In 1519, he was admitted Batchelor of the Canon and Civil Laws; and about the ſame time he entered into holy orders, and had ſome employment in the Dioceſe of Worceſter; and in 1525, he was created Doctor of the Canon Law.

It does not appear that Bonner diſtinguiſhed himſelf much by his learning; but what chiefly recommended him, was his ſkill and dexterity in the management of affairs. It was this introduced him to the notice of Cardinal Wolſey, who made him his Commiſſary for the Faculties. He was at Cawood with the Cardinal, at the time when that Prelate was arreſted for high treaſon (*g*). He had ſeveral Eccleſiaſtical preferments beſtowed on him: he enjoyed at one and the ſame time the Livings of Blaydon and Cherry Burton in Yorkſhire, of Ripple in Worceſterſhire, of Eaſt-Dereham in Norfolk, and the Prebend of Chiſwick, in the cathedral of St. Paul. But he reſigned the Prebend in 1539, as he did the Living of Eaſt-Dereham in 1540. He was likewiſe Archdeacon of Leiceſter, into which he was inſtalled in 1535 (*b*).

After the death of Cardinal Wolſey, Dr. Bonner found means to inſinuate himſelf into the good graces of King Henry, who appointed him to be one of his Chaplains. He alſo inſinuated himſelf into the favour of Sir Thomas Cromwell, afterwards

(*f*) Anthony Wood informs us, that Sir George Savage, though a Prieſt, had ſeven natural children by three women; and he himſelf was natural ſon to Sir John Savage, of Cliſton, Knight of the Garter, and one of King Henry the Seventh's Council. Athenæ Oxonienſes, Vol. I. Col. 123.

(*g*) *See* P. 56. of this Volume.

(*b*) *Vid.* Biographia Britannica, and Biographical Dictionary, 8vo.

Lord Cromwell, by pretending great zeal for the reformed opinions; and was by his recommendation employed in ſeveral Embaſſies. In 1532, Sir Edward Karne was ſent to Rome, to excuſe King Henry from appearing there, in perſon, or by proxy, to anſwer to Queen Catherine's appeal, agreeable to the Pope's citation for that purpoſe. And Biſhop Burnet ſays, that "Dr. Bonner went with him, who had expreſſed much zeal in "the King's cauſe, though his great zeal was for preferment, "which by the moſt ſervile ways he always courted. He was "a forward bold man; and ſince there were many threatenings "to be uſed to the Pope and Cardinals, he was thought fitteſt "for the employment, but was neither learned nor diſcreet (*i*)."

The following year Dr. Bonner was ſent to Pope Clement VII. who was then at Marſeilles, to deliver King Henry's appeal to the next general Council; and the threatenings which he was ordered by the King to make on this occaſion, he delivered with ſo much vehemence and fury, that his Holineſs talked of throwing him into a cauldron of melted lead, or burning him alive. And Bonner really apprehending ſome danger, very prudently made his eſcape.

He was likewiſe employed in other Embaſſies, to the Emperor of Germany, and to the Kings of France and Denmark. Whilſt he was in France, an Engliſh traitor lurking in that kingdom, King Henry ordered his Ambaſſador Bonner to demand him; but the French King refuſed to deliver him up. Whereupon Bonner told him, that in ſo doing, he acted "againſt GOD, "againſt his honour, againſt juſtice, againſt reaſon, againſt ho"neſty, againſt friendſhip, againſt all law, againſt the treaties "and leagues between him and his brother the King of Eng"land; yea, and againſt all together." At which the French Monarch was ſo nettled, that he bad Bonner write to his maſter from him, that "his Ambaſſador was a great fool; and that if it "were not for the love of his maſter, he ſhould have an hundred "ſtrokes with an halberd." And the French King was very earneſt with Henry to recall Bonner, which he accordingly did.

However, before Bonner's return to England, he was nominated to the Biſhopric of Hereford (*k*). He had the Royal aſſent to his election, the 27th of November, 1538, and the temporalities were reſtored to his Proctor the 4th of March following. But, before conſecration, he was tranſlated to the See of London, of which he was elected Biſhop the 20th of October, 1539, confirmed the 12th of November enſuing, and conſecrated

(*i*) Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. I. F. 120.

(*k*) He acknowledged himſelf indebted to Lord Cromwell for this promotion. In a letter to Cromwell from Blois in France, dated the 2d of September, 1538, Bonner expreſſes himſelf thus. "My very ſingular eſpecial good Lord, as one moſt bounden, I moſt humbly commend me unto your honourable

conſecrated in his own cathedral the 4th of April, 1540. It appears that Bonner held his new Biſhopric by an extraordinary commiſſion, which is preſerved by Burnet in his Collection of Records, and part of which was to the following purport: "That ſince all juriſdictions, both eccleſiaſtical and civil, "flowed from the King as ſupreme head, and he was the foun- "dation of all power, it became thoſe who exerciſed it only at "the King's courteſy, gratefully to acknowledge that they had "it only of his bounty; and to declare that they would deliver "it up again, when it ſhould pleaſe him to call for it. And "ſince the King had conſtituted the Lord Cromwell his Vice- "gerent in eccleſiaſtical affairs, yet, becauſe he could not look "into all thoſe matters, therefore the King, upon Bonner's pe- "tition, did empower him in his own ſtead, to ordain ſuch as "he found worthy, to preſent and give inſtitution, with all the "other parts of epiſcopal authority, for which he is duly com- "miſſioned; and this to laſt during the King's pleaſure only." Burnet obſerves, that "after he had taken this commiſſion, Bon- "ner might have been well called one of the KING'S "BISHOPS (*l*)."

Soon

honourable good Lordſhip. And whereas in times paſſed it hath liked the ſame, without any my deſerts or merits, even only of your ſingular exceeding goodneſs, to beſtow a great deal of love, benevolence, and good affection upon me ſo poor a man, and of ſo ſmall qualities, expreſſing indeed ſundry ways, the good effects thereof to my great preferment; I was very much bound thereby unto your honourable good Lordſhip, and thought it always my duty (as indeed it was) both to bear my true heart again unto your Lordſhip, and alſo, remembering ſuch kindneſs, to do unto the ſame all ſuch ſervice and pleaſure as might then lie in my ſmall power to do. But where of your *infinite* and *inæſtimable goodneſs*, it hath further liked you of late, firſt to advance me unto the office of Legation from ſuch a Prince as my Sovereign Lord is, unto the Emperor and French King; and next after to procure and obtain mine advancement to ſo honourable a promotion as the Biſhopric of Hereford: I muſt here acknowledge the exceeding greatneſs of your Lordſhip's benefit, with mine own imbecility to recompenſe it,"——Fox's Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. P. 373. Edit. 1641.

(*l*) *Vid.* Hiſt. of the Reform. Vol. I. P. 267. Bonner, before his promotion to the See of London, alſo took an oath, "never to conſent or agree that the Biſhop of Rome ſhould practiſe, exerciſe, or have any manner of authority, juriſdiction, or power within this realm, or any other the King's dominions, but that he would reſiſt the ſame at all times to the utmoſt of his power; and that from thenceforth he ſhould accept, repute, and take the King's Majeſty to be the only ſupreme head on earth of the Church of England; and, to the utmoſt of his power, obſerve and maintain all acts and ſtatutes, made and to be made in extirpation and extinguiſhment of the Biſhop of Rome and his authority, and in corroboration of the King's ſupremacy, againſt all perſons whatſoever; and repute any oath he had made in maintenance, or favour, of the Biſhop of Rome, vain and annihilate."——Biograph. Britan.

Bonner alſo wrote a Preface to Gardiner's book, entitled De vera Obedientia, in which he expreſſes himſelf thus: "But be thou moſt ſurely

Soon after his promotion to the See of London, his friend and patron Lord Cromwell was committed to the Tower, upon which Bonner inſtantaneouſly forgot the "infinite and ineſtimable "goodneſs" of Cromwell to him, which he had ſo lately ſaid he ſhould never be able properly to acknowledge; and at the ſame time all his zeal to promote the Reformation entirely forſook him. "Now Bonner (ſays Biſhop Burnet) began to ſhew his nature. Hitherto he had acted another part. For being moſt extremely deſirous of preferment, he had ſo complied with Cromwell and Cranmer, that they had great confidence in him; and he being a bluſtering and forward man, they thought he might do the Reformation good ſervice, and therefore he was advanced ſo high by their means. But as ſoon as ever Cromwell fell, the very next day he ſhewed his ingratitude, and how nimbly he turned with the wind. For Grafton the Printer (whom Cromwell favoured much for his printing the Bible, and who was by that means very familiar with Bonner,) meeting him, ſaid, he was very ſorry for the news he heard of Cromwell's being ſent to the Tower. Bonner anſwered, It had been good he had been diſpatched long ago. So the other ſhrunk away, perceiving the change that was in him. And ſome days after that, Grafton being brought before the Council, for ſome verſes which he was believed to have printed in commendation of Cromwell, Bonner informed the Council of what Grafton had ſaid to him upon Cromwell's

ſurely perſuaded of this, good reader, that the Biſhop of Rome, if there were no cauſe elſe but only this marriage, (that of King Henry with Anne Boleyn), would eaſily content himſelf, eſpecially having ſome good morſel or other given him to chew upon. But when he ſeeth ſo mighty a King, being a right virtuous and a great learned Prince, ſo ſincerely and ſo heartily favour the Goſpel of CHRIST, and perceiving the yearly and great prey (yea, ſo large a prey, that it came to as much almoſt as all the King's revenues), ſnapped out of his hands, and that he can no longer exerciſe his tyranny in the King's Majeſty's Realm, (alas! heretofore too cruel and bitter), nor make laws, as he hath done many, to the contumely and reproach of the Majeſty of GOD, which is evident that he hath done in time paſt, under the title of the Catholic Church, and the authority of Peter and Paul, (when notwithſtanding he was a very ravening wolf, dreſſed in ſheep's cloathing, calling himſelf the ſervant of ſervants), to the great damage of the Chriſtian Common-wealth: here, here began all the miſchief, thereof roſe theſe diſcords, theſe deadly malices, and ſo great and terrible buſtling: for if it were not thus, could any man believe that this Jupiter of Olympus (which falſely hath arrogated unto himſelf an abſolute power without controulment) would have wrought ſo diligently by all means poſſible, to ſtir up other Kings and Princes ſo traiterouſly againſt this ſo good and godly, and ſo true Goſpel-like Prince (Henry VIII.) as he hath done?"——Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. P. 341.

Whilſt he was Ambaſſador in France, he zealouſly promoted, in obedience to orders which he received from the Engliſh Court for that purpoſe, the printing an Engliſh verſion of the Bible at Paris; and after he was promoted to the Biſhopric of London, he cauſed ſix of them to be ſet up in St. Paul's cathedral. He was likewiſe one of thoſe who ſubſcribed the Biſhop's Book againſt the Pope.

Cromwell's being arreſted, to make the other charge ſeem the more probable. Yet Audley, the Chancellor (*m*), was Grafton's friend, and brought him off. But Bonner gave the city of London quickly cauſe to apprehend the utmoſt ſeverities from him. For many were indicted by his procurement, on the ſtatute of the Six Articles. Yet the King was loth to give too many inſtances of cruelty, in this declination of his age; and therefore, by an order from the Star-Chamber, they were diſcharged.——But there was one Richard Mekins, a boy not above fifteen years of age, and both illiterate and very ignorant, who had ſaid ſomewhat againſt the corporal preſence of CHRIST's body in the Sacrament, and in commendation of Dr. Barnes (*n*). Upon this he was indicted. The words were proved by two witneſſes, and a day was appointed for the Juries to bring in their verdict. The day being come, the Grand Jury was called for; then the foreman ſaid, they had found nothing. This put Bonner in a fury, and he charged them with perjury: but they ſaid they could find nothing, for the witneſſes did not agree. The one depoſed, that he had ſaid the Sacrament was nothing but a CEREMONY; and the other, that it was nothing but a SIGNIFICATION. But Bonner ſtill perſiſted, and told them, that he had ſaid, "that Barnes died holy." But they could not find

(*m*) THOMAS AUDLEY was deſcended from an antient and honourable family, and born in the county of Eſſex, in the year 1488. Being bred up to the profeſſion of a Lawyer, he was appointed autumn reader of the Inner Temple, in 1526. He was Chancellor to the Duke of Suffolk, who introduced him to the notice of King Henry VIII. into whoſe favour he ſoon ingratiated himſelf, being a man of much politeneſs, and of many perſonal accompliſhments; and having in him a conſiderable ſhare of that pliability, which is ſo great a recommendation in Courts. He was by the King's influence choſen Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, when Sir Thomas More was made Lord Chancellor, in 1529. In 1531, the King made him his own Serjeant, and his Attorney for the Dutchy of Lancaſter, as a reward for his ſervices in the Houſe of Commons. In 1532, when Sir Thomas More reſigned the Seals, Mr. Audley was knighted, and appointed Lord Keeper; but the following year he was made Lord Chancellor. He preſided at the trials of Biſhop Fiſher and Sir Thomas More, and paſſed ſentence upon them. In 1538, he was created Lord Audley of Walden, in the county of Eſſex, and likewiſe inſtalled a Knight of the Garter. The following year he made uſe of his influence with the King to prevent the rigorous execution of the act of the Six Articles. However, he was in general very active and aſſiduous in promoting the King's deſigns, both in Parliament and out of it. He died in 1544, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, having held the Seals upwards of twelve years.

Lord Audley was a man of conſiderable abilities, an able Statſman, and an artful Courtier. He was a friend to the Reformation; but appears to have been too obſequious to the King's will, and too much attached to his own intereſt, to deſerve the character of a good Patriot, or an upright Miniſter of State. He ſeems, however, to have been diſpoſed to promote the welfare of the kingdom, when not particularly biaſſed another way, by his own intereſt, or the pleaſure of the King.

(*n*) *Vid.* P. 213. of this Volume.

find theſe words to be againſt the ſtatute. Upon which Bonner curſed, and was in a great rage, and cauſed them to go aſide again: ſo they being over-awed, returned and found the indictment. Then ſat the Jury upon life and death, who found him guilty; and he was adjudged to be burnt. But when he was brought to the ſtake, he was taught to ſpeak much good of Bonner, and to condemn all Heretics, and Barnes in particular, ſaying he had learned Hereſy of him. Thus the boy was made to die with a lie in his mouth. For Barnes held not that opinion of the Sacrament's being only a Ceremony or Signification, but was a zealous Lutheran (*o*).

Soon after the acceſſion of King Edward VI. Bonner gave a public evidence of his diſlike to the King's proceedings in favour of the Reformation, by entering a proteſtation in the following terms, when he received the injunctions and homilies which were now ſet forth by the Royal authority. "I do receive theſe injunctions and homilies, with this proteſtation, "That I will obſerve them, if they be not contrary and repugnant to GOD's law, and the ſtatutes and ordinances of the "Church." And he immediately added with an oath, that he had not read either the homilies or the injunctions. In conſequence of this behaviour, Bonner was brought before the Council; upon which he offered to make a ſubmiſſion, but full of vain Quiddities, as it is expreſſed in the Council-Book. However, this not being accepted, he made a ſubmiſſion as full as they deſired; notwithſtanding which, he was committed to the Fleet; but was ſoon after ſet at liberty.

From this time Bonner complied outwardly with every thing that was enjoined by authority to advance the Reformation, though he privately uſed all the means in his power to obſtruct it. But in the third year of the King's reign, there were ſeveral inſurrections in different parts of the kingdom, which gave the Popiſh party hopes of ſome change in the Government; whereupon many perſons in London withdrew from the eſtabliſhed ſervice and communion, and frequented maſſes. This was laid to Bonner's charge, as being negligent in the execution of the King's laws and injunctions. The Council, therefore, wrote to him, on the 23d of July, 1549, to ſee to the correcting of theſe things, and directing him to ſet a good example himſelf. Upon which he gave directions for thoſe in his Dioceſe, to execute the order contained in the letter from the Council, which he ſaid he was moſt willing and deſirous to obey. However, his remiſſneſs

(*o*) Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. I. P. 370. Fox ſays, that "the poor man would for ſafeguard of his life have gladly ſaid that the twelve Apoſtles had taught it him, ſuch was his childiſh innocency and fear. But on this ſhed many ſpake and ſaid, it was great ſhame for the Biſhop, whoſe part and duty it had been rather to have laboured to ſave his life, than to procure that terrible execution, ſeeing that he was ſuch an ignorant ſoul, that he knew not what the affirming of Hereſy was."---Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. P. 531.

neſs was ſtill complained of, and he was again called before the Council on the 11th of Auguſt; when it was alledged againſt him, that whereas he formerly uſed on all high feſtivals to officiate himſelf, yet he had ſeldom or never done it, ſince the New Service was ſet out: as alſo, that adultery was openly practiſed in his Dioceſe, which he took no care, according to his paſtoral office, to reſtrain or puniſh; therefore he was ſtrictly charged to ſee theſe things reformed. He was alſo ordered to preach that day three weeks at St. Paul's croſs; and in his ſermon was directed to treat of the heinouſneſs of rebellion, and to ſhew that true religion conſiſted not in ceremonies, yet that in the uſe of them men were to obey the Magiſtrate, and join true devotion with them; and he was particularly to teach the people, in oppoſition to a common tenet of the Popiſh faction, that the King was no leſs King, and the people no leſs bound to obey, when he was in his minority, than when he was of full age.

Before the firſt of September, which was the day Bonner was to preach, all the rebellions were ſuppreſſed. The moſt dangerous were in the Weſt, and in Norfolk; the firſt was repreſſed by the Lord Privy Seal and Sir William Herbert; and the latter, after an unſucceſsful attempt by the Earl of Northampton, was completely quelled by the Earl of Warwick, and a thankſgiving for it was made the 25th of Auguſt. When the firſt of September came, St. Paul's was crowded with auditors, the people being deſirous of hearing how the Biſhop Bonner would acquit himſelf. He touched upon the points that were enjoined him, excepting that about the King's age, of which he ſaid not one word: inſtead of which, he diverted his diſcourſe to another ſubject, the manner of CHRIST's preſence in the Sacrament, aſſerting the groſs corporal preſence, which he did with many ſharp reflections on thoſe who entertained other opinions. There were preſent, among others, William Latimer, and John Hooper, ſoon after Biſhop of Glouceſter, who came and informed againſt him; that as he had wholly omitted that about the King's age, ſo he had touched the other points but ſlightly; and advanced many other things, which tended to ſtir up diſorder and diſſention.

In conſequence of this information, a commiſſion was iſſued to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Biſhop of Rocheſter, Sir William Petre, Sir Thomas Smith, and Dr. May, Dean of St. Paul's, impowering them to proceed in a ſummary manner againſt Biſhop Bonner, and either to ſuſpend, impriſon, or deprive him, as they ſhould ſee cauſe. Accordingly he was cited to appear before them at Lambeth, on the tenth of September.

When he came into the court, he behaved himſelf in a very inſolent and indecent manner (*p*); and in the courſe of the

(*p*) "At his firſt entry into the place within the Archbiſhop's houſe at Lambeth, where the Archbiſhop and other of the Commiſſioners ſat, he

proceedings againſt him, treated the Commiſſioners with the utmoſt contempt. He jeered the witneſſes who were brought againſt him, and ſaid that one talked like a GOOSE, and another like a WOODCOCK; and ſome of the people in the court he called Dunces, and others Fools. He alſo objected to the witneſſes againſt him, that they were notorious Heretics, and that the ill will they bore him, was becauſe he had aſſerted the true preſence of CHRIST in the Sacrament of the Altar: that Hooper, in particular, had in his ſermon, that very day on which he had preached, denied it; and had refuted and miſ-recited his ſayings, "like an Aſs as he was, an Aſs indeed," ſaid Bonner. He diſputed againſt the authority of his Judges, calling them pretenſed, and ſuſpect, and injurious: he more particularly proteſted againſt Sir Thomas Smith, ſwore at him, and gave him the lie, and defied him: and, in ſhort, his behaviour was ſo exceedingly outrageous, more like a Madman than a Biſhop, as Burnet expreſſes it, that he was committed to the Marſhalſea. And he was at length deprived of his Biſhopric in October, 1549, though he proteſted againſt all his Judges, and appealed to the King.

The proceedings againſt him were cenſured by ſome; but Burnet obſerves, that "Bonner was little pitied by moſt that "knew him. He was a cruel, and fierce man: he underſtood "little of Divinity, his learning being chiefly in the Canon "Law. Beſides, he was looked on generally as a man of no "principles. All the obedience he gave either to the laws, or "the King's injunctions, was thought a compliance againſt his "conſcience, extorted by fear. And his indecent carriage "during his proceſs, had much expoſed him to the people: ſo "that it was not thought to be hard dealing, tho' the proceed-"ings againſt him were ſummary and ſevere. Nor did his car-"riage afterward, during his impriſonment, diſcover much of a "Biſhop or a Chriſtian. For he was more concerned to have "Puddings and Pears ſent him, than for any thing elſe. This "I gather from ſome original letters of his to Richard Leek-"more, Eſq; in Worceſterſhire; in one of which he deſires a "large quantity of pears and puddings to be ſent him: other-"wiſe he gives thoſe to whom he writes an odd kind of bene-"diction, very unlike what became a man of his character; he "gives them TO THE DEVIL, TO THE DEVIL, and TO ALL THE DEVILS,

he paſſed forth directly by them with his cap upon his head, (making as though he ſaw them not) until one plucked him by the ſleeve, willing him to do reverence unto the Commiſſioners. Whereat he laughing, turned himſelf, and ſpake unto the Archbiſhop on this wiſe: What, my Lord, are you here? By my troth, I ſaw you not. No, ſaid the Archbiſhop, you would not ſee. Well, (quoth he) you ſent for me; have you any thing to ſay to me?"—Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. P. 675.

" DEVILS, if they did not furniſh him well with Pears and " Puddings (*q*)."

Bonner was continued in his confinement in the Marſhalſea during the remainder of King Edward's reign; but on the acceſſion of Queen Mary to the Throne, he was ſet at liberty, and reſtored to his Biſhopric by a commiſſion dated the 22d of Auguſt, 1553, which was read in St. Paul's cathedral the fifth of September following; and the next day he ſent the following letter to three of his friends in the country.

" To my moſt loving and dearly beloved friends, my couſin " Thomas Shirley, the Worſhipful Richard Leekmore, and " Roger Leekmore his brother.

" IN moſt hearty wiſe I commend me unto you, aſſerting, " that yeſterday I was, by ſentence, reſtored again to my Bi- " ſhopric, and repoſed in the ſame, even as fully as I was at any " time before I was deprived; and by the ſaid ſentence, my " uſurper, Dr. Ridley, is utterly repulſed; ſo that I would " ye did order all things at Kidmerly and Buſhley at your " pleaſures, not ſuffering Sheeps-head, or Ships-ſide (*r*), to be " any meddler there, or to ſell or carry away any thing from " thence; and I truſt, at your coming up now at the Parlia- " ment, I ſhall ſo handle both the ſaid Sheeps-heads, and the " other Calves-heads, that they ſhall perceive their ſweet ſhall " not be without ſour ſauce. This day is looked that Mr. Can- " terbury muſt be placed where is meet for him; he is become " very humble, and ready to ſubmit himſelf in all things, but " that will not ſerve; in the ſame predicament is Dr. Smith, " my friend, and the Dean of Paul's, with others. Commend " me to your bedfellows moſt heartily, and remember the liquor " that I wrote to you for; this bearer ſhall declare the reſt, and " alſo put you in remembrance for beeves and muttons for my " houſe-fare. And thus our bleſſed LORD long and well keep " you all.---Written in haſte, this ſixth of September.

" Aſſuredly all your own,
EDMUND LONDON."

Biſhop Bonner preſided in the firſt Convocation which was called in the reign of Mary, and made an oration in it, in honour of the Prieſthood (*s*). And in 1554, he viſited his Dioceſe.

(*q*) Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. P. 128.

(*r*) Alluding to Mr. Shipſide, brother-in-law to Biſhop Ridley, whom that Prelate had made Steward of two of his manors.

(*s*) Part of this ſpeech of Bonner's is preſerved by Fox, as it was copied out, as he ſays, by thoſe who ſtood by and heard him. And as it is a curious piece of oratory, we ſhall lay it before the reader. It is as follows: " Wherefore it is to be known, that Prieſts and Elders be worthy of all men to be worſhipped for the dignity ſake which they have of GOD; as in Matthew, Ch. xvi. *Whatſoever ye ſhall looſe upon earth*, &c.

When he came to Hadham, where he arrived two hours before he was expected, he was in a great heat becauſe the bells did not ring at his coming; but he was ſtill more enraged when he went into the church, and found neither the Sacrament hanging up there, nor a rood ſet up; whereupon he fell a railing and ſwearing moſt immoderately, abuſing the Rector, Dr. Bricket, and calling him Heretic and Knave. The Rector told the angry Prelate, that the things he complained of ſhould be ſpeedily amended; and knowing that a good dinner was a very important article with Bonner, hoped to pacify his Lordſhip by deſiring him to go to his houſe to dine. But the Prelate was ſo angry that Hadham, which was one of his own churches, ſhould ſet ſo ill an example to thoſe around it, that he loſt all patience, and endeavouring to ſtrike the Rector, miſſed his aim, and gave Sir Thomas Jocelyn a violent blow on the head. Sir Thomas not ſeeming diſpoſed to take this in good part, Feckenham, Dean of St. Paul's, who was preſent, endeavoured to appeaſe him, by ſaying, that the Biſhop's being ſo long in the Marſhalſea had ſo diſordered him, that in his paſſion he knew not what he did; but when he came to himſelf, he would be ſorry for what he had done. Jocelyn replied, that he thought now he was taken out of the Marſhalſea, he ought to be carried to Bedlam. However, Bonner's rage ſtill continued; and though he had purpoſed to ſtay at his houſe at Hadham for ſome days, and had ordered proviſions

&c. *And whatſoever ye ſhall bind*, &c. For a Prieſt by ſome means is like Mary the Virgin, and is ſhewed by three points. As the Bleſſed Virgin by five words did conceive CHRIST, as it is ſaid, Luke, Ch. i. *Fiat mihi ſecundum verbum tuum*; that is to ſay, *Be it unto me according to thy word*: ſo the Prieſt, by five words, doth make the very body of CHRIST. Even as immediately after the conſent of Mary, CHRIST was all whole in her womb: ſo immediately after the ſpeaking of the words of conſecration, the bread is tranſubſtantiated into the very body of CHRIST. Secondly, as the Virgin carried CHRIST in her arms, and laid him in an ox ſtall after his birth; even ſo the Prieſt, after the conſecration, doth lift up the body of CHRIST, and placeth it, and carrieth it, and handleth it with his hands. Thirdly, as the Bleſſed Virgin was ſanctified before ſhe was conceived; ſo the Prieſt being ordained and anointed before he doth conſecrate, becauſe without orders he could conſecrate nothing; therefore the Layman cannot do that thing, although he be never ſo holy, and do ſpeak the ſelf-ſame words of conſecration. Therefore here is to be known, that the dignity of Prieſts by ſome means paſſeth the dignity of Angels, becauſe there is no power given to any of the Angels to make the body of CHRIST. Whereby the leaſt Prieſt may do in earth, that which the greateſt and higheſt Angel in Heaven cannot do; as St. Bernard ſaith, *O worſhipful dignity of Prieſts, in whoſe hands the Son of GOD is, as in the womb of the Virgin he was incarnate.* St. Auguſtine ſaith, that Angels in the conſecration of the ſacred Heſt do ſerve him, and the LORD of Heaven deſcending to him. Whereupon St. Ambroſe upon St. Luke ſaith, *Doſt thou not the Angels to be where CHRIST is preſent upon the Altar.* Wherefore Prieſts are to be honoured before all Kings of the earth, Princes, and Nobles. For a Prieſt is higher than a King, happier than an Angel, maker of his Creator, &c."——A ſtrange compound of abſurdity and blaſphemy!

proviſions to be got ready with that view, yet he would now ſtay no longer there, but proceeded on his journey, though he thereby diſordered the reſt of his viſitation, as he came to every place ſooner than he intended, or had given notice.

The carvers and makers of images had now a great trade; for roods and other images were ordered to be provided for all churches. And Bonner had obſerved, that in moſt churches texts of Scripture were put upon the walls; and in many places paſſages that favoured the marriage of the Clergy, or againſt the corporal preſence, and the ſacrifice of the maſs, and the multiplicity of the ceremonies of the Church. On his return from his viſitation, therefore, he ſent out epiſcopal letters, on the 24th of October, to raze all ſuch texts of Scripture which were on the walls of churches. Upon this it was ſaid by many among the people, that the Scriptures muſt be daſhed out to make way for the images, ſince they were ſo contrary one to another, that they could not decently ſtand together (*t*).

In the reign of Henry VIII. Bonner and Gardiner had been greatly at variance, and ſeemed to be inveterate enemies to each other. But they now acted in concert in the re-eſtabliſhment of Popery; and afterwards agreed together exceedingly well, and were extremely harmonious, in carrying on the perſecution againſt the Proteſtants. Bonner was indeed uncommonly active in the re-eſtabliſhment of Popery; he ſet up the maſs again at St. Paul's, before the act for reſtoring it was paſſed; and he deprived all the married Prieſts in his Dioceſe of their Livings, without waiting for the Queen's orders for that purpoſe (*u*).

In January, 1555, Bonner ſat in St. Mary Overy's church in Southwark, in conjunction with Gardiner, and ſome other Prelates, in order to try ſeveral perſons for Hereſy; when Hooper, Rogers, Taylor, Saunders, and Bradford, were condemned; and the

(*t*) "There were many ludicrous things every where done in deriſion of the old forms, and of the images: many poems were printed, with other ridiculous repreſentations of the Latin ſervice, and the pageantry of their worſhip. But none occaſioned more laughter, than what fell out at Paul's the Eaſter before; the cuſtom being to lay the Sacrament into the ſepulchre, at the even ſong of Good Friday, and to take it out by break of day on Eaſter morning. At the time of the taking of it out, the choir ſung theſe words, *Surrexit, non eſt hic*; he is riſen, he is not here: but then the Prieſt looking for the Hoſt, found it was not there indeed, for one had ſtolen it out; which put them all in no ſmall diſorder, but another was preſently brought in its ſtead. Upon this a ballad followed, that their God was ſtolen and loſt, but a new one was made in his room. This raillery was ſo ſalt, that it provoked the Clergy much. They offered large rewards to diſcover him that had ſtolen the Hoſt, or had made the ballad, but could not come to the knowledge of it. But they reſolved, e're long, to turn that mirth and pleaſantneſs of the Heretics into ſevere mourning."—Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol II. P. 291.

(*u*) *Vid.* Strype's Memorials of Cranmer, P. 328, 329.

the four firſt were ſoon after committed to the flames (*w*); but the execution of the laſt was for ſome time reſpited (*x*).

On the 16th of March, Thomas Tompkins, a weaver in Shoreditch, was burnt in Smithfield, for denying the doctrine of the real preſence. Bonner had kept him many months in his houſe, and endeavoured to prevail on him to recant by fair means; but not being able to ſucceed, he one day tore out a part of the hair of Tompkins's beard; and, to conceal that, cauſed him to be cloſe ſhaved. And another time Bonner held the man's hand in the flame of a candle ſo long, that the ſinews and veins ſhrunk and burſt; but Harpsfield, who ſtood by, interpoſed, and prevailed on him to ſuſpend his cruelty for that time. But he afterwards condemned him as an obſtinate Heretic, and committed him to the flames.

The next that ſuffered was one William Hunter, of Brentwood, an apprentice of nineteen years old, who had been artfully drawn into a diſpute by a Prieſt, and thereupon unwarily denied the doctrine of the real preſence in the Sacrament; upon which the Prieſt exhibited an accuſation of Hereſy againſt him. However, the young man abſconded; but his own father was made to

(*w*) *Vid.* P. 240, 241. of this Volume.

(*x*) JOHN BRADFORD, condemned as above, had been a Prebendary of St. Paul's, and a celebrated preacher in the reign of King Edward; and had ſaved one of Bonner's Chaplains from very imminent danger. Soon after the acceſſion of Mary, Bonner went to St. Paul's, where his Chaplain Bourn preached before him. And in his ſermon Bourn ſpake very honourably of Bonner, and made many ſharp reflections on the proceedings againſt him in the reign of King Edward. This irritated the audience, who hated Bonner, and could not bear to hear any thing ſaid that ſeemed to detract from the late King; and there was thereupon a great tumult in the church. Some called to pull Bourn down, others flung ſtones, and one threw a dagger towards the pulpit with ſuch force, that he ſtuck it faſt in it; but Bourn ſaved himſelf by ſtooping. John Bradford was preſent when this diſturbance happened; and he, together with John Rogers, being in great credit with the people, ſtood up, and exerted themſelves to ſuppreſs the tumult; and then, to deliver Bourn out of the hands of the enraged multitude, they conveyed him away from the pulpit to a houſe near the church. The ſame afternoon Bradford preached at Bow church, and there ſeverely reproved the people for the diſorder at St. Paul's; but three days after he was committed to priſon, and being removed from one priſon to another, was continued in confinement upwards of two years. But wherever he came, his behaviour influenced the keepers ſo much in his favour, that they ſuffered him to preach and adminiſter the Sacrament to his fellow priſoners. Once, when he was brought before the Council, Bonner there accuſed him of the tumult at St. Paul's; though all he pretended to prove it by, was, that Bradford's way of ſpeaking to the people ſhewed that he thought he had ſome authority over them, and was a preſumption that he had ſet the ſedition on foot. Bradford upon this appealed to GOD, who ſaw his innocency, and how unworthily he was requited for ſaving his enemies, who rendered him evil for good.

Bradford was burnt in Smithfield in July, 1555, and ſuffered with great fortitude. There was alſo burnt with him John Leaf, an apprentice of nineteen years of age, who had been condemned by Bonner.

to ſearch for him, to bring him to what was called juſtice, and he then ſurrendered himſelf, to prevent his father's being brought into trouble. Bonner offered him forty pounds if he would recant; ſo mercenary a thing, ſays Burnet, did he think conſcience to be. But he anſwered, if they would let him alone, he would keep his conſcience to himſelf, but he would not recant; ſo he was condemned by Bonner, and ſent to be burnt near his father's houſe, where he ſuffered on the 26th of March.

The ſame day Thomas Cauſton and Thomas Higbed, both gentlemen of fortune, and much eſteemed in the neighbourhood in which they lived, having been condemned by Bonner, were burnt near their own houſes in Eſſex. Two days after, William Pigot was burnt at Braintree, and Stephen Knight at Malden; and the day following, John Lawrence, a Prieſt, was burnt at Colcheſter: all condemned by Bonner. Lawrence was ſo weak, with the heavy irons that had been put on him, and other ſevere uſage, that he could not walk to the place of execution, but was carried thither in a chair, in which he was faſtened to the ſtake, and ſo burnt. It is obſerved by Biſhop Burnet, that in all the proceſſes againſt theſe people, no witneſſes were brought againſt them, but only articles exhibited to them, according to the way of thoſe courts, called EX OFFICIO; to which articles they were required to make anſwers; and upon their anſwers, which were judged heretical, they were condemned; ſo that all this inhuman perſecution "was ſingly for their conſciences, "without the pretence of any other matter (*y*)."

A ſhort ſtop was now put to the burning of Heretics; for the people in general began to be greatly enraged at theſe barbarous executions. And it is ſaid that even Bonner himſelf grew weary of them; he at leaſt pretended to be ſo; and complained, that the whole buſineſs was turned over to him, and that the reſt of the Biſhops only looked on, and left the execution of the laws againſt Heretics entirely to him; and therefore when the Juſtices and Sheriffs ſent up Heretics to him, he now ſent them back again, and refuſed to meddle further with them. Upon this the King and Queen wrote to him on the 24th of May, complaining of his remiſſneſs, and admoniſhing him to have henceforward more regard to the office of a good Paſtor and

(*y*) *Vid.* Hiſt. of the Reformation, P. 307, 308. About the ſame time that the perſons above-mentioned were put to death, a poor honeſt fiſherman, named Rawlins White, was burnt at Cardiff. He was a very old man, and was committed to priſon only becauſe he had put his ſon to ſchool, that he might hear the Bible read by him. He was afterwards examined upon articles, and after a year's impriſonment, was condemned as an Heretic by the Biſhop of Landaff.

Shortly after George Marſh, a Prieſt, who was condemned by Dr. Cotes, Biſhop of Cheſter, was burnt at Cheſter. At his death there was a new invention of cruelty; a firkin with pitch and tar in it was hung over his head, that the fire melting it, it might ſcald his head as it dropped on it.

and Biſhop; and when ſuch offenders were brought to him, to endeavour to remove them from their errors; or if they were obſtinate, to proceed againſt them according to law: and this he was to do, their Majeſties ſaid, that GOD's glory might be thereby better advanced, and the common-wealth more quietly governed.

Bonner had now been ſeveral weeks without committing a ſingle Heretic to the flames. But having received this letter from Philip and Mary, he ſoon recovered his loſt time. On the 30th of May, John Cardmaker, who had been Divinity-reader at St. Paul's, and a Prebendary in Wells cathedral, and John Warne, an upholſterer in London, having been condemned as obſtinate Heretics by Bonner, were burnt in Smithfield (*z*). And on the 4th of June, a piece of ridiculous pageantry was acted on the body of one Tooley; who, having been executed for a robbery, had at his death ſaid ſomewhat that ſavoured of Hereſy. Upon which a letter was ſent to Bonner, ſigned by Gardiner, and ſix other Members of the Council, directing him to enquire into the affair, and to proceed according to the Eccleſiaſtical laws. Accordingly he formed a proceſs thereupon, and cited the dead body to anſwer the points objected to it; but that neither anſwering nor appearing, was condemned and burnt.

On the tenth of June, Thomas Hawkes, a gentleman of Eſſex, who had lived much at Court, was burnt at Coxehall; and on the ſame day John Simpſon and John Ardeley, two huſbandmen, were alſo burnt in Eſſex, as was alſo Thomas Watts, a linen-draper. On the fourteenth of the ſame month, Nicholas Chamberlain, a weaver, was burnt at Colcheſter; on the fifteenth Thomas Oſmond, a fuller, was burnt at Manningtree; and the ſame day William Pamford, a weaver, was burnt at Harwich. Theſe, with ſeveral others, had been ſent up to Bonner by the Earl of Oxford, becauſe they had not received the Sacrament at Eaſter, and were ſuſpected of Hereſy. Bonner examined them in his uſual manner, and having condemned them, ſent them to be burnt in the places where they had lived. But the Council, apprehending that ſome tumult might be raiſed on this occaſion, or that the priſoners might be reſcued, wrote to the Earl of Oxford, and the Lord Rich, directing them to raiſe the force of the county, and to attend to ſee the Heretics burnt. But the Earl of Oxford being indiſpoſed, he could not attend himſelf; however, he ſent his ſervants and attendants to Lord Rich, who went and obeyed the orders which he had received: for which letters of

(*z*) The principal charge againſt both of them was denying the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation; but one of the articles exhibited againſt Warne by Bonner, was, "That about a twelvemonth agone, and more, a great rough water ſpaniel belonging to the ſaid Warne, was ſhorn on the head, and had a crown like a Prieſt made in the ſame, which he, the ſaid Warne, did laugh at and like, though he did it not himſelf, nor knew who did it."

of thanks were ſent him. And the Council underſtanding that ſome gentlemen had come to the burning at Colcheſter, who had not been written to, (but, as it is expreſſed in the letter, "had "honeſtly, and of themſelves gone thither,") they wrote to the Lord Rich to give them the Council's thanks for their commendable zeal. And it appears that Mary's Council, when any Heretics were to be burnt in the country, generally wrote letters to the Nobility and Gentry in the neighbourhood, deſiring them to attend thoſe executions; for they were always apprehenſive, and indeed they very juſtly might, that theſe barbarous executions would excite ſome diſturbance or commotion among the people. And ſuch of the Nobility and Gentry as excuſed themſelves from attending at theſe burnings, were looked on by the Government with an eye of jealouſy and ſuſpicion.

On the 22d of July, Dirick Carver, a brewer, was burnt at Lewes in Suſſex, having been condemned by Bonner; as was alſo John Launder, huſbandman, who was burnt the ſame day at Stening; and Thomas Iveſon, carpenter, who was burnt at Chicheſter (*a*). On the 8th of Auguſt, a gentleman named Denley was burnt at Uxbridge, and Robert Smith at Weybridge; on the 26th, George Tankerville was burnt at St. Alban's, and two days after Patrick Packingham alſo ſuffered in the ſame place; and on the 31ſt, John Newman was burnt at Saffron Walden: all of whom were condemned by Bonner. And in the ſame month he alſo committed to the ſtake William Hall, who was burnt at Barnet; Elizabeth Warne, at Stratford; Stephen Harwood, at the ſame place; and Thomas Fuſt, at Ware (*b*).

Bonner was not content with committing ſuch a number of Proteſtants to the flames, but he alſo treated them with great cruelty before they were ſent to the ſtake. He would frequently ſtrike thoſe who were brought before him with his own hands; in particular, he ſent for a Clergyman, named Thomas Whittle, who had retracted a recantation which he had made, "and fell "upon him like a lion (ſays Fox), and like a manly Biſhop buf-"fetted him well; ſo that he made his face black and blue, and "plucked away a great piece of his beard." Bonner had a

(*a*) About the ſame time John Bland and John Frankeſh, two Clergymen, and Nicholas Sheterden and Humphry Middleton, two Laymen, were all burnt together in one fire at Canterbury. They were condemned by Thornton, Suffragan of Dover. Shortly after, Margery Polley was burnt at Tunbridge. She was condemned by the Biſhop of Rocheſter, and was the firſt woman who ſuffered in this reign. Chriſtopher Wade was alſo condemned at the ſame time with her, but he was burnt at Dartford.

(*b*) In the ſame month William Coker, William Hopper, Henry Laurence, Richard Collier, Richard Wright, and William Steer, were all burnt in one fire at Canterbury. They were condemned by the Suffragan of Dover, and Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury.

place which was called his Coal-Houſe, in which the Proteſtants were frequently confined; and here, and in Lollard's Tower, ſtocks were put up, contrived both for the hands and feet. "Some (ſays an old writer) were hung therein by the heels ſo "high, that only their heads lay on the ground. Some were "ſtocked in both feet and arms, ſome alſo were ſtocked by both "their feet, and by both their thumbs, and ſo did hang in the "ſtocks. And ſome alſo were ſtocked by both their feet, and "chained by the neck with collars of iron, made faſt behind "them to a poſt in the wall, and ſuch other deviliſh & tyrannous "engines and devices (*c*)." And when not engaged in more important buſineſs, the pious Prelate ſometimes amuſed himſelf with ſcourging ſome of the Heretics with rods, and with his own hands, till he was out of breath, in his orchard at Fulham (*d*).

On the 16th of December, Bonner condemned as an obſtinate Heretic John Philpot, Archdeacon of Wincheſter. He was ſon to Sir Peter Philpot, of Hampſhire; and appears to have been a man of parts and learning. He had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his zealous defence of the reformed opinions, in the Convocation which was aſſembled at the beginning of Mary's reign; and after the Convocation broke up, he was put in priſon, and there illegally detained by Gardiner for what he had ſaid in it; "though (as Burnet obſerves) liberty of ſpeech had been pro-"miſed, and the nature of the meeting did require it." He was afterwards turned over to Bonner, and for ſome time kept confined in his Coal-Houſe, and put into the ſtocks there; and many conferences were had with him, in order to prevail on him to recant; but all in vain, for he continued firm and ſteady to his principles. Bonner told him, that becauſe the Lord-Chancellor, Gardiner, was dead, he imagined they would burn no more Heretics; but he ſhould ſoon find his error, if he recanted not. Philpot objected very much to being tried by Bonner, inſiſting upon it that he was not his ordinary, and that he had no legal right to do any thing with him. But Bonner told him that he was an obſtinate fool, and that he would be his ordinary, whether he would or not. At one of Philpot's examinations, at which the Biſhops of Durham and Chicheſter were preſent, Bonner boaſted to thoſe Prelates of the gentleneſs with which he had treated him, and appealed to Philpot himſelf for the truth of it; whoſe reply was, "If to lie in the vileſt priſon in this town, "(being a gentleman, and an Archdeacon), and in a coal-houſe, "by the ſpace of five or ſix weeks already, without fire or can-"dle, be to be counted gentleneſs at your hands, I muſt needs "ſay I have found gentleneſs. But there were never men ſo "cruelly handled as we are in theſe days." Bonner, amazed that Philpot

(*c*) Harleian Miſcellany, Vol. III. P. 101. See alſo Fox's Acts and Monuments, Vol. III. P. 541.

(*d*) Acts and Monuments, V. III. P. 880, 881, 905. See alſo Strype's Annals of the Reformation during the firſt twelve years of Q. Elizabeth's reign, P. 537.

Philpot ſhould find fault with ſuch gentle treatment as he had received, exclaimed, "Lo! what a varlet is this!" Philpot was burnt in Smithfield on the 18th of December, and ſuffered with great chearfulneſs and fortitude (*e*).

(*e*) Mr. Hume, in relating the account of Philpot's martyrdom, takes occaſion to mention an inſtance of the Archdeacon's expreſſing his zeal for orthodoxy in an indecent and unbecoming manner, in a diſpute with an Arian, namely, by ſpitting in his adverſary's face: upon which this Hiſtorian makes the following remark. "It ſeems to be almoſt a general rule, that, in all religions *except the true*, no man will ſuffer martyrdom, who would not alſo inflict it willingly on all who differ from him. The ſame zeal for ſpeculative opinions is the cauſe of both."—Hiſt. of England, Vol. IV. P. 442. 8vo. Edit.

That the behaviour of Philpot in the inſtance referred to was exceedingly unbecoming, and that he was at that time actuated by a very improper ſpirit, we readily grant; tho' we think that it cannot very certainly be concluded from that inſtance only, that he would have burnt his opponent, if it had been in his power. But however this be with reſpect to Philpot, we think the general concluſion drawn by Mr. Hume, is ſo exceedingly diſhonourable to all who have in any age nobly ſacrificed their lives in the cauſe of truth and religion, (and indeed the obſervation ſeems made with no other view than to diſhonour them), that it deſerves a few remarks; and the rather, as it is a ſpecimen of that ſophiſtical reaſoning, which is ſo frequently to be met with in the writings of this author.

That Mr. Hume, by the words "in all religions except the true," really intended to make an exception in favour of the Chriſtian or Proteſtant religion, is what will not be ſuppoſed by any who are acquainted with his writings. It is evidently nothing but a ſneer. The reaſon, therefore, aſſigned by this Hiſtorian for concluding, that, in general, no man would ſuffer martyrdom, who would not alſo inflict it willingly on all who differ from him, is, that "the ſame zeal for ſpeculative opinions is the cauſe of both." Now we think it very eaſy to ſuppoſe, that a man may ſuffer death for religion, without any ſuch zeal for ſpeculative opinions, as would induce him to cauſe others to be put to death for differing from him; and we believe there have been numberleſs inſtances of this. It ſhould be remembered, that great numbers have ſuffered death on a religious account, not for publicly oppoſing the eſtabliſhed religion, but merely becauſe they would not make a public and ſolemn declaration that they believed opinions, which they were convinced were falſe. This was the caſe with great numbers in England, in the reign of Mary. Now may we not very naturally imagine, that many conſcientious men would rather ſuffer death, than thus baſely violate their conſciences, though they were utterly averſe to the perſecution of others? May we not ſuppoſe, that a truly virtuous man, who acted on the principles of natural religion only, would rather ſacrifice his life, than ſolemnly declare he believed that to be true, which he was convinced was falſe? Thoſe who required men to abjure opinions as heretical and falſe, which they firmly believed to be true, required of them not only to ceaſe to be zealous for ſpeculative opinions, but to be guilty of a breach of the laws of morality. It is, therefore, utterly inconſiſtent with juſtice and candour, to infer that thoſe who ſuffered death, rather than abjure their opinions, would have put others to death for differing from them, if they had had it in their power.

But whatever may be the opinion of the writer whom we now oppoſe, there are, we preſume, very few Chriſtians, who are not convinced, that many even of thoſe who publicly oppoſed opinions and practices, which they thought to be detri-

ments

On the 27th of January, 1556, Thomas Whittle, a Clergyman, whom we have before mentioned, a gentleman named Green, Thomas Brown, John Tudſon, and John Went, three tradeſmen, Iſabel Foſter, a cutler's wife, and Joan Warne, a maid about twenty years of age, were all burned in one fire in Smithfield. They had all been preſented becauſe they went not to church; upon which articles were put to them by Bonner, who on their anſwers condemned them as Heretics. Green, at his examination, told Bonner, that "in old time there were no "men put to death for their conſcience, until ſuch time as Biſhops "found the means to make it death to believe contrary to "them (*f*)."

On the 18th of March, Bonner condemned Robert Drakes and William Tyms, two Clergymen, and four tradeſmen, and they were all burnt together in Smithfield on the twenty-third of April (*g*). And ſix more tradeſmen who were charged with Hereſy, being ſent up from Colcheſter to Bonner, he very ſpeedily condemned them, and ſent them back again to Colcheſter, where they were all burnt together on the 28th of April.

The further Bonner proceeded in this bloody buſineſs, the more the cruelty and ſavageneſs of his temper ſeemed to encreaſe. On the 9th of May, he condemned an old cripple, named Hugh Laverock, aged ſixty-eight years, and a blind man whoſe name was John Apprice; and they were burnt together at Stratford, on the 15th of the ſame month. Fox ſays, that "at "their death, Hugh Laverock, after he was chained, caſting "away his crutch, and comforting John Apprice, his fellow-"martyr, ſaid unto him, Be of good comfort, my brother; for "my Lord of London is our good phyſician: he will heal us "both

mental to the beſt intereſts of mankind, and hazarded their lives on that account, were yet very far from being diſpoſed to perſecute others for a difference of ſentiment in any way whatever. That there have been too many among Chriſtians in general, and even among Proteſtants, who have not ſufficiently imbibed the mild, peaceable, and forbearing ſpirit which their religion teaches, is an unhappy truth, which hath given too much room for the attacks of the enemies of Chriſtianity. There have, however, been many, of whom we have the higheſt reaſon to believe, that though they had learned in the Chriſtian ſchool to hazard every temporal concern, and even life itſelf, if they might thereby promote the intereſts of CHRIST's religion, and of truth and virtue, amongſt mankind; yet had alſo learned by the religion they profeſſed, not to do the leaſt injury to any man on account of difference of ſentiment, and much leſs be diſpoſed to put others to death on that account. Many of theſe we conſider as benefactors to mankind, and an honour to humanity; and the reſpect we think due to their characters, hath induced us to make theſe remarks.

(*f*) In the ſame month, John Lomas and four women were burnt together in Canterbury, where they were condemned by Richard Faweet, and three others.

(*g*) In the ſame month, John Harpool and Joan Beach were burnt at Rocheſter, being condemned by the Biſhop of that See: and John Hallier, a Clergyman, was burnt at Cambridge, being condemned by the Biſhop of Ely.

" both ſhortly; thee of thy blindneſs, and me of my lame-
" neſs." And the day after this ſcene of cruelty was exhibited, three women, Catherine Hut, Joan Horne, and Elizabeth Thackville, were burnt in Smithfield, condemned alſo by Bonner. In June he committed ſundry other perſons to the flames, particularly eleven men and two women, who were all burnt in one fire at Stratford-le-Bow, near London (*b*).

" All theſe fires (ſays Burnet) did not extinguiſh the light of the Reformation, nor abate the love of it. They ſpread it more, and kindled new heats in men's minds: ſo that what they had read of the former perſecutions under the Heathens, ſeemed to be now revived. This made thoſe who loved the Goſpel, meet oft together, though the malice of their enemies obliged them to do it with great caution and ſecrecy; yet there were ſometimes at their meetings about two hundred. They were inſtructed and watched over by ſeveral faithful ſhepherds, who were willing to hazard their lives, in feeding this flock committed to their care. The chief of theſe were Scambler, and Bentham, afterwards promoted by Queen Elizabeth to the Sees of Peterborough and Litchfield: Foule, Bernher, and Rough, a Scotchman, that was afterwards condemned and burnt by Bonner. There was alſo care taken, by their friends beyond ſea, to ſupply them with good books; which they ſent over to them for their inſtruction and encouragement. Theſe that fled beyond ſea went at firſt for the moſt part to France, where, though they were well uſed, in oppoſition to the Queen, yet they could not have the free exerciſe of their religion granted them: ſo they retired to Geneva, and Zurich, and Aaraw, in Switzerland; and to Straſburgh and Frankfort, in the Upper Germany; and to Embden, in the Lower (*i*)."

On the 29th of December, a commiſſion was granted to Bonner, and Cole, Dean of St. Paul's, to ſearch all regiſters and records, and to collect and gather together whatever contained " profeſſions againſt the Pope's Holineſs, and the See Apoſtolic; " and alſo ſundry and divers infamous ſcrutinies taken in Ab-" bies, and other religious houſes, &c." Theſe writings were to be delivered to Cardinal Pole, by whom they are ſuppoſed to have been deſtroyed.

In

(*b*) About this time a moſt ſhocking ſcene of cruelty was exhibited in the iſle of Guernſey. A mother and her two daughters, who had been condemned for Hereſy by the Dean of Guernſey, were there burnt at the ſame ſtake. And one of the daughters, being a married woman, and big with child, was thrown into ſuch agitation by the torture, that her belly burſt, and ſhe was delivered in the midſt of the flames. One of the guards immediately ſnatched the infant from the fire, and attempted to ſave it; but one of the Magiſtrates ordered it to be thrown back, and the infant periſhed with its mother. This is an undoubted fact: and the Dean of Guernſey, and ſeveral others, were for ſome time impriſoned on account of it in the reign of Elizabeth.——*Vid.* Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. P. 337, 338.

(*i*) Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. P. 339.

In February, 1557, a commiſſion was granted to Biſhop Bonner, the Biſhop of Ely, and nineteen others, for the more effectual extirpation of Hereſy. They were empowered, or any three of them, to enquire into ſuch heretical opinions as were ſpread among the people, either by preſentments by witneſſes, or any other politic way they could deviſe. And to ſearch after the bringers in, the ſellers, and readers of all heretical books: and to enquire and ſearch out all ſuch perſons as obſtinately refuſed to preach the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, or to hear maſs; and all ſuch as refuſed to go in proceſſions, to take holy water, or holy bread: and if they found any that obſtinately perſiſted in ſuch Hereſies, they were to put them into the hands of their ordinaries, to be puniſhed according to the eccleſiaſtical laws. And the Commiſſioners had full powers given them, to call before them all perſons ſuſpected of Hereſy, and as many witneſſes as they thought proper, and to compel them to make oath of all ſuch things as tended to diſcover what they ſought after. This was thought a bold ſtep towards introducing the Inquiſition into England; and that the methods of proceeding might be brought nearer to the practice of that infamous tribunal, letters were written to the Lord North, and others, enjoining them, "to put "to the torture ſuch obſtinate perſons as would not confeſs, and "there to order them at their diſcretion." A proclamation was alſo iſſued againſt books of Hereſy, treaſon, and ſedition, in which it was declared, "that whoſoever had any of theſe books, "and did not preſently burn them, without reading, or ſhewing "them to any other perſon, they ſhould be deemed rebels; and, "without any farther delay, be executed by martial law."

On the 3d of April, Bonner condemned Thomas Loſeby, Henry Ramſay, Thomas Thirtel, Margaret Hide, and Agnes Stanley; and they were all burnt together in Smithfield on the 12th of the ſame month. And on the 2d of Auguſt, ten perſons were burnt at Colcheſter; three men and three women in the forenoon, and two men and two women in the afternoon. They were not condemned by Bonner himſelf, but by his deputies, in the preſence of the two Bailiffs of Colcheſter, and ſome Juſtices of the peace: but their examinations were ſent to Bonner, and he procured the writ for their burning; "and to ſhew "the more diligence in the cauſe, (ſays Fox), he ſent his own "truſty man down with it, named Edward Coſin, and with him "alſo his letter for the furtherance of the matter (*k*)."

On

(*k*) A ſhort time before this, fourteen perſons were condemned by Thornton, Suffragan of Dover, and Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury; and ſeven of them were burnt at Maidſtone, and ſeven at Canterbury. And in leſs than a week after, ſix men and four women were burnt at Lewes in Suſſex. They were condemned by White, who was promoted to the See of Wincheſter, in the room of Gardiner.

On the 10th of September, Bonner condemned James Auſtoo and his wife, Ralph Allerton, and Richard Routh; who were burnt together at Iſlington on the 17th of the ſame month. And the ſame day two women were burnt at Colcheſter (*l*). On the 6th of November, he condemned John Hallingdale, William Sparrow, and Richard Gibſon; who were burnt in Smithfield on the 18th of the ſame month.

On the 19th of December, John Rough, a Scotchman, was examined by Bonner, being charged with officiating at a private meeting at Iſlington, and there adminiſtring the Sacrament, and uſing the form of worſhip, as appointed in King Edward's days. The new inquiſitors had corrupted one of Rough's congregation to betray his brethren; ſo that they were apprehended as they were going to the communion. But Rough being a ſtranger, it was debated in the Council, whether he ſhould be tried as a native; but as he had held a Benefice in Yorkſhire in King Edward's days, it was reſolved, and ſignified to the Biſhop of London, that he ſhould be proceeded againſt as a ſubject. Bonner thereupon objected to him, that he had condemned the doctrine of the Church, and ſet out the Hereſies of Cranmer and Ridley concerning the Sacrament, and made uſe of the ſervice ſet out by King Edward; that he had lived much with thoſe, who for their Hereſies had fled beyond ſea; and that he had ſpoken reproachfully of the Pope and Cardinals, ſaying, that when he was at Rome, he had ſeen a bull of the Pope's that licenſed whoring and the ſtews, and a Cardinal riding openly with his whore with him, with ſeveral other articles; moſt of which he confeſſed, and was thereupon condemned by Bonner. In the courſe of Rough's examination, he ſaid that he had been twice at Rome, and that what he ſaw there convinced him that the Pope was the very Anti-Chriſt; at which Bonner was ſo much exaſperated, that he roſe up in a rage, and looking furiouſly at Rough, "Haſt thou (ſaid he) been at Rome, and ſeen our Holy Father "the Pope? and doſt thou blaſpheme him after this ſort?" And with that he flew upon him, (ſays Fox) and plucked off a piece of his beard. Rough was burnt in Smithfield on the 22d of December, together with a woman, who had been one of his congregation at Iſlington.

At the beginning of the year 1558, the important town of Calais was taken by the French, to the very great regret of the whole Engliſh nation, as they had held it upwards of two hundred years, and as it afforded them, whenever they pleaſed, an entrance into France. War had now been for ſome time declared againſt France; but Calais had notwithſtanding been left in a ſtate very little capable of defence; for the Engliſh Government,

(*l*) About this time ſeventeen perſons were alſo burnt in the Dioceſe of Chicheſter, chiefly condemned by Chriſtopherſon, Biſhop of Chicheſter, and Dr. Briſley, Chancellor of the Dioceſe.

Government, being under the influence and direction of Prieſts and Bigots, diſcovered no vigour in any thing but the deſtruction of Heretics.

On the 19th of March, Bonner condemned Cuthbert Simpſon, Hugh Fox, and John Deveniſh; and on the 28th of the ſame month they were burnt in Smithfield. Simpſon was in Deacon's orders, and had been taken with John Rough beforementioned. He was three times racked in the Tower, and ſeveral other inventions of torture were made uſe of, to extort from him a diſcovery of all thoſe Proteſtants in London who went to their private aſſemblies. But all their efforts for this purpoſe were in vain; for Simpſon endured whatever ſufferings they inflicted on him with amazing conſtancy. Even Bonner himſelf applauded him for his firmneſs: at one of Simpſon's examinations, the Prelate addreſſed himſelf to the ſpectators, and ſaid, "Ye ſee this man, what a perſonable man he is; and "furthermore concerning his patience; I ſay unto you, that if "he were not an Heretic, he is a man of the greateſt patience "that ever yet came before me. For I tell you, he hath been "thrice racked upon one day in the Tower. Alſo in my houſe he "hath felt ſome ſorrow, and yet I never ſaw his patience "broken."

On the 17th of June, Henry Pond, Raynold Eaſtland, Robert Southam, Matthew Ricarby, John Floyd, John Holliday, and Roger Holland, who had been taken up for aſſembling to worſhip in a cloſe near Iſlington, were condemned by Bonner; and on the 27th of the ſame month, they were burnt in Smithfield. And on the 14th of July, ſix other perſons who had been taken up at the ſame time, were burnt at Brentford. When thoſe ſeven who were burnt in Smithfield were led out to the ſtake, it was proclaimed, in the Queen's name, that no man ſhould pray for them, or ſpeak to them, or ſay, GOD help them; "which "(ſays Burnet) was thought a ſtrain of barbarity beyond all the "examples of former times, to deprive dying men of the good "wiſhes and prayers of their friends. But however this might "reſtrain men from giving outward ſigns of their praying for "them, it could not bind up their inward and ſecret devo-"tions."

Sundry other perſons were committed to the flames this year in different parts of the kingdom. But an end was at length put to theſe inhuman butcheries, by the death of Queen Mary, which happened on the 17th of November, 1558, an event which was very little regretted by any of her ſubjects, except the Popiſh Clergy. For her reign was inglorious abroad, and to the laſt degree cruel and tyrannical at home (*m*). The Princeſs

(*m*) It is certain that at leaſt two hundred and eighty-four perſons were put to death for religion in this reign. But it is obſerved, by Biſhop Burnet, that "he that writ the Preface to Biſhop Ridley's book, De ſigno Daniel, who

ceſs Elizabeth was proclaimed Queen on the ſame day on which her ſiſter died; on receiving information of which, ſhe came from Hatfield, where ſhe then was, and proceeded towards London.

When ſhe came to Highgate, ſhe was there met by all the Biſhops, whom ſhe received with civility, excepting Bonner, whom ſhe looked upon as a man ſo much defiled with blood, that ſhe would not ſhew him any mark of her favour, nor permit him to kiſs her hand. The Queen was crowned on the fourteenth of January, 1559, by Oglethorp, Biſhop of Carliſle, all the other Biſhops refuſing to officiate at that ſolemnity, on account of the attachment which her Majeſty diſcovered to the opinions of the Heretics.

Bonner remained unmoleſted for about half a year after the acceſſion of Elizabeth; but being called before the Privy Council, on the 30th of May, 1559, he refuſed to take the oath of ſupremacy which was then tendered to him, and was on that account deprived of his Biſhopric on the 29th of June following, and committed to the Marſhalſea (*n*).

In the fifth year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, an act being paſſed which required the oath of ſupremacy to be taken by all Eccleſiaſtics, it was again tendered to Bonner among the reſt, by Horn, Biſhop of Wincheſter. But Bonner refuſed the oath as unlawful, and objected to the Biſhop himſelf, as having no power to adminiſter it to him, being none of his Dioceſan, and no lawful

who is ſuppoſed to be Grindal, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſays, that in the two firſt years of the Queen's perſecution, there were above eight hundred put to moſt cruel kinds of death for religion: by which it ſeems Fox, on whom I depend in the numbers I have aſſigned, has come far ſhort in his account. Beſides thoſe that were burnt, many others died in bonds, of whom there are ſixty reckoned."——Hiſt. of the Reform. Vol. II. P. 364. Indeed Fox himſelf intimates, that more were put to death than he has given an account of; for he ſays, that "in ſuch an innumerable company of godly martyrs, which in ſundry quarters of this Realm were put to torments of fire in Queen Mary's time it is hard ſo exactly to recite every particular perſon that ſuffered, but that ſome eſcape us either unknown or omitted."——Acts and Monuments, Vol. III. P. 888. Edit. 1641.

(*n*) "It ſhewed a great temper in the whole nation, (ſays Burnet) that ſuch a man as Bonner had been, was ſuffered to go about in ſafety, and was not made a ſacrifice to the revenge of thoſe who had loſt their near friends by his means.——There were great complaints made againſt Bonner, that he had, in many things, in the proſecution of thoſe that were preſented for Hereſy, exceeded what the law allowed; ſo that it was much deſired to have him made an example. But as the Queen was of her own nature merciful, ſo the reformed Divines had learned in the Goſpel, not to render evil for evil, nor to ſeek revenge; and—they thought it was for the honour of their religion, to give his real demonſtration of the conformity of their doctrine, to the rules of the Goſpel and of the primitive Church, by avoiding all cruelty and ſeverity, when it looked like revenge."— Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. P. 396.

ful Biſhop. Whereupon he was indicted of a Præmunire, agreeable to the ſtatute, but he found means to get off.

As he was going back from the place where the oath was tendered to him, great numbers of people were aſſembled to ſee him paſs; and as he was generally deteſted for his cruelty, many reviled him as he went along. And one in particular ſaid to him, "The LORD confound thee, or elſe turn thy heart." To which Bonner anſwered, "The LORD ſend thee to keep thy "breath to cool thy porridge." Another ſaid to him, "The "LORD overthrow thee." To which he replied, "The LORD "make thee as wiſe as a woodcock." When he came to his lodgings in the Marſhalſea, he had ſome converſation with a Clergyman there, who took great pains to convince him of the reaſonableneſs of taking the oath of ſupremacy; upon which Bonner tauntingly ſaid to him, "By God, you are well learned." "But where learned you to ſwear, Mr. Bonner?" ſaid the Clergyman. "I pray you (ſaid Bonner) did not CHRIST ſwear, "Amen, Amen, dico vobis." "Why this is well, (ſaid the "Clergyman) that you have ſome Scripture for Blaſphemy, "though you have none for Popery." Upon that Bonner flew out of his chamber in a rage, and went into the garden, deſiring the keeper to turn the Clergyman out of the houſe (*o*).

Bonner lived ſome years in his confinement in the Marſhalſea, where he was well uſed, and kept under a very eaſy reſtraint; and he kept up his ſpirits extremely well (*p*). He died on the 5th of September, 1569; and three days after, he was buried at midnight, in St. George's church-yard in Southwark, attended with ſome of his Popiſh friends and relations. "Which was ordered (ſays Mr. Strype) to be done at that ſeaſon of the night, and in that obſcurity, by the diſcretion of the Biſhop of London, to prevent any diſturbances that might have been made by the citizens, (who hated him mortally for having been the death of ſo many of their paſtors, friends, and relations), if they ſhould have ſeen him in the day-time carried with pomp

(*o*) Strype's Annals of the Reformation, during the firſt twelve years of Queen Elizabeth's reign, P. 340.

(*p*) "'Tis ſaid that Dr. Bonner being ſometimes allowed liberty, he would walk, as his occaſions ſerved, in the ſtreet; and ſometimes wearing his tippet, one begged it of him (in ſcoff) 'to line a coat,' 'No, '(ſaid he) but thou ſhalt have a 'fool's head to line thy cap.' To another that bid him, 'Good mor'row, Biſhop Quondam,' he ſtraight replied, 'Farewell, knave Semper.' When another perſon ſhewed the ſaid Bonner his own picture in the *Acts and Monuments of the Church*, &c. commonly called the Book of Martyrs, on purpoſe to vex him, he merrily laughed, and ſaid, 'A vengeance on the fool, how could he get 'my picture drawn ſo right?' And when one aſked him, If he were not aſhamed to whip a man with a beard, he laughed, and told him, 'His beard 'was grown ſince; but (ſaid he) if 'thou hadſt been in his caſe, thou 'wouldſt have thought it a good 'commutation of penance, to have 'had thy bum beaten to ſave thy 'body from burning.'—— Wood's Athenæ Oxonienſes, Vol. I. P. 126. Edit. 1691.

pomp and ſhew to his burial, as many of his acquaintance had intended to do. He ſtood excommunicate many years, and took no care for his abſolution; and ſo might have been denied Chriſtian burial; but the Biſhop of London would not make uſe of that rigour."

Biſhop Bonner was a man of little learning, except in the Canon law, and in politics, in which he is ſaid to have been well ſkilled. He was vicious in his private life, much given to the indulgence of his appetites, addicted to ſwearing, paſſionate, inſolent, and over-bearing. But the character in which he moſt diſtinguiſhed himſelf, was that of a furious, bigotted, and cruel perſecutor. It is ſaid that he was concerned in committing two hundred perſons to the flames. And it appeared in numberleſs inſtances, that his temper was to the laſt degree ſavage and inhuman. As to his perſon, he was very fat and corpulent; which made one ſay to him, "That he was full of guts, but empty of "bowels." In ſhort, to conclude the character of Bonner, we may ſafely venture to affirm, that he was a diſgrace to religion, and to humanity.

We have dwelt longer on the Life of Bonner than any of our biographical predeceſſors, and indeed longer than his character deſerved. For he certainly merited no honourable memorial. It is true, his own actions have raiſed a monument to him; but it is a monument of infamy. We think, however, that the Life of Bonner exhibits a ſtriking repreſentation of the ſpirit and genius of Popery; of the fatal conſequences of Bigotry and Superſtition; and a ſlaviſh and unmanly ſubjection to prieſtly power and dominion. It is indeed aſtoniſhing, that ſuch barbarities as we have had occaſion to ſpeak of, ſo ſhocking to every tender feeling of the human heart, ſhould ever have been practiſed by men who pretended to be Miniſters of a religion which inculcates in the ſtrongeſt manner kindneſs, humanity, and tenderneſs to our fellow creatures, and the moſt univerſal benevolence. Let it, however, be remembered, that Popery is ſtill the ſame, whatever appearances its Clergy may artfully aſſume, whilſt they are diveſted of power. And the Life of Edmund Bonner will not be without its uſe, if it excites in thoſe who read it, a proper regard to the invaluable intereſts of religious liberty, and a juſt deteſtation of every ſpecies of religious perſecution.

The Life of Cardinal POLE, Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

REGINALD POLE was deſcended from the Blood Royal of England, being a younger ſon of Sir Richard Pole, Knight of the Garter, and couſin-german to King Henry VII. by Margaret, daughter of George, Duke of Clarence, younger brother to King Edward IV. He was born at Stoverton Caſtle in Staffordſhire, in the year 1500. After great care had been taken by his mother to form his mind and manners from his cradle, he was ſent at ſeven years of age to be inſtructed in grammar by the Carthuſians, in the Monaſtery at Sheen, near Richmond, in Surry; and when he had attained the age of twelve, he was removed to Magdalen College in Oxford, where he cloſely applied himſelf to the acquiſition of learning, in which he made a conſiderable proficiency, being aſſiſted in his ſtudies by Thomas Linacre and William Latimer. In June, 1515, he took the degree of Batchelor of Arts, and ſome time afterwards he entered into Deacon's orders.

On the 19th of March, 1517, he was made Prebendary of Roſcombe, in the church of Saliſbury; to which were added, in about two years after, the Deaneries of Winbourne Minſter and Exeter. Theſe early promotions were conferred on Pole by Henry VIII. on account of his affinity to him; and his Majeſty himſelf, it is ſaid, directed his being brought up to the Church, with a view of raiſing him to the higheſt dignities in it. Nor was Pole undeſerving of the Royal favour; for he had a good ſhare of natural parts, together with much ſweetneſs of temper, and a love of letters (*q*).

Pole being now nineteen years of age, and having laid a good foundation of learning in his own country, he was deſirous of making a journey into Italy, in order to complete his education; and for this purpoſe a ſupport ſuitable to his rank was provided by the King, who allowed him a large yearly penſion, beſides the profits of his eccleſiaſtical preferments. Accordingly he ſet out for Italy handſomely attended, and viſited ſeveral Univerſities there, but choſe to take up his reſidence at Padua; where he hired an handſome houſe, and eſtabliſhed an houſhold ſuitable to his quality.

"The

(*q*) *Vid.* Biographia Britannica, and Gen. Biograph. Dict. 8vo.

"The great reputation of the profeſſors at Padua, (ſays Dr. Neve) had made it the common reſort of learned men, and of all who were ambitious of that character, and deſirous of being recommended to the notice of the world, by thoſe who were confeſſedly the beſt judges of literary merit. Here it was where Pole began thoſe connections, which diſtinguiſhed his riſing worth. The profeſſors had this extraordinary ſpur to their induſtry and diligence; they knew that they were forming the mind of one, who was the kinſman and the favourite of a great King, and might hereafter have it in his power amply to reward their labours: and ſome of them partook nobly of his preſent bounty, being maintained by him in his own houſe. They therefore took care to publiſh his praiſes, as of one who was an honour to them, and an ornament to their Univerſity. Here commenced his cloſe intimacy with Bembo, Sadolet, and Longolius, which laſted the remainder of their lives. And whilſt he continued in this place, his acquaintance with Eraſmus alſo took its riſe. That great man had received from his friend Lupſet a very favourable repreſentation of Pole. He therefore entered into an epiſtolary intercourſe with him; which he began by recommending to his favour and eſteem the afterwards well-known John a Laſco; thereby genteely laying himſelf under an obligation to his new correſpondent (*r*)."

Beſides the aſſiſtances which Pole received in his ſtudies from Longolius and his countryman Thomas Lupſet, who is ſaid to have been entertained by him in his own family, as well as many other men of letters, he alſo particularly attended the lectures of N. Leonicus, who was diſtinguiſhed for his perfect knowledge of the Greek tongue, and who brought him to be well acquainted with the writings of Ariſtotle and Plato in their original languages (*s*).

Whilſt Pole continued at Padua, his learned friend Chriſtopher Longolius died, in 1522. There was a great intimacy between him and Pole, at whoſe houſe he died, and who wrote the Life of his deceaſed friend, as a memorial of his regard for him; and which, Dr. Neve obſerves, was the firſt and the beſt ſpecimen Pole gave the public of his abilities. Longolius was a man of conſiderable parts and learning: he was bred at Louvain; and applying himſelf to the ſtudy of Cicero, he contracted ſuch an implicit veneration for the Roman orator, that he ſtands among the Chiefs of the Ciceronians; on which account he had a little variance with Eraſmus, between whom and Budæus he drew up a compariſon, in which he gave the preference to the latter. Eraſmus has, however, beſtowed many encomiums on him;

(*r*) Animadverſions on Mr. Philpot's Life of Cardinal Pole, by Dr. Neve, P. 8, 9.

(*s*) *Vid.* Life of C. Reginald Pole, written in Italian by Lodovico Beccatelli, Archbiſhop of Raguſa, tranſl. by the Rev. Mr. Benj. Pye, Lond. 1766. P. 16.

him; though in one of his epiſtles he has given an humorous account of the ſtiffneſs of Longolius's behaviour, and his pedantic attachment to the words and phraſes of Cicero; ſaying, that he "was ſo ſolemn, that though he ſtaid with him three days, he "never obſerved him to ſmile, not even at meal-times, though "he would ſometimes aim at a joke in his letters;——that "according to this ſect, (that of the Ciceronians) every thing "muſt be expreſſed as Cicero would have done it. Oh! if he "could revive, how he would laugh at theſe diſciples of "his (*t*)."

Pole having now acquired a conſiderable ſhare of knowledge and reputation in Italy, by the ſolicitation of his mother, now Counteſs of Saliſbury, and the reſt of his friends, he propoſed returning into England at the beginning of the year 1525; but being deſirous of ſeeing the jubilee, which was celebrated this year at Rome, he reſolved to viſit that city before he returned into his own country.

He ſet out upon his journey with a ſmall retinue of his own domeſtics; however, at Florence, and at many other towns through which he paſſed, he was received with great marks of public reſpect. He was likewiſe received in the moſt honourable manner on his arrival at Rome (*u*), where he made but a ſhort ſtay, only viſiting, we are told, the places ſacred to devotion, without appearing at the Court of the Pope. Having left Rome, he haſtened with all expedition to his native country, to the embraces of his friends, and particularly of his mother, who loved him with the greateſt tenderneſs.

On his arrival in England, he was received in a very kind and honourable manner by the King and Queen, and treated with great reſpect by the whole Court; being much careſſed, not only for his learning, but for the ſweetneſs of his manners, and the polite accompliſhments which he had acquired during his reſidence abroad. He did not, however, relax from that cloſe application to his ſtudies, to which he had long habituated himſelf; but reflecting on the many happy hours he had ſpent in his earlier years in that delightful retirement within the walls of the Carthuſian Convent, where Dean Colet had built himſelf an handſome houſe, he procured a grant of it from the King, and made it his place of abode for two years (*w*).

Pole

(*t*) *Vid.* Neve's Animadverſions, P. 14. and Jortin's Life of Eraſmus.

(*u*) "Not to detract from young Reginald's intrinſic excellencies (ſays Mr. Pye), with which he figured ſo much at the foreign Univerſity, it may be preſumed the national vanity of the Italians helped to blazon them not a little. They were extremely proud of ſeeing a young ſtudent of the Blood Royal of England grace their ſchools. He was their idol, not only for his excellence as a ſcholar, but for the figure he made there through the magnificence of his appointments; and his comrades and correſpondents were full of puffs on that occaſion in all their letters." Beccatelli, as before, P. 18. note (*s*).

(*w*) Beccatelli, as before, P. 18, 19, 20.

Pole continued in this agreeable retirement, till the affair of King Henry's divorce came upon the carpet. The King's proceedings in this affair were very much diſapproved by Pole, he "foreboding (as Beccatelli tells us) the future calamities of his country," which would reſult therefrom: though others intimate that Pole was much offended with the King's proceedings in this affair, for a reaſon of a very different kind. It is ſuggeſted, that notwithſtanding his having been bred to the Church, he had entertained ſome hopes of eſpouſing the Princeſs Mary; a deſign which ſeems to have been favoured by Queen Catherine (*x*); and therefore Pole, it is ſuppoſed, was the more averſe to the King's divorce from Catherine, as the conſequent illegitimation of Mary would deprive him of any aſpiring views which he might have formed, in conſequence of his hoped for marriage with that Princeſs. However, whether any diſguſt on this account now induced him to leave the kingdom, or whatever other cauſe, it is certain that about this time he obtained permiſſion from the King to go to the Univerſity of Paris, under pretence of making there a further progreſs in his theological ſtudies. Accordingly he ſpent one year at Paris, from October 1529, to the October following; and during his ſtay there, the King having determined to conſult the Univerſities of Europe on his divorce, ſent to Pole to ſolicit the cauſe at Paris. He was ſo averſe to the King's cauſe, that this was a moſt diſagreeable and ungrateful commiſſion to him. He, therefore, excuſed himſelf on account of his want of experience, and begged that ſome perſon, more converſant in the queſtion, might be entruſted with it. Upon this Henry ſent over Bellay, and joined him in commiſſion with Pole; who ſeems, however, to have left the management of the affair almoſt entirely to his collegue.

Pole returned to England in October, 1530, and ſoon after retired to his former ſolitude at Sheen. It is probable the King had expreſſed ſome diſpleaſure at Pole's backwardneſs to promote his cauſe: however, about this time a book written by Pole, and containing his reaſons for diſapproving of the King's intended divorce, was preſented to the King. It was ſoon after put into Cranmer's hands, for his peruſal; who gave it as his opinion, "That

(*x*) It is ſaid that Queen Catherine, being greatly concerned at the death of the Earl of Warwick, Reginald Pole's uncle, whoſe execution had been made the condition of her marriage, by her father Ferdinand, King of Spain, was accuſtomed to ſay, that "her mind would never be at eaſe, unleſs the Crown reverted again to the Earl of Warwick's family, by a marriage of one of his ſiſter's ſons to her daughter, and thus ſome reparation were made for the injuſtice done to the brother." Reginald Pole, although ſixteen years older than the Princeſs, was the youngeſt of thoſe ſons, and therefore more likely than either of his elder brothers, to be choſen for her huſband. And (perhaps to further this deſign) the care of the young Princeſs's education was, by the Queen, committed to the Counteſs of Saliſbury, Pole's mother.——Review of Philips's Life of Reginald Pole, by Gloceſter Ridley, L. L. B. P. 8.

" That Pole had ſhewed himſelf both witty and eloquent; and " that, for his wiſdom, he might have been of counſel to the " King: and ſuch was his rhetoric, that if his book ſhould " have been ſet forth, and known to the common people, he be- " lieved it were not poſſible to perſuade them to the contrary." But concerning the point at which Pole principally aimed, namely, That the King ſhould commit his cauſe to the determination of the Pope, Cranmer ſaid, " That he ſeemed therein " to lack much judgment: and that though he preſſed it with " ſuch goodly eloquence, both of words and ſentence, that he " were likely to perſuade many; yet him, he ſaid, he perſuaded " in that point nothing at all (*y*).

In April, 1531, the See of York having been four months vacant, an offer of it was made to Pole, on condition that he would not oppoſe the King's divorce: but he refuſed the Archbiſhopric, as he could not accept that dignity but on terms which he deemed ignominious (*z*). It is ſaid, that Pole had a private interview with the King on this occaſion, in which he declared his ſentiments againſt the divorce with great freedom; which ſo irritated Henry, who had been led to expect a very different behaviour from Pole, that, in an angry manner, he laid his hand upon his dagger; but, recollecting himſelf, he only ſaid, " I " will conſider what you have ſaid, and you ſhall have my an- " ſwer:" and thereupon angrily diſmiſſed Pole from his preſence, and never ſent for him more.

Pole having thus fallen under the diſpleaſure of the King, and (as Beccatelli ſays) of many of the Court, reſolved to leave the Kingdom as ſoon as he could, and retire to one of the foreign Univerſities, before any worſe conſequences befel him. Accordingly he obtained a permiſſion for that purpoſe from the King; who, notwithſtanding his diſſatisfaction at Pole's behaviour, alſo continued to him the penſion which he had before granted him, and which had been regularly paid to him ever ſince its firſt allotment. He then took leave of his mother, and paſſed over into France, to the Univerſity of Avignon, where he ſtaid almoſt a year; but finding the air of the place did not agree with him, in 1532 he went to Padua, where he had before enjoyed a good ſtate of health, and been greatly reſpected. He divided his time between Padua and Venice, diſtinguiſhed in both places for

(*y*) *Vid.* Strype's Memorials of Cranmer, P. 6——9. and Appendix, P. 3——5.

(*z*) " This circumſtance (ſays Dr. Neve) would doubtleſs have reflected much honour on his character, had not he himſelf unfortunately told us in his epiſtle to King Edward, (ſect. 34.) that he took a month to debate the matter with himſelf; during which time he confeſſed (ſect. 36.) he found out a method to reconcile his honour and his intereſt; that he went full-fraught with it to the King, when preparing to utter his ſalvo, his conſcience took the alarm, firſt ſtopped his mouth, and then extorted from him language the very reverſe of that which he came prepared to deliver." —— Animadverſions, P. 84.

for his polite and amiable manners; and he devoted, we are told, his whole attention to theological ſtudies. During his abode there, he kept up a conſtant correſpondence with the moſt eminent Literati, by whom he was greatly beloved and eſteemed (*a*).

Pole had now been a conſiderable time abroad, and King Henry had ſeveral times intimated to him his deſire that he ſhould return home; but he made ſundry excuſes, and at length wrote the King word, that he did not approve of what he had done, neither in the matter of his divorce, nor his late ſeparation from the Apoſtolic See. Upon this the King deſired his reaſons for diſagreeing with him, and ſent him over a book written by Dr. Sampſon, in defence of the proceedings in England. Upon this Pole wrote his treatiſe De Unitate Ecclesiastica, and ſent it over to the King. In this book he "condemned the King's actions, (ſays Burnet), and preſſed him to return to the obedience he owed to the See of Rome, with many ſharp reflections: but the book was more conſidered for the author, and the wit and eloquence of it, than for any great learning, or deep reaſoning in it. He did alſo very much depreſs the Royal, and exalt the Papal authority: he compared the King to Nebuchadnezzar, and addreſſed himſelf in the concluſion to the Emperor, whom he conjured to turn his arms rather againſt the King than the Turk. And indeed the indecencies of his expreſſions againſt the King, not to mention the ſcurrilous language he beſtows on Sampſon, whoſe book he undertakes to anſwer, are ſuch, that it appears how much the Italian air had changed him; and that his converſe at Padua had for ſome time defaced that generous temper of mind, which was otherwiſe ſo natural to him (*b*)."

Soon after the receipt of Pole's book, King Henry ſent letters to him, requiring him, all excuſes ſet apart, to return immediately into England, that he might confer with him on the ſubject of his book and letters, and explain ſome paſſages therein, which his Majeſty did not thoroughly underſtand. Pole, however, was conſcious that he had made too free with Henry, to

(*a*) Beccatelli, P. 29, 30.

(*b*) *Vid.* Hiſt. Reform. Vol. I. P. 221. The character which Biſhop Burnet has given of Pole's treatiſe, gives great offence to Mr. Philips, who hath beſtowed high encomiums on Pole's work, in his hiſtory of the Life of the Author; or rather, in the vindication of Popery and Prieſtcraft, which he hath publiſhed under that title. What Burnet has ſaid on this ſubject has, however, been ſufficiently vindicated by Dr. Neve and Mr. Ridley. Mr. Philips is indeed often grievouſly offended with Biſhop Burnet, and hath beſtowed on him much unmerited abuſe; and it muſt be owned that their repreſentations of things do by no means agree well together. This, however, we may venture to ſay, that if Mr. Philips, in his hiſtory of the Life of Reginald Pole, had ſhewn half the candour, and fidelity as an Hiſtorian, that is diſplayed in Burnet's hiſtory of the Reformation, he would have eſcaped many ſevere cenſures which have been moſt deſervedly paſſed upon him.

venture to return to England. He therefore wrote word to him, that he was very deſirous of obeying his Majeſty, and that nothing ſhould have prevented his coming, but that act which had been paſſed, by which his Majeſty was declared ſupreme head of the Church, and thoſe were made traitors who would not agree to this: an act, he ſaid, which had been put in execution againſt the beſt men in the Realm, both for virtue and learning. And as this act, therefore, was ſtill in force, he ſhould be a traitor againſt his own life to obey his Majeſty's commands. He alſo intimated, that his book was ſo clear, that there was no occaſion for him to explain any part of it, if his Majeſty would read it with an equal and impartial mind. He ſaid alſo of his treatiſe, that "there was never book written with more ſharpneſs of words, nor again with more ferventneſs of love and affection to maintain his Majeſty's honour and wealth, both in this world and another." And he urged many reaſons to induce his Majeſty to relinquiſh that ſupremacy which he had aſſumed; which he repreſented as the moſt unhappy and diſhonourable ſtep his Majeſty had ever taken (*c*).

If in what Pole wrote againſt Henry, in his treatiſe on the Church's unity, he was really actuated by his love and regard for his Majeſty, as he himſelf ſaid, it muſt be owned that he had a moſt ſingular manner of expreſſing his affection. For he ſays of Henry in his treatiſe, that he was profane and impious, barbarous and Turk-like, more barbarous and cruel than ever man was, worſe than Nero and Domitian, a wild beaſt, and the head of the Devil's church, and other things of the like kind (*d*). And whatever Pole's ſentiments of the King's meaſures might be, yet when his perſonal obligations to Henry are conſidered, it muſt be admitted, that this ſcurrilous language came from Pole with a very ill grace (*e*).

In conſequence of Pole's behaviour, the penſion which he had hitherto received from Henry, was withdrawn, and he was alſo ſtripped of his eccleſiaſtical preferments in England. As he had, therefore, ſacrificed ſo much by his attachment to the Papal See, it was but reaſonable that the Holy Father ſhould endeavour to

(*c*) *Vid.* Harleian MSS. in the Britiſh Muſeum, No. 283. Fol. 108.

(*d*) See a collection of paſſages and expreſſions of this kind uſed of Henry by Pole, and ſelected from his treatiſe by Mr. Ridley, Review of Phillips, P. 60, 61.

(*e*) Thomas Starky, an old friend of Pole's, in a letter to him expreſſes himſelf thus. "In the reading whereof, (the treatiſe De Unit. Eccleſ.) although we all loved you entirely, yet your corrupt judgment in the matter, and your deteſtable unkindneſs to your Prince, ſo offended us all, that many times our ears abhorred the hearing——comparing the head with the end, and conſidering the whole circumſtance of the matter, there appeared to me the moſt frantic judgment that ever I read of any learned man in my life; for herein lies the ſum of your book, becauſe we are ſlipped from the obedience of Rome, you judge us to be ſeparated from the unity of the Church, and to be no more members of the Catholic body, but to be worſe than

to make up his loſſes. And, indeed, Pole's zeal for Rome, his high birth, connections, and correſpondence with England, made him a fit inſtrument to be employed to give information, and aſſiſt in the execution of ſuch meaſures, as ſhould be thought expedient for the reduction of that kingdom to the Papal See. And the Pope having about this time promiſed to call a General Council for the reformation of the Church, ſummoned ſeveral learned men to Rome, to draw up the points which needed to be reformed: among theſe he ſummoned Pole to repreſent England. Pole was earneſtly ſolicited by his mother, and his other friends in England, not to obey the Pope's ſummons; and he at firſt diſcovered much irreſolution about it; however, he was prevailed on by his Italian friends to ſet out for Rome, where he arrived in October, 1536, and was lodged in the Pope's palace, and treated with the utmoſt reſpect.

Pole, after his arrival at Rome, drew up, in conjunction with his brother Commiſſioners, a Plan of Reformation. But all theſe good endeavours of Pole, and his aſſociates, were at once rendered ineffectual, by his Holineſs himſelf putting his negative upon them. The temper of the times, it is ſaid, was ill ſuited to the change which was projected: and no uſe was made of the plan, though little progreſs would have been made towards a Reformation, if it had been adopted. "Contarino, Theatino, Sadolet, and Reginald Pole, (ſays Lord Herbert) and ſome others, who were paſſionate on their own ſide, produced, after many conferences, no more than a remonſtrance of divers abuſes in the Government and Adminiſtration of eccleſiaſtical perſons and affairs; for in the Church doctrine they would not admit an error (*f*)."

A deſign was now formed of promoting Pole to the purple, to enable him the better to advance the intereſts of the Papal See. Pole himſelf, however, did not ſeem diſpoſed to accept of this promotion. He was not yet in holy orders, nor had received even the clerical tonſure, notwithſtanding the benefices which had been ſo long conferred on him: and he repreſented to the Pope, that ſuch a dignity would at this juncture be very unſeaſonable, as it would deſtroy all his influence in England, by ſubjecting him to the imputation of being too much biaſſed to the intereſt of the Papal See; and would alſo have a natural tendency to bring ruin on his own family. He, therefore, intreated his Holineſs to leave him, at leaſt for the preſent, where

than Turks and Saracens. Wherefore you rail upon our Prince, to bring him to repentance, more vehemently than ever did Gregory againſt the Apoſtate Julian, or any other againſt ſuch tyrants as perſecuted CHRIST's doctrine. Upon this point you have pretended, all that ſharpneſs of your oration to ſpring of love. Yet be you aſſured, none are ſo blinded, but to judge it a fooliſh love, which bringeth forth againſt a Prince, ſuch a bitter, ſharp, and ſlanderous oration."

(*f*) Hiſt. of Henry VIII. P. 488. Edit. 1683.

he was; that ſo ſignal a mark of his favour, of which he had the higheſt ſenſe, might on ſome future occaſion be leſs hazardous in the acceptance of it, than at that critical period. The Pope ſeemed ſatisfied with what Pole ſaid, and promiſed to poſtpone for the preſent what he had intended; at which Pole expreſſed much ſatisfaction. But the next day, whether induced by the Imperial emiſſaries, or of his own motion, the Pope altered his mind, and commanded Pole's immediate obedience. This peremptory command requiring preſent compliance, Beccatelli, who was preſent, ſays, Pole "ſubmitted to the tonſure with as "much reluctance, as the lamb to the ſhearing knife (*g*)." Accordingly he was created Cardinal-Deacon of S. Nereus and Achilleus, on the 22d of December, 1536.

Soon after Pole's acceſſion to his new dignity, he was alſo appointed Legate, and received orders to depart immediately for the coaſts of France and Flanders, to keep up the ſpirit of the Popiſh party in England, as Beccatelli expreſſes it. Lord Herbert ſays, the Pope employed Pole "as Legate to Flanders, that "by this means he might confirm the Roman Catholics in Eng-"land, and advance his deſigns, being to ſtir up enemies to our "King. Though as Pole was of the Blood Royal, many "wanted not, who believed that his zeal was complicate with "ſome ambition to intitle his line to the Crown, when our "King might be depoſed, and his poſterity, eſpecially by Queen "Anne, declared illegitimate (*h*)."

To enable Pole the better to promote the buſineſs he was employed about, he had letters from the Pope to the Engliſh nation, or rather to the Engliſh Catholics, the French King, the King of Scotland, and to the Emperor's ſiſter, who was Regent of the Low Countries. The Holy Father's letter to the Engliſh Catholics, was to require them to pay that deference to the Legate, Pole, which their duty to the Holy See required. In that to the French King, he was adjured by his title to give aid to the rebels who had lately excited an inſurrection in England, who were repreſented as zealots for the true religion. That to the young King of Scotland was attended with a conſecrated ſword and cap, in order to inflame his youth to undertake the defence of his neighbours the Engliſh rebels, and fight againſt the enemies of the Church. The laſt, to the Emperor's ſiſter, was to excite her to aſſiſt the Engliſh rebels as much as was in her power, to avenge the honour of her family diſgraced by the divorce and illegitimation (*i*).

The readineſs with which Pole undertook this commiſſion, ſets his character in a very unfavourable point of view. There is too much reaſon to ſuſpect that he was actuated by ſome ambitious

(*g*) *Vid.* Beccatelli, as before, P. 40, 41, 42. and Ridley's Review of Philips, P. 87.

(*h*) Hiſt. of Henry VIII. P. 486.

(*i*) *Vid.* Ridley's Review, P. 91, 92.

bitious views (*k*); and if he be acquitted of any thing of that kind, there is then no other way of excuſing his conduct, but by ſuppoſing him influenced by an extreme degree of bigotry, that blinded his underſtanding.

It was the beginning of Lent (*l*), 1537, according to Beccatelli, when Pole ſet out from Rome to execute this commiſſion. He prevailed on the Biſhop of Verona, who was his particular friend, to bear him company in this expedition, and he was attended by a handſome retinue. However, on the very day of his arrival at Paris, the French Monarch ſent him word, that he could not admit him to treat of the buſineſs on which he came, nor even permit him to make any ſtay in his dominions. For King Henry, who had been informed of the deſign of Pole's journey, had made application to Francis to deliver him up into the hands of his Ambaſſador (*m*). Thus diſappointed, Pole proceeded to Cambray, but the Regent of the Low Countries would not permit him to purſue his journey. Upon this, having received an invitation from the Cardinal Biſhop of Liege, with the aſſurance that his perſon ſhould be as ſafe under his protection as his own, he accepted the offer, and was received by the Cardinal Biſhop with great kindneſs, and liberally entertained by him. He continued at Liege (*n*) about three months, "in expectation,

(*k*) Lord Herbert ſays, that when Pole was in the Low Countries, "his ſervant, Michael Throgmorton, was very inquiſitive whether the Queen (being now great) were thought by the Phyſicians to bear a man-child or female; which made the intentions of the Cardinal more ſuſpected." Hiſt. of Henry VIII. P. 486.

(*l*) Mr. Philips informs us in his Life of Pole, (Vol. I. P. 215, 216. 8vo. Edit.) that as "he was on his journey in Lent, and the diet of that ſeaſon not agreeing with his conſtitution, he found his health and ſtrength much impaired." However, the pious Legate was very unwilling to make any alteration in his diet, without abſolute neceſſity; from a "fear of giving offence, which would be of ſo much more pernicious conſequence, as his character laid him more open to obſervation, and as he was deſirous to avoid even the appearance of evil."

(*m*) "Pole complains in his letters to Paul III. and Rodorigo Pio, the French Nuncio, of the ignominious treatment he had met with from the King of England, who proclaimed him a traitor, and put a price upon his head. But, if an open avowal of holding correſpondence with ſubjects in actual rebellion, and an attempt to ſuccour and foment their diſturbances by coming in perſon to encourage them, be treaſon, Pole's own confeſſion will convict him; when, writing to the Pope on the ill ſucceſs of his Embaſſy, he deſires to be recalled, "as the whole ſcheme he embarked upon was defeated, by Henry's ſucceſs againſt the Catholic inſurgents." —— And yet, notwithſtanding this declaration of the traiterous purpoſe of his Embaſſy, he wrote at this very time a letter to Lord Cromwell, the Miniſter he pretended to abhor, "to clear himſelf from the imputation of diſloyalty, and to proteſt he had no intention of diſſervice to the King."—Pye's Beccatelli, P. 46. Note (*b*).

(*n*) Mr. Philips tells us (Vol. I. P. 229.) that "this retreat did not ſhelter him from Henry's ſecret intrigues, and open attempts to rid himſelf of a perſon, whoſe zeal for the civil and religious rights of his country

" expectation, (as Beccatelli ſays), that the Emperor and the " French King would fulfil their engagements with him, by " doing their utmoſt to foment the diſturbances raiſed by the " malecontents in England (*o*)." However, on the approach of winter, Pole, by the Pope's command, returned again to Rome, having made a very unſucceſsful journey of it (*p*).

Cardinal Pole now took up his reſidence for ſome time at Rome; but in 1538, the Pope ſet out for Nice in Provence, to be preſent at an interview with the Emperor and the King of France, upon which expedition he made Pole of his party, with ſeveral other Cardinals. Before the end of the ſummer the Pope returned to Rome, whither the Cardinals Pole and Contarini followed him within a few months, having ſpent the intermediate time with their friends in Lombardy (*q*).

This year the Pope iſſued his bulls of excommunication and depoſition againſt the King of England. By which his Holineſs, as far as in him lay, deprived Henry of his kingdoms, abſolved his ſubjects from their allegiance, and ordered them to take up arms againſt him: and all the Chriſtian Princes of Europe were exhorted to fall upon him, as a public enemy of the Church of GOD (*r*). And ſoon after, it was determined that Pole ſhould be diſpatched into the ſame quarter as before, and with the ſame views, in quality of Legate to the Holy See. He ſet out at the cloſe of the year 1538; and that he might travel with the more expedition, and run leſs hazard of falling into Henry's hands, it was thought adviſable for him to quit his Cardinal's habit, and take his journey with a ſmall retinue through Spain by way of Toledo, where the Emperor kept his Court, and from thence take a circuit by Guienne into France; and that as ſoon as the Emperor and French King had fixed the time for laying an embargo on all commerce with England, Pole, in the character of Legate, ſhould take up his abode either in Flanders or Picardy, as would be moſt convenient for him to promote the deſigns formed againſt Henry (*s*). This ſcheme, however, was counterworked

country made him at once the object of a tyrant's hatred and fears."—Without doubt Pole's devotedneſs to the Papal See, was a moſt admirable evidence of his "zeal for the civil and religious rights of his country!"

(*o*) Beccatelli, as before, P. 48.

(*p*) "In this manner (ſays Mr. Philips) an end was put to a negociation, which had been entered on by the Pope from a zeal of uniting England to the Catholic Church; and by the Legate, on the ſame diſintereſted and Chriſtian views." Life of Pole, Vol. I. P. 240. However pious and *diſintereſted* the deſign might be of the Holy Father, and his Legate Pole, of "uniting England to the Catholic Church;" we think their method of promoting this deſign, namely, exciting the Princes of Europe to make war againſt Henry, and encouraging his ſubjects to rebel againſt him, was not very pious, nor very agreeable to the rules of Chriſtianity. However, their proceedings might be, and we believe were, very conformable to that ſort of Chriſtianity which is taught at Rome.

(*q*) Beccatelli, P. 49, 52.

(*r*) See P. 116. of this Volume.

(*s*) *Vid.* Beccatelli, P. 53, 54.

ſrworked by the King of England, ſo that Pole met with but cool reception from the Emperor, who paid little regard to the vertures made to him by the Cardinal in the Pope's name; nd when Pole applied to him to fulfil his engagements, he anwered, "it was now a very unſeaſonable time for ſuch an at-'tempt." This unfavourable reception from his Imperial Maeſty, made Pole have little inclination to proceed on his journey nto France: indeed he ſeems to have been unwilling to run the azard of falling into Henry's hands; and it is ſaid that the Pope's whole ſcheme was diſconcerted by the timidity of Pole. However this be, he took his route backward to Avignon and Carpentras, and from thence ſent diſpatches to Rome, and a gentleman of his houſhold to the Court of France. The Pope ſent orders to Pole to ſtay in thoſe parts where he was: he therefore made choice of Carpentras, not only becauſe it was more quiet and retired than Avignon, but chiefly becauſe it was the reſidence of Sadolet, his intimate friend and brother Cardinal, in the enjoyment of whoſe company he promiſed himſelf much ſatisfaction (*t*). Pole ſpent ſix months at Carpentras, and afterwards paſſed, by way of Marſeilles and Nice, through Piedmont, and came to Verona, where he ſpent ſome time with his old friend the Biſhop of that See.

In the mean time, Cardinal Pole was not only himſelf attainted of high treaſon by the Parliament of England, but his eldeſt brother Henry Pole, Lord Montague, the Marquis of Exeter, Sir Edward Nevil, and Sir Nicholas Carew, were condemned and executed for high treaſon, being charged with conſpiring to raiſe Cardinal Pole to the Crown. Sir Geoffrey Pole, another brother of the Cardinal's, was alſo condemned on the ſame account, but he was pardoned becauſe he had given information againſt

(*t*) Beccatelli, P. 56, 57, 58, 59. The following candid character of SADOLET is given by Dr. Neve. "Sadolet, though Secretary to a Pope, was yet remarkable for his candour and moderation, and for an affection to learned perſons, though they were ſometimes engaged in defending religious principles different from his own. He had a very high regard for Sturmius, Bucer, and Melanchon. Seckendorf hath preſerved a valuable letter of his, addreſſed to Melanchon, which ſhews the goodneſs of his heart, and the ſweetneſs of his temper. It is a letter expreſſive of the higheſt eſteem of that excellent Reformer and his writings: in it he acquaints him with his promotion to the Purple, and begs to be admitted into his friendſhip; telling him, he was not ſuch a bigot, as to hate thoſe who differed from him, but that the eſteem he bore to learning and worth was ſuch, that he had already no inconſiderable ſhare of his affection; and hoped, the diſtance of their abode would not prevent an union of their ſouls. How amiable is ſuch a ſpirit! how dear muſt it render him to every lover of learning and candour! honeſt and moderate men muſt admire him, and no adverſary could be ſo ungerous as to hate, or revile him. Of all the friends of Pole, there was none whoſe acquaintance did him ſo much honour, as his intimacy with the truly reſpectable Sadolet; and had he but cultivated the ſame freedom of thinking and writing, his own character might have equalled that of his friend the Biſhop of Carpentras." Animadverſions, P. 96.

againſt the reſt. "The particular offences of theſe great perſons (ſays Lord Herbert) are not yet ſo fully made known to me, that I can ſay much. Only I find among our records, that Thomas Wriotheſly, Secretary, then at Bruſſels, writing of their apprehenſion to Sir Thomas Wyat, his Highneſs's Ambaſſador in Spain, ſaid, that the accuſations were great, and duly proved. And in another place, I read that they ſent the Cardinal money (*u*)." Shortly after Margaret, Counteſs of Saliſbury, mother to the Cardinal, was alſo condemned for high treaſon, on the ſame account; but her execution was deferred (*w*).

It was the cloſe of the year 1539, when Cardinal Pole returned to Rome, ſoon after which the Pope appointed him a guard for the ſecurity of his perſon, it being apprehended that his life was in danger from the emiſſaries of Henry. The Pope likewiſe conferred on Pole the dignity of Legate of Viterbo, a government of eaſe and leiſure, which he enjoyed for many years. In this poſt he ſtill maintained his character for piety and learning; and it is ſaid that in his government he ſhewed great moderation and lenity towards the Proteſtants. At Viterbo Pole enjoyed that learned leiſure, which was moſt agreeable to his temper and diſpoſition. He was here head of a literary ſociety, the principal members of which were Flaminius, Peter Carneſecca, and Victoria, Marchioneſs of Peſcara. But it has been obſerved, that ſeveral of the members of this ſociety were not free from a ſuſpicion of heretical pravity. And it is likewiſe remarked, that Immanuel Tremellius, who was a known Proteſtant, was converted from Judaiſm to Chriſtianity in Pole's palace

(*u*) Hiſt. of Henry VIII. P. 502. Edit. 1683.

(*w*) The Counteſs was not executed till near two years after ſhe was condemned; and it is ſaid that her death was haſtened by an inſurrection in Yorkſhire, which was ſuppoſed to be cauſed by the intrigues of her ſon, Cardinal Pole. When ſhe was brought to the ſcaffold, ſhe refuſed to lay her head on the block, ſaying, "That ſhould Traitors do, and I am none." And ſhe told the executioner, that if he would have her head, he muſt win it the beſt way he could: and thus ſhaking her grey locks, ſhe ran about the ſcaffold; and the executioner followed her with his ax, aiming many fruitleſs blows at her neck, before he was able to give her the fatal ſtroke. There was certainly great cruelty in the execution of this venerable Lady, as the evidence againſt her appears to have been inconſiderable; and ſhe was upwards of ſeventy years of age, and the laſt of the line of Plantagenet.

Cardinal Pole, whoſe connections with the See of Rome, and negociations againſt Henry, were the ruin of his family, is ſaid to have received the news of his mother's death with great ſteadineſs and compoſure, conſoling himſelf for her loſs by the conſideration that ſhe died a martyr to the Catholic faith; and ſaying to his Secretary, Beccatelli, when he acquainted him with the news, "Be of good courage, we have now one Patron more added to thoſe we already had in Heaven."

palace at Viterbo, where he was baptized, the Cardinal and Flaminius being his godfathers (*x*).

Pole continued at Viterbo till the year 1542, when the General Council, which had been long promiſed, and long delayed, was at length called at Trent. And the Pope nominated three Legates to open it, namely, the Cardinals Morone, Paris, and Pole. Accordingly Pole and his collegues repaired to Trent; but ſcarce any Prelates aſſembling there, and the three Legates having been there ſeven months without doing any thing, were recalled by the Pope. Upon Pole's return to Rome with his collegues, he made ſome ſhort ſtay in that city; after which he returned to his government of Viterbo, between which place and Rome he paſſed his time, following his ſtudies in great repoſe and tranquility till 1545; when the Pope iſſued a ſecond citation for holding the Council at the ſame place, and appointed Pole again, with two other Cardinals, his Legates there. Pole's two collegues arrived at Trent at the beginning of March, but he continued at Rome ſome time after, being informed, as it is ſaid, that ſome of Henry's emiſſaries had engaged to ſeize him on the road. However this be, during his ſtay at Rome, he compoſed a treatiſe on the nature and end of General Councils (*y*). After which he repaired to Trent, being eſcorted part of the way thither by five and twenty horſe.

The credentials which Pole and his brother Legates received from the Pope, ſet forth, (as we are informed by Mr. Philips), "That the Pope ſent them to Trent, as ANGELS OF PEACE, "to preſide at the Council, to make whatever decrees they "judged neceſſary for the good of the Church; and to publiſh "them, as was cuſtomary, during the ſeſſions: to propoſe, con-"clude, and execute whatever they thought proper to extirpate "errors, recal the people to the obedience of the Holy See, re-"eſtabliſh eccleſiaſtical liberty, reform the Church in all its "members, procure peace between Chriſtian Princes, and or-"dain whatever was expedient for the honour of Almighty "GOD, and the propagation of the holy faith; and repreſs,

(*x*) *Vid.* Neve's Animadverſions on Philips, P. 344, 345, 346. and Ridley's Review, 139——145.

(*y*) Mr. Philips tells us, that this treatiſe of Pole's "for perſpicuity, good ſenſe, and ſolid reaſoning, is equal to the importance of the occaſion on which it was written; and ſhews at once the reach and eaſe of the Author's genius, and the goodneſs of his heart. He has avoided all extreme opinions; and not diſcovered greater zeal for the Catholic Church, and the prerogative of the See of Rome, than candor, in repreſenting the diſorders which ſullied one, and leſſened the authority of the other." Mr. Philips likewiſe obſerves, that that part of Pole's treatiſe which relates to the Papal ſupremacy, "without departing from the eaſe and familiar air which recommends the whole, is worked up with great ſtrength, and muſt be looked on as a compleete proof of the Supremacy of the Biſhops of Rome."—Life of Reginald Pole, Vol. I. P. 397, 402. 8vo. Edit.

The learned and judicious Dr. Neve gives, however, a very different character

" by cenſures and eccleſiaſtical puniſhments, the refractory and " rebellious, of what condition ſoever (*x*)."

It was nine months after the Legates arrived at Trent, before they proceeded to any buſineſs (*a*). But on the 13th of December,

racter of Pole's performance. He ſays, it is " a pretty, florid, and harmleſs compoſition; which, as if it was deſigned only for true and truſty friends, proceeds altogether upon borrowed principles, and argues from them, as if they were inconteſtibly allowed. And however the Author might be admired at Rome or Trent, he muſt not expect the ſame complaiſance from thoſe, who will require not *ſounds, but things*, not words, but arguments. Such enquirers will, at firſt view, diſcover the Cardinal Legate to go, in this treatiſe, upon the ſame principles he went in his book on *the Church's Unity*; and that, ſo far from *avoiding all extreme opinions*, he inculcates, with equal arrogance, the boundleſs prerogative of the See of Rome; and in defiance of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, his fancy and his prejudices ran away with his judgment: and the bold aſſertor, the weak reaſoner, and the abſurd interpreter of Scripture, characterize the Author of this ſpecious performance." —— Animadverſions, P. 374.

(*x*) Life of Reginald Pole, Vol. I. P. 403. 8vo. Edit.

(*a*) " The Legates, thoſe Angels of Peace, as they are hypocritically ſtiled, (Dr. Neve obſerves) were ſent to Trent, ſaith the junior Legate Pole, among other things to revive *decayed diſcipline*, to prevent the *increaſe of Hereſy*, and reform the *extremely corrupt manners of the Chriſtian world*. And yet they remained there, for a long time together, in an entirely torpid ſtate. And why? Becauſe his Holineſs had other game to play, and was taking more effectual methods to carry theſe points. He did not know, but, (for all their objections to the place) the Lutherans might appear, and defend their doctrine: he did not know, how forcible their reaſoning, or their eloquence, might be: he did not care to truſt the cauſe of the Church altogether to a promiſcuous aſſembly; the Spaniſh and French Biſhops might be refractory, and join the diſcontented party. This *Guardian* therefore, and *Paſtor of the Church*, exerted his hierarchical office in ſecuring the Emperor at all events; and ſent his grandſon, Cardinal Farneſe, to Worms, to treat with his Imperial Majeſty to join their forces, and by the arm of the fleſh to confute the Heretics. And we are further informed of the ſatisfaction the Pope took, at being aſſured the Emperor would draw his ſword againſt them: but this was to be kept a profound ſecret; and that the Council ſhould not enter upon the diſpatch of buſineſs, till matters were ripe, leſt the Proteſtants ſhould be made deſperate: but, however, that ſo much of it might tranſpire, as ſhould intimidate them.——Such were the honeſt and Chriſtian arts employed by him, who called himſelf the *firſt Biſhop of the Chriſtian world*; and to whom Pole, at this very time, was not aſhamed to addreſs himſelf in ſuch words and language, which cannot be read without horror. To ſay to him, *Quem ſecundum Deum Patrem & Dei Patris locum et vices in terris gerentem agnoſcimus*, (Poli Ep. Pauli III.) is a profaneneſs, that all the dignity of the Purple cannot excuſe.

" Thus it ſhould ſeem, that theſe *Angels of Peace*, who were ſent to preſide at the Council, were only appointed as maſks to conceal the mean artifices and low deſigns of the pretended Father of the Church. From the very tenor of their inſtructions, it does not appear, that any lenient meaſures would be propoſed; the authority of the Holy See was to be eſtabliſhed, and *the refractory and rebellious* OF WHAT CONDITION SOEVER were to be *repreſſed by cenſures and eccleſiaſtical puniſhments*. But as to the examination of articles of faith, or the diſcuſſion of what the Proteſtants required, nothing leſs

was

cember, 1545, the Council was opened. And on this occaſion a ſolemn proceſſion was made by the Legates, with all the Prelates, in their pontifical habits, together with the Clergy, and others, from Trinity church to the cathedral, where Cardinal Monte, one of the Legates, ſung the maſs of the Holy Ghoſt, and a ſermon was preached by the Biſhop of Bitonto. It may, however, be proper to remark here, that at the opening of this Council, in which all affairs relative to the univerſal Church were to be finally ſettled and adjuſted, in the moſt infallible and unerring manner, the whole number of Prelates who were preſent amounted, according to Father Paul, to no more than twenty-five. In the ſecond ſeſſion, indeed, which was on the 7th of January, 1546, the aſſembly was ſomewhat increaſed, and the number of perſons which conſtituted the General Council, including the Legates, amounted to forty-three; and theſe many of them penſioners or dependants on the Pope. And though the number of Prelates was afterwards conſiderably increaſed, yet the majority were always Italian Biſhops, and at the devotion of the Pope (*b*).

was deſigned; nothing leſs would be permitted: the Legates were to propoſe every thing, and to deliver his Holineſs's determination. And therefore to ſhorten debates, and ſecure a majority, they *ſignified to the Pope,——that it would be proper to appoint a Treaſurer, with a fund ſufficient to anſwer* the *exigencies* of neceſſitous and depending Biſhops. And not long after Pole's arrival in Trent, the Legates gave it as their opinion to the Pope, that the Lutheran Hereſy, and the wickedneſs and enormities committed by the King of England, ſhould be firſt preſented, in form of a petition or complaint, to the animadverſion of the Council. By this we may judge, how free a Council this was like to be."—Animadverſions, P. 375, 376, 377.

Mr. Ridley likewiſe remarks, That the Fathers at Trent "intended to eſtabliſh, rather than reform, the abuſes complained of by the Chriſtian world, and for which this Council was demanded, which abuſes were the tyranny of the Pope, and the ſcandals of him and his Court in manners and diſcipline; which is evident, not only becauſe the Pope called the Council, which, according to antient cuſtom, was the prerogative of the Emperor; and preſided at it by his Legates, contrary to the practice of the firſt General Councils; but alſo, becauſe he was tacitly acknowledged Superior to the Council, which was a *new* doctrine; no body but his Legates were to propoſe any thing in the Council, which was *new* practice; the Biſhops, who are the ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles, and the Miniſters of CHRIST, and till now were believed to be *ſui juris*, were now firſt called and treated as *Delegates* only of the Holy See; all the decrees were ſubmitted to the Pope's approbation or rejection; all their doctrines were ſubjected to his interpretation; all their diſcipline to his diſpenſations. This was a very extraordinary complaiſance, and not to have been expected, if they believed what they affirmed, that their decrees were made by the aſſiſtance of the Holy Spirit: This was not only placing the Pope above the Council, and over the Univerſal Church, but it was exalting him above GOD Himſelf.——Ridley's Review of Philips, P. 185, 186.

(*b*) Thoſe who would ſee a complete account of the proceedings of the Council of Trent, we would refer to the excellent Hiſtory of Father Paul; from which it appears, that

Cardinal Pole continued at Trent, till he had the misfortune to have a rheumatic diſorder fall into one of his arms, which was owing, it is ſaid, to the coldneſs of the ſeaſon, and the ſharp air of that place; and his complaint not growing better, he was adviſed to go to Padua, where he might conſult ſome able phyſicians, and have the benefit of a milder climate; which advice he followed, and in a few months after the Council was adjourned to Bologna, and ſoon after prorogued: ſo that the Cardinal, on the recovery of his health, had the Pope's leave to go back to Rome, his Holineſs being deſirous of having him near him, as he experienced the uſefulneſs of his pen in drawing up memorials, and vindications of the proceedings of the Holy See. And the Cardinal, we are told, was very adroit on theſe occaſions, having acquired, when very young, an eaſy and elegant ſtyle in his Latin compoſitions, and being alſo very diligent in ſelecting his materials, and very nice and exact in the arrangement of them (*c*).

At the beginning of the year 1547, King Henry VIII. died: and "as ſoon as the news of this great event reached the Engliſh "Cardinal, (ſays Mr. Philips), he turned his whole mind to avail "himſelf of it, in order to repair the BREACHES which Henry "had made in the faith and diſcipline of the Church, and bring "back his country to that UNITY, which he had violated (*d*)." Accordingly Pole applied to the Pope to promote this deſign, and deſired

that Lord Bolingbroke was not much in the wrong, when he called the whole "a ſolemn banter." This expreſſion, however, is very ſhocking to Mr. Philips, who ſays Bolingbroke was "an impious ſcoffer, the diſgrace of his age and country." At this Council doctrines were eſtabliſhed contrary to Scripture, reaſon, and common ſenſe, in order to ſupport the Papal Hierarchy; however, Mr. Philips takes abundant pains to convince his readers of the Divine Inſpiration of the Holy Fathers who were aſſembled at Trent, and the infallibility of their decrees. Indeed, with reſpect to the Inſpiration of the Fathers at Trent, on that "article of Faith (as Dr. Jortin ſays) we will meet him half-way; for we all allow them to have been inſpired—by his Holineſs."

A ſpecimen of what Mr. Philips ſays of the decrees of this Council, may not be unacceptable to ſome of our readers; though a ſhort ſpecimen we apprehend may be ſufficient. "The frequent interruptions, and the length of time through which the Council was protracted, muſt have occaſioned an almoſt total ſucceſſion of the Members, who, at different times, compoſed it; yet an uniformity of ſtile and ſentiment appears through the decrees of all the ſeſſions, no leſs than if they had been enacted and written by the ſame Convention, or even by the ſame perſon. So much did *that Spirit, which fills, connects, and bounds the Univerſe, and has, by way of excellence, the gift of elocution*, prevail over all human obſtacles; and ſtamp the image of himſelf, unity, truth, and ſanctity, on a body of laws; to which, on account of the effects they produced in the Chriſtian world, we may apply the words of the Prophet, *Almighty GOD has ſent forth his Spirit, and wrought a ſecond creation, by renewing the face of the earth.*"—Life of Reginald Pole, Vol. I. P. 492. It is needleſs to make any remarks on this complication of prophaneneſs and abſurditi.

(*c*) Beccatelly, P. 62——66.

(*d*) Life of Pole, Vol. II. P. 8. 8vo. Edit.

deſired him to employ his intereſt with the Emperor for the ſame purpoſe. The Cardinal alſo wrote a letter on this occaſion to the Privy Council of England. But as he had been for ſome years an attainted exile, and was one of the few excepted in the act of grace at the acceſſion of Edward VI. there was little proſpect that any regard would be paid to his admonitions, by thoſe Counſellors who were acquainted with his intrigues in the late reign. However, out of pure love and kindneſs, he aſſured them, that if they liſtened not to him, "the whole Realm would "be brought into imminent danger, and that the Pope, with "his allies, could alone prevent the impending ſtorm, and be of "more ſervice to them, than all other Princes without him: "that his Holineſs propoſed therefore, in charity to their ſouls, "to ſend him over with ſufficient authority, not only to give "them good advice, but alſo to remedy their evils." But all this had no effect; for the Members of the Privy Council refuſed to receive either the letter, or him who brought it (*e*). The Cardinal alſo drew up a treatiſe, and inſcribed it to Edward VI. which contained a laboured vindication of his behaviour to the young King's father, Henry VIII. It does not, however, appear, that it ever came to Edward's hands.

In November, 1549, Pope Paul the Third died, upon which the Cardinals aſſembled in order to elect a new Pope; and Cardinal Farneſe, who had great weight in the Conclave, deliberating with himſelf what perſon he ſhould patronize on this occaſion, pitched upon Cardinal Pole; in which he was ſeconded by many of the Electors, eſpecially of the Imperial faction: but the French party, who were at that time at variance with the Imperialiſts, ſet themſelves to oppoſe his election, through fear of his too great attachment to the Emperor's intereſts. However, the majority of votes was in Pole's favour; but the French objected that ſome of their party were not arrived, by reaſon of the diſtance, and complained that the election was hurried. This party was joined by Caraffa, who hoped, if Pole was ſet aſide, to be choſen himſelf; and therefore not only backed their arguments, but began to load Pole with calumnies, objecting that he lay under a ſuſpicion both of Hereſy and incontinency. In ſupport of which, he alledged Pole's familiarity with Flaminius and Tremellius, and with many of the Lutherans; that he had ſpared ſeveral Heretics at Viterbo, puniſhing but few in any way, and none at all with death. Neither was that gravity of countenance he wore, ſo far removed from the ſuſpicion of luxury, but that many perſons thought the young Nun whom he maintained at his own expence, was really the fruit of his own loins. But Pole effectually defended himſelf againſt theſe accuſations: with regard to the firſt, he appealed to all that he had done and ſuffered for the dignity of the Roman Church, and the Catholic doctrines.

(*e*) *Vid.* Neve's Animadverſions, P. 438, 439.

doctrines. Secondly, as to his conduct at Viterbo, it was ſaid, that he had governed in ſuch a manner, as to have no occaſion to proceed to extreme puniſhments. And thirdly, with reſpect to the young Nun, he made it appear that ſhe was an orphan, whom he had placed in a nunnery, to prevent her from falling into a vicious courſe of life; and that he had depoſited an hundred crowns for her maintenance, in a bank eſtabliſhed for ſuch charities, to be added to a ſmall ſum of money which had been left her by her mother.

Pole's vindication of himſelf was, upon the whole, ſo clear and ſatisfactory, that his party grew warmer in his behalf; and immediately proceeding to confirm their election by a ſecond ſcrutiny, they went thence to Pole's apartment; and finding he was gone to bed, (for it was now late at night), they ſpoke to Priuli, who was then in waiting as gentleman of the bed-chamber, to awake his maſter, and acquaint him that they were come to adore him, and ſo to bring the matter to a final iſſue. Priuli performed the requeſt with much joy, but Pole received him in a very different manner from what he expected. He appeared very angry with him, and told the Cardinals, that he would not have a thing which was to be feared rather than deſired, to be carried on raſhly and tumultuouſly: he therefore deſired that it might be done in a regular and canonical manner, in the morning, at the hour of maſs, and not in the darkneſs of the night, which might carry the appearance of ſtealth; and if it was the pleaſure of GOD to place him in the Papal chair, he would doubtleſs effect it in the morning as well as then. Pole thus refuſing to receive the accuſtomed adoration, the Cardinals retired; but a ſhort time after, two of the Members of the College came to him again, and repreſented to him, that they required nothing of him but what was uſual; and he then told them, he would do as they would have him. But they were no ſooner gone, than he repented of the aſſent he had given, and ſent one of his domeſtics to intreat thoſe Cardinals, whoſe influence was the greateſt, that the whole affair, if poſſible, might be deferred till the next morning; and the perſon, when he returned, acquainted Pole, that he had found them, of their own accord, come to that reſolution. On the following day, however, other views and diſpoſitions took place; for the Cardinals appear to have been much diſguſted with the behaviour of Pole, which they attributed to meanneſs of ſpirit (*f*): Farneſe

(*f*) Many writers have attributed Pole's behaviour to the great moderation of his temper. Mr. Ridley, however, ſuppoſes him to have been actuated by motives of a very different kind; and that his behaviour "is eaſily accounted for by the leading point he always had in view, and his wonted irreſolution whether to accept or refuſe a tempting offer, which was inconſiſtent with a greater in expectation:" namely, marriage with the Princeſs Mary, and the hopes of a Crown in conſequence. It

neſe and De Guiſe, therefore, who were the leaders in the Conclave, determined at laſt to make the election in favour of Cardinal De Monte, who aſſumed the name of Julius the Third (*g*).

When the Cardinals met in the chapel, to perform their adoration in form to the new Pontiff, Pole preſented himſelf to kiſs his Holineſs's feet among the reſt: upon which the Pope raiſed him up, and embraced him, telling him, that it was to his diſintereſtedneſs he owed the Papacy. When Julius III. was eſtabliſhed in the Papal chair, and the tranquility of Rome began to be diſturbed by the war in France, and on the borders of Italy, Cardinal Pole began to think of retiring from Rome to ſome place of greater quietneſs and privacy. Accordingly, being Cardinal Protector of the Benedictine Order (*b*), and much careſſed by the brethren of Monte Caſſino, he choſe for his retreat a convent of their's at Maguzano, in the territory of Verona. Thither he retired with his whole family, by the Pope's permiſſion; and ſpent ſome time there with much ſatisfaction.

Pole continued in this retirement till the acceſſion of Queen Mary, when it was determined by the Court of Rome, that he ſhould be ſent as Legate into England, in order to effectuate the reduction of that kingdom to the obedience of the Holy See. Pole, however, did not think it prudent to venture his perſon in England, till he was thoroughly informed of the Queen's diſpoſition, and the ſtate of the nation. He therefore diſpatched his Secretary into England with letters to the Queen, who gave him the moſt ample aſſurances of her attachment to the Catholic cauſe. And accordingly the Cardinal ſet out for England, by the way of Germany, in October, 1553: but he had not proceeded far in the Emperor's dominions, before a meſſage came to him from that Prince, to put a ſtop to his further progreſs

It muſt be owned, that this ſuppoſition is countenanced by Pole's having hitherto "kept himſelf out of Prieſt's Orders, that his return to the ſecular world might not be impracticable; a permiſſion to lay down the Purple before entering into the Prieſthood being to be obtained without much difficulty: though he had laboured at the time, that even that difficulty might not have lain in his way." Review of Philips, P. 213——216.

(*g*) *Vid.* Biograph. Britan. Beccatelli, P. 74, 75. and Philips's Life of Pole, Vol. II. P. 32, 33. After Cardinal De Monte was elected Pope, he gave his own hat (according to the cuſtom of the Popes, who beſtow their hats before they go out of the Conclave) on a boy who was his monkey-keeper; and being aſked what he ſaw in him to make him a Cardinal, he anſwered, as much as the Cardinals had ſeen in himſelf to make him Pope. But it is ſaid, that the ſecret of his advancement was an unnatural affection to him.

(*b*) Pole ſucceeded Contarini in this character. The Benedictines had the name here given them by their firſt founder, who erected his firſt Monaſtery at Monte Caſſino, though he met with great oppoſition from the evil Spirit (as St. Gregory relates in his Dialogues) before he could accompliſh his work. He was buried on that choſen ſpot; and his Order became afterwards in ſuch wondrous repute, that in the time of Pope John XXII. there were computed above *forty thouſand Saints* of that ſociety only!"——Pye's Beccatelli, P. 81. Note (*z*).

greſs at preſent. The Emperor was negociating a treaty of marriage between his ſon Philip and the Queen of England; and as he knew that Pole had been thought of as an huſband for that Princeſs, he was unwilling that he ſhould reach England before his ſon's marriage was concluded, leſt the Cardinal's arrival there ſhould prove any obſtruction to the match (*f*). Pole had alſo been commiſſioned by the Pope to endeavour to mediate a peace between the Emperor and the French King, but the Emperor refuſed even to admit the Legate into his preſence. Pole complained grievouſly of this treatment, but his remonſtrances were without effect.

To complete the Legate's diſappointment, advice was alſo ſent to him from Queen Mary, that his coming to England at preſent would neither be ſeaſonable to her affairs, nor ſafe to him; for ſhe was afraid her ſubjects would murder him; and therefore thought it more prudent for him to poſtpone his journey to England. However, to keep him in good humour, the Queen alſo ſent him the two acts that had paſſed, for the juſtification of her mother's marriage, and for bringing things back to the ſtate they were in at her father's death, deſiring him likewiſe to ſend her a liſt of ſuch perſons as ſhould be appointed Biſhops. But the Legate being ſatisfied, that the real cauſe of this delay was to prevent his arrival in England before the Queen's marriage to Philip ſhould be completed, was not a little nettled at it; and he wrote a letter to her Majeſty, wherein he intimated to her, that he knew this ſtop to his journey proceeded from the worldly motives with which the Emperor was actuated. That he had ſpoken with the Emperor's Confeſſor about it, and had convinced him of the impropriety of ſuch proceedings, and ſet him to work on his maſter. He alſo told the Queen, that he was afraid carnal pleaſures might govern her too much, and that ſhe might thereby fall from her ſimplicity in CHRIST, wherein ſhe had hitherto lived: he encouraged her, therefore, to put on a ſpirit of wiſdom and courage, and truſt in GOD, who had preſerved her ſo long. He aſſured her, that he had written to moderate matters with the Pope and Cardinals, by whom there was reaſon to believe the treatment he had received, in being ſtopped on his journey, would be reſented. But

(*f*) There were three perſons who are ſaid to have been propoſed to Mary, in her choice of a huſband. The firſt was Courtenay, Earl of Devonſhire, who was nearly allied to the Crown, and of an engaging perſon and addreſs; and him Mary is ſaid to have preferred; but he diſguſted the Queen, by ſlighting the overtures that were made on her behalf, and giving a viſible preference to the Princeſs Elizabeth. The next was Cardinal Pole; but he was now in the decline of life, and as he had contracted habits of ſtudy and retirement, he was repreſented as unfit for the buſtle of a Court, and the hurry of buſineſs. Pole was now fifty-three years old, and the Queen about eight and thirty. The third who was propoſed was the Emperor's ſon Philip, and to him the preference was at laſt given.

But he had intimated to them, that this was done with a view of waiting till his attainder was taken off; and to make a ſhew of going forwards, he had ſent his houſhold-ſtuff to Flanders. And with reſpect to the two acts which had been paſſed, he found fault that in that for confirming the marriage of her Majeſty's mother, no mention was made of the Pope's Bulls; by the authority of which only, he ſaid, it could be a lawful marriage. And as to the other act, he did not like it, that the worſhip of GOD, and the Sacraments, were to be as they were at the end of her father's reign; for then the people, he ſaid, were ſtill in a ſtate of Schiſm, and Schiſmatics have no right to the Sacraments; the Pope's interdict ſtill lay on the nation, and till that was taken off, none could, without ſin, either adminiſter or receive them. He recommended to her, above all things, the eſtabliſhing the authority of the Church, and the rendering to the rightful ſucceſſor of St. Peter, his juſt title of Supreme Head of the Church, without which ſhe could not properly aſſert her own authority over the kingdom. He confeſſed, that he knew none of either Houſe of Parliament, who were fit to propoſe the matter of rejecting that ſupremacy which had been uſurped by her father and brother; and therefore he thought it beſt for her Majeſty to go herſelf to the Parliament, having before-hand acquainted ſome few, both of the Spirituality and Temporality, with her deſign, and tell the Houſe, ſhe was touched with the Schiſm, and deſired a Legate from the Apoſtolic See to treat about it; and ſhould thereupon propoſe the reverſing of his attainder, that he might come over for this purpoſe. That whereas ſome might apprehend thraldom from the Papacy, ſhe might aſſure them ſhe would ſee all things ſo well ſecured, that no danger ſhould ariſe to the nation from it; and he deſired them to be aſſured, that he, for his part, would take as much care of that, as any of the Temporality could deſire (*i*).

Pole's journey into England being delayed, he employed himſelf in making overtures to the Emperor, in purſuance of his commiſſion from the Pope to mediate a peace between the Empire and France; and he made a journey to Paris with the ſame view. He alſo drew up a long diſcourſe concerning peace, for the uſe of the Emperor and the French King. But his diſcourſe, and his negociations, were all without effect.

In the mean time, the marriage between Philip and Mary was concluded; and no further oppoſition was made to Pole's journey. Accordingly the Lords Paget and Haſtings were ſent to Bruſſels, where Pole now was, to conduct him from thence into England. He arrived at Dover (*k*) on the 20th of November, 1554, where he was received by the Biſhop of Ely, the Lord

(*i*) *Vid.* Biograph. Britan. and Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reform. Vol. II. P. 260, 261. Collect. of Records, P. 250.

(*k*) The wind happening to change, and blow fair for England, ſo as to enable Pole to paſs over from Calais

Montague, and ſome other perſons of rank. From thence he proceeded by land to Graveſend, where he was met by the Biſhop of Durham, and the Earl of Shrewſbury, who preſented him with the repeal of the act of his attainder, which had been paſſed the day before. At Graveſend he went on board a yacht (*l*), which conveyed him to Whitehall, where he was received in the moſt gracious and honourable manner by their Majeſties (*m*). He was afterwards conducted to the Archbiſhop's palace at Lambeth, which had been ſumptuouſly fitted up for his reception, by the Queen's orders (*n*). King Philip ſoon after paid Pole a viſit, and they conſulted together on the propereſt methods of re-uniting and reconciling the kingdom to the Holy Catholic Church. And that no time might be loſt in this important and ſalutary work, the following day, the 27th of November, the Cardinal Legate went to the Houſe of Peers, the King and Queen being preſent, and there made a long ſpeech, in which he invited the Parliament to a reconciliation with the Apoſtolic

Calais to Dover, Mr. Philips is extremely deſirous to turn this incident into a miracle. "Being arrived at Calais, (ſays he) he was received, agreeably to the orders the Queen had given, with great magnificence, and found a Royal yacht and ſix men of war in readineſs, to wait on him to his country. Here an incident happened, which was remarked by every one there preſent, and interpreted as a *declaration of Heaven* in his favour; and which, in whatever light it may now be looked on by the reader, I muſt not omit. The wind, which for ſeveral days had been ſo contrary, as to make the paſſage to England impracticable, and ſeemed as if it would continue ſo, on the *very night* of the Legate's arrival, *became on a ſudden fair*, and, in a few hours, conveyed him and his retinue to Dover." Amazing! *Vid.* Life of Pole, Vol. II. P. 122.

(*l*) Mr. Philips ſays, "It being notified to him on the part of their Majeſties, that it was their pleaſure he ſhould now appear in the public character of Legate, the barge carried at her head the ſilver croſs, which was raiſed in ſo *conſpicuous* a manner, as to be beheld by an infinite number of ſpectators, who covered both ſides of the Thames." Life of Pole, Vol. II. P. 125.

(*m*) Thuanus ſays, "The Biſhop of Wincheſter, Lord Chancellor, was ſent forwards, with many other Lords, to receive him as he landed. Philip himſelf, who was then ſitting at table with Mary, riſing up, went forth to meet him; and the Queen received him at the top of the ſtairs, and declared, that ſhe felt as much joy and pleaſure in her mind, at ſeeing him ſafely returned, as ſhe had felt, when ſhe firſt entered upon the peaceable poſſeſſion of her kingdom." Hiſt. Lib. xiii.

(*n*) Within three days after Pole's arrival at Whitehall, another extraordinary affair happened, in which Mr. Philips has diſcovered the miraculous interpoſition of Providence. "The third day after (ſays he) he went to Court, and the King, who came out of the Anti-chamber to meet him, delivered into his hand a packet of letters he had juſt then received. It was a diſpatch from Rome, and brought the Legate the moſt ample powers, in order to accompliſh the great work of the nation's reconciliation with the Catholic Church; and the incident of its arriving at that *critical juncture* was interpreted as a *declaration of Heaven* in favour of a cauſe which then engaged the attention of all Europe."——Life of Pole, Vol. II. P. 126.——Without doubt, the arrival of this packet from Rome was a moſt ſtupendous miracle!

Apoſtolic See; from whence, he ſaid, he was ſent by the common Paſtor of Chriſtendom, to reduce them who had long ſtrayed from the incloſure of the Church. This pathetic oration cauſed ſuch emotion in the Queen, that ſhe immediately fancied herſelf with child, and that ſhe felt the embryo ſtir in her womb. Thoſe about her, who knew her extreme deſire of having iſſue, flattered her in this opinion, ſo that her Majeſty was at laſt firmly convinced of her pregnancy. Notice was accordingly given of it to the Council, who the ſame night wrote a letter to the Biſhop of London about it, ordering a Te Deum to be ſung on the occaſion at St. Paul's, and the other churches of London: and Bonner cauſed public prayers to be put up, that the child might be a male, well-favoured, vigorous, and witty. And all that night, and the next day, there were great rejoicings about the Court and city (*o*).

Two days after, the Speaker reported to the Commons the ſubſtance of Pole's ſpeech; and a meſſage coming from the Lords for a conference of ſome of their Houſe with the Lord Chancellor, four Earls, four Biſhops, and four Lords, to prepare a ſupplication for their being reconciled to the See of Rome, it was conſented to; and the petition being agreed on at the Committee, was reported, and approved of by both Houſes. It was addreſſed to the King and Queen, and repreſented, on the part of the Parliament, "That whereas they had been guilty of a "moſt horrible defection and ſchiſm from the Apoſtolic See, they "did now ſincerely repent of it; and in ſign of their repen-"tance, were ready to repeal all the laws made in prejudice of "that See: therefore, ſince the King and Queen had been no "way defiled by their ſchiſm, they prayed them to intercede "with the Legate to grant them abſolution, and to receive them "again into the boſom of the Church." This petition being preſented by both Houſes on their knees to the King and Queen, they made their interceſſion with the Legate, who made a long ſpeech on the occaſion, in which he thanked the Parliament for repealing the act againſt him, and making him a member of the nation, from which he was by that act cut off: in recompence of which, he was now to reconcile them to the body of the Church. He told them, the Apoſtolic See cheriſhed Britain moſt tenderly, as the firſt nation that had publicly received the Chriſtian faith: and that in the union with the See of Rome, conſiſted the happineſs and ſtrength of all Churches. He was

(*o*) It is ſaid that diſpatches were ſent to inform foreign Courts of the Queen's pregnancy; and ſome time after midwives, rockers, and nurſes, were provided. And afterwards, when the perſecution was carrying on againſt the Proteſtants, and the Queen again fancied herſelf with child, ſhe ſaid to thoſe about her, that ſhe thought "ſhe could not be ſafely and happily delivered, nor that any thing could ſucceed proſperouſly with her, unleſs all the Heretics in priſon were burnt *ad unum*, not ſparing one." Which cruelty, ſays Mr. Stryps, I do ſuppoſe her Prieſts and Confeſſors put into her head.—Memorials of Cranmer, P. 367.

very liberal in his encomiums on the Queen, and ſaid, GOD had ſignally preſerved her, to procure this great bleſſing to the Church. He concluded with enjoining them, by way of penance, to repeal the laws which they had made againſt the Romiſh religion; and then, in the Pope's name, he granted them a full abſolution (*p*), which they received on their knees; and he alſo abſolved the whole Realm from all eccleſiaſtical cenſures. After this, they all went to the Royal Chapel, where Te Deum was ſung on the occaſion.

The following Sunday the whole Court attended Pole to St. Paul's, where he went in great ſtate, high maſs being there celebrated in the preſence of the King and Queen; and the Chancellor himſelf, Gardiner, preached on this text, Romans xiii. 2. "Now it is high time for us to awake out of ſleep; for now is "our ſalvation nearer than when we believed."

But however acceptable the late proceedings in Parliament were to the Court and Courtiers, Pole had the mortification to find that the citizens of London abhorred thoſe acts, and that he was not received with that pleaſure and reſpect he wiſhed. "The "Legate" (as Mr. Strype tells us from a ſpectator of Pole's pompous proceſſion into the city) "rode---bleſſing the people as "he went; for which he was greatly laughed to ſcorn. For "few of the people had now any good conceit of the Pope, or "his creature's bleſſings. Nor did they put off their caps, and "make courteſy to the croſs; neither was there ſcarce any ex-"preſſion of joy at the ſight of the King and Queen: none "ſaying, GOD SAVE THEM. The Biſhop of Wincheſter was "ſore offended at this, and threatened the people hard for their "diſreſpectful behaviour." It appears alſo from the ſame Hiſtorian, that the kingdom in general took ſuch little ſatisfaction in this reconciliation with the Pope, that the Queen found herſelf obliged to write circular letters to the Sheriffs, to order rejoicings

(*p*) Mr. Philips ſays, that, "During the abſolution, the Queen, and many others, ſhed tears of joy and piety; and it being now over, they all roſe up, and embraced one another, often repeating, *To-day we are born again!*"—Life of Pole, Vol. I. P. 130.

Beccatelli ſays, that the Lord Chancellor, Gardiner, made a ſpeech on this occaſion, in which he dwelt much on the extraordinary mercies of GOD to this kingdom, "which had preſerved this *angelic Miniſter* (Pole) for their ſakes, who came to lead them out of darkneſs into light, through this their preſent act of obedience to the Apoſtolic See, which their anceſtors had always acknowledged."——Mr. Pye obſerves, that "this hypocritical rant of Gardiner's, in praiſe of a man he was known to diſlike, whoſe *angelic miſſion* he had long ſtruggled to render abortive, by keeping him by every poſſible artifice out of the kingdom; and whoſe cauſe (that of reſtoring the Papal Supremacy over this nation) he had publicly written againſt, muſt, one would have imagined, have diſturbed the mock ſolemnity of that day, and have thrown the whole Houſe into a burſt of laughter, had not *Spaniſh gravity* infected the whole Aſſembly, or *Spaniſh gold* reconciled bare-faced knavery, as well

as

rejoicings upon this occaſion: the people not being forward of themſelves to make any outward ſignification of their joy (*q*).

After the diſſolution of the Parliament, the firſt thing taken into conſideration was, in what manner to proceed againſt the Heretics. Pole had been charged by ſome with favouring the Proteſtants: but he now expreſſed a very great deteſtation of them; and he would not even converſe with any who had been of that party, excepting Sir William Cecil. Indeed ever ſince his arrival in England as Legate, his behaviour had been much changed from that freedom of converſation which he had formerly practiſed. He was in reſerve to all, ſpoke little, and, as Burnet ſays, put on an Italian temper, as well as behaviour; making Priuli and Ormaneto, two Italians whom he had brought with him, his only confidents. However, it is ſaid that he recommended moderate meaſures with reſpect to the Heretics, and profeſſed himſelf an enemy to ſevere proceedings; whilſt Gardiner, on the contrary, laboured to promote the bloody perſecution which followed (*r*). But it is certain, that one of the firſt acts of Pole's legantine authority was to grant commiſſions for the proſecution of Heretics. Soon after others were iſſued to the Biſhops and Officials of the vacant Sees, to reconcile and abſolve both Clergy and Laity. But to theſe were tacked ſome inſtructions, which ſhew that Pole was not ſo averſe to perſecution

as bigotry, to their deluded ſenſes." P. 98.

Father Paul ſays, that Pole's ſpeech to the Parliament, when he invited them to a reconciliation to the See of Rome, was "very long and artificial; and the concluſion was, that he had the keys to bring them into the Church, which they had ſhut, by making laws againſt the Apoſtolic See: which when they did revoke, he would open the doors unto them. The Cardinal's perſon was well accepted, and an apparent aſſent was given to his propoſition, though the major part did ſecretly abhor the quality of a Pope's Miniſter, and were grieved to come under the yoke again. But they had ſuffered themſelves to be carried ſo far, that they knew not how to return." Lib. V.

"The Legate having performed the important buſineſs of reconciling the kingdom to the Church of Rome, communicated the news to the Pope, who teſtified his joy upon this occaſion in a very ſingular manner, by publiſhing indulgences, ordering proceſſions, and proclaiming a jubilee, and the like. As Pole *had appointed St. Andrew's Day, on which this great work was completed, to be kept henceforward with peculiar ſolemnity*, (Philips, P. 130); his Holineſs and the good people of Rome expreſſed their grateful homage to the Saint in this pious and rational manner. "The "head of St. Andrew was kept un- "covered the whole day, that all "the people might ſee it, viſit it, "and worſhip it as became them." Neve's Animadverſions, P. 497.

(*q*) *Vid.* Neve's Animadverſions, P. 498, 499.

(*r*) *Vid.* Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reform. Vol. II. P 299. Mr. Hume has filled up ſeveral pages of his Hiſtory with the arguments by which Gardiner and Pole, and their party, ſupported, "or might have ſupported," their different opinions concerning toleration. However, what is offered on this ſubject in Mr. Hume's Hiſtory, was evidently never produced either by Pole or Gardiner, or their adherents, but is almoſt entirely the fabrication of the ingenious and *inventive* Hiſtorian himſelf. *Vid.* Hiſt of Eng. Vol. IV. P. 435—440. 8vo. Edit.

tion as ſome Proteſtant writers have ſuppoſed. " In theſe in-
" ſtructions (ſays Mr. Strype) there are ſeveral ſtrictures, that
" make it appear Pole was not ſo gentle towards the Heretics
" (as the Profeſſors of the Goſpel were then ſtiled) as is re-
" ported, but rather the contrary; and that he went hand in
" hand with the bloody Biſhops of theſe days. For it is plain
" here, that he put the Biſhops upon proceeding with them ac-
" cording to the ſanguinary laws, lately revived, and put in full
" force and virtue. What an invention was that of his, a kind
" of inquiſition by him ſet up, whereby not a man might
" eſcape, that ſtood not well affected to Popery? I mean, his
" ordering books to be made and kept, wherein the names of
" all ſuch were to be written, that, in every place and pariſh in
" England were reconciled: and ſo whoever were not found in
" thoſe books, might be known to be no friends to the Pope;
" and ſo to be proceeded againſt. And indeed after Pole's
" crafty and zealous management of this reconciliation, all
" that good opinion that men had before conceived of him va-
" niſhed, and they found themſelves much miſtaken in him;
" eſpecially, ſeeing ſo many learned and pious Goſpel Biſhops
" and Miniſters impriſoned and martyred under him, and by his
" commiſſion. Inſomuch that now people ſpake of him as bad
" as of the Pope himſelf, or the worſt of his Cardinals (*s*)."

In March, 1555, Pope Paul III. died, and in leſs than a month after his ſucceſſor Marcellus II. died alſo; upon receiving the news of which, Queen Mary made uſe of her intereſt in order to raiſe her kinſman, Pole, to the Papacy; but without effect. In June, this year, the Cardinal went over into Flanders, in order to mediate a peace between France and the Emperor; but this negociation proving unſucceſsful, he returned again to England. The new Pope, Paul IV. was no friend to Pole, he had more liking to Gardiner, and in that diſpoſition he favoured the views of the latter upon the See of Canterbury. Nor was Pole's nomination to that dignity confirmed by his Holineſs, till after the death of Gardiner. Pole is not free from a ſuſpicion of having contributed to haſten the death of Cranmer, who was burnt at Oxford on the 21ſt of March, 1556; and on the next day Pole (having previouſly received Prieſt's orders) was conſecrated Archbiſhop of Canterbury in the church of the Grey Friars at Greenwich. On the 28th of the ſame month, he went in ſtate to Bow Church; where the Biſhops of Worceſter and Ely, after the former had ſaid maſs, put the pall upon him; and thus inveſted, he went into the pulpit, and made a ſermon about the origin and uſe of that veſtment (*f*).

In

(*s*) Memorials of Cranmer, P. 347, 348.

(*f*) Beccatelli ſays, that " Pole would fain have fixed his abode at Canterbury, and kept that conſtant reſidence there which became a good Paſtor; but the Queen would never ſuffer him to leave the Court, inaſ-
much

In November, the ſame year, he was elected Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, and ſoon after of Cambridge; and in the beginning of the year 1557, he viſited both by his Commiſſaries. Thoſe ſent to Oxford were commiſſioned to enquire if there were any who neglected the Popiſh ceremonies, and upon the leaſt ſuſpicion to eject them; accordingly they proceeded againſt numbers in the Univerſity, and burnt all the Engliſh Bibles, and ſuch other heretical books as they found, in the public market place. They alſo made a proceſs againſt the body of Peter Martyr's wife, that lay buried in one of the churches there. And ſhe being a foreigner, who underſtood no Engliſh, no witneſſes were to be found that had heard her utter any heretical points. Hereupon they gave notice thereof to the Cardinal, who wrote back, that her body ſhould be taken up, becauſe it lay near that of St. Frideſwide. This was accordgingly done, and her body buried in a Dunghill.

The Commiſſioners who were ſent to Cambridge, on their arrival there put the churches of St. Mary's and St. Michael's under an interdict, becauſe the bodies of the Heretics Bucer and Fagius were laid in them; after which they proceeded againſt them in a formal courſe of law. The bodies were cited to appear, or if any would come in their names, they were required to defend them. But after three citations, the dead bodies not riſing to ſpeak for themſelves, and none coming to plead for them, (for fear of being ſent after them) the viſitors thought proper to proceed. And accordingly having examined many witneſſes concerning the Hereſy which had been taught by Bucer and Fagius, they adjudged them obſtinate Heretics, and appointed their bodies to be taken out of the holy ground, and to be delivered to the ſecular power. And a writ for the purpoſe being brought from London, their bodies were taken up, and carried in coffins; and being tied to ſtakes, with many of their books, and other heretical writings, were all burnt together (*s*).

Notwithſtanding the important ſervices which Pole had rendered to the Holy See, by being the inſtrument of reducing England to its obedience, and his preſent concurrence in the perſecution of the Proteſtants, and the zeal ſhewn by him in the extirpation of Hereſy, the animoſity of the preſent Pope was ſo great againſt him (*u*), that, upon various pretences, he accuſed Pole

ing, that it was more for the intereſt of the Catholic faith that he ſhould reſide near her perſon, than at Canterbury.——Many able Divines were conſulted on this point, who aſſured the Cardinal, that he could not, with a ſafe conſcience, abandon her Majeſty, *when there was ſo much buſineſs to be done, to cruſh the Heretics, and give new life to the Catholic cauſe.*" P. 109.

(*s*) *Vid.* Biograph. Britan. and Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. P. 345, 346.

(*u*) Pope Paul IV. was now engaged in a war with Philip, King of Spain, and huſband to Mary, having entered into an alliance with the French Monarch for that purpoſe. But the Pontiff (Dr. Neve obſerves) knew Pole to be "ever devoted to the

Pole as a ſuſpected Heretic, ſummoned him to Rome to anſwer the charge, and depriving him of the legatine powers, conferred them upon Peyto, a Franciſcan Friar, whom he had ſent for to Rome, and made a Cardinal for the purpoſe, deſigning alſo to cauſe his promotion to the See of Saliſbury (*w*). This appointment was made in September, 1557; and the new Legate was actually on the road for England, when the Bulls came to the hands of Queen Mary; who having been informed of their contents by her Ambaſſador, laid them up without opening them, or acquainting Pole with them, in whoſe behalf ſhe wrote to the Pope. And Beccatelli ſays, ſhe directed her Ambaſſador at Rome to tell his Holineſs, that "this was not the method to "keep the kingdom ſtedfaſt in the Catholic faith, but rather to "make it more heretical than ever, for that Cardinal Pole was "the very ANCHOR of the Catholic party." Indeed, Mary ſeems on this occaſion to have exerted ſome of her father's ſpirit; for ſhe wrote alſo to Peyto, forbidding him to proceed on his journey, and charging him at his peril not to ſet foot upon Engliſh ground. But notwithſtanding all her care to conceal the matter from the Cardinal, it was not poſſible to keep it long a ſecret; and Pole no ſooner became acquainted with the Holy Father's pleaſure, than out of that implicit veneration which he conſtantly and unalterably preſerved for the Apoſtolic See, he voluntarily laid down the enſigns of his legatine power, and forbore the exerciſe of it; diſpatching his truſty friend Ormaneto to Rome with letters, in which he vindicated himſelf in ſuch ſubmiſſive terms, as even mollified and melted, we are told, the obdurate heart of Pope Paul. However, the Cardinal was reſtored

the intereſts of Spain. He wanted a Legate at the Court of England, like himſelf, vigorous and reſolute; who by taking the lead in Council, and gaining the Queen's confidence, might prevent her from engaging in her huſband's quarrels. But ſo long as Pole remained in that ſtation, he was apprehenſive, that by his inſtigation ſhe might enter into alliances deſtructive to his politics."——Animadverſions, P. 542.

Biſhop Burnet intimates, that it was Pole's fear of the Pope, that induced him to concur in the perſecution of the Proteſtants, againſt his inclinations. "He ſhewed (ſays he) the weakneſs of his ſpirit in one thing, that being againſt cruel proceedings with Heretics, he did not more openly profeſs it; but both ſuffered the other Biſhops to go on, and even in Canterbury,——he left thoſe poor men to the cruelties of the brutal and fierce Popiſh Clergy. In this he was to be pitied, that he had not courage enough to contend with ſo haughty a Pope as Paul the IVth was; who thought of no other way of bearing down Hereſy, but by ſetting up the Inquiſition every where: ſo Pole, it ſeems, judged it ſufficient for him, not to act himſelf, nor to ſit on any; and thought he did enough, when he diſcouraged it in private: but yet he granted commiſſions to the other Biſhops and Archdeacons to proceed againſt thoſe called Heretics."——Hiſt. of Reform. Vol. II. P. 327.

(*w*) This Peyto, or Peto, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the inſolent liberties he took with King Henry VIII. in a ſermon he preached before that Monarch at Greenwich.——See the firſt Volume of our Work, P. 347.

ſtored to his legatine powers ſoon after; but did not live to enjoy them a full twelvemonth, being ſeized with a double quartan ague, which carried him off the 18th of November, 1558 (*x*). His body being put into a leaden coffin, lay forty days in great ſtate at Lambeth; after which it was conveyed from thence with much funeral pomp to Canterbury, and interred on the north ſide of Thomas of Becket's chapel, in the cathedral there. Over his grave was erected a tomb, on which was inſcribed only this ſhort epitaph, DEPOSITUM CARDINALIS POLI, the Remains of Cardinal Pole (*y*).

The Cardinal was, as to his perſon, of a middle ſtature, and of a lean habit of body; his complexion was fair, and he was yellow haired. He had a large open countenance, enlivened with a chearful and pleaſant eye. His conſtitution was healthful, though not ſtrong; and he was ſeldom out of order, but when he was troubled with a rheumatic defluxion, which fell ſometimes into his arm, and was very painful to him; and at others occaſioned an inflammation in one of his eyes (*z*).

He was a learned and an eloquent man, and naturally of a benevolent and mild diſpoſition; but his bigotted attachment to the See of Rome occaſioned his being concerned in tranſactions which reflect great diſhonour on his memory. "That Pole's natural temper might be averſe to ſanguinary proceedings, (ſays Dr. Neve), that theſe violent meaſures were chiefly promoted by others, and that he ſhewed ſome inſtances of clemency and compaſſion, is not to be denied; but it doth not appear that he diſſuaded the Court from theſe cruelties, or exerted his influence to prevent them (*a*)." It is at leaſt certain, that the moſt cruel perſecutions were carried on in his name (*b*).

(*x*) Queen Mary died the day before the Cardinal. Beccatelli ſays, "He had been told of the Queen's death, as he never ceaſed enquiring about her almoſt every inſtant, and would not ſuffer any one to attempt to deceive him; and when the account was brought him, he ſaid, *I hope CHRIST, in his mercy, will not abandon this poor kingdom*; neither did this event the leaſt alter or diſcompoſe him, but he continued in prayer and devout meditation, with great firmneſs of mind, to the laſt. About an hour before he expired, (as I was told by the Biſhop of St. Aſaph, who gave him *extreme unction*, and was always in the room with him), he aſked, if the book of Recommendatory Prayers, to be uſed at the ſoul's departure, was ready, as he had deſired; which, when the Biſhop ſhewed him, he looked upon it, and ſaid, *Now then is the time to uſe it*; and with theſe words he expired, and was received, we hope, into the habitations of Bleſſed Spirits, with the pious and Catholic Queen, his miſtreſs, after a toilſome pilgrimage of fifty-eight years and ſix months." P. 129, 130.

(*y*) *Vid.* Biograph. Britan.

(*z*) Beccatelli, P. 133.

(*a*) Animadverſions, P. 523.

(*b*) Mr. Philips ſays, (Vol. II. P. 216.) that not one was put to death in the Dioceſe of Canterbury, after Cardinal Pole was promoted to that See." But that this is abſolutely untrue, is ſufficiently ſhewn by Mr. Ridley, (Review, P. 326.) no leſs than twenty-four being burnt in one year in the Dioceſe of Canterbury, whilſt Pole was Archbiſhop of that

Pole's private life appears to have been regular and unblameable; and there is the greateſt reaſon to believe, that he was ſincerely pious. "His behaviour in his laſt moments ſhewed, (ſays the judicious writer juſt quoted) that his religion, though ill-directed, was ſincere and genuine (*c*)." He appears to have been charitable and generous, and a kind maſter to his domeſtics. He was naturally addicted to ſtudy and retirement; and tho' he ſeems not to have been without a tincture of ambition, he appears not to have had ſpirit or activity enough for the public and active ſcenes of life (*d*).

The Cardinal was very temperate in his diet; he allowed himſelf two meals a day, but the leaſt was in the evening. He was an early riſer, generally getting up before day-break, to follow his ſtudies and devotions; and was not fond of the parade of having many ſervants about him. His converſation is ſaid to have been very facetious and agreeable. He left his beloved friend Alviſe Priuli, a Venetian man of quality, his executor and heir; but the generous Italian, who had followed the Cardinal into England, and had ever ſhewn the moſt diſintereſted attachment to him, would not enrich himſelf by the wealth of his friend,

that See. See alſo Dr Neve's Animadverſions, P. 558, 559.

Mr. Philips, who, under the pretence of writing the Hiſtory of the Life of Reginald Pole, hath taken abundant pains to varniſh Popery, and to recommend it to the good people of this country, has been convicted, upon the cleareſt and the fulleſt evidence, by Dr. Neve, Mr. Ridley, and others, of flagrant perverſions of Hiſtory, of the groſſeſt miſrepreſentations, and of manifeſt falſhoods. He hath lately publiſhed a new edition of his Work, in two Volumes in Octavo; at the end of which, Vol. II. P. 327. he hath added ſome pages in his own vindication. But, inſtead of attempting to produce any ſatisfactory refutation of the charges which have been brought againſt him, (which indeed he knew was impoſſible) he hath contented himſelf with filling up about twelve pages, in a manner truly jeſuitical, in endeavouring to convince his readers that his principles are of a very peaceable and harmleſs tendency, and that he himſelf is an exceeding good ſubject. He tells us, that he has "too real a reſpect for the public to trouble it with wrangles on facts, or dates, or authorities, of little or no conſequence." But the misfortune is, that the facts which Mr. Philips has miſrepreſented in the groſſeſt manner, and many abſolute untruths which he has advanced, are of the greateſt conſequence of any in his Hiſtory; and, indeed, he hath as good as pleaded guilty to the charge which hath been brought againſt him, of being a notorious falſifier and perverter of Hiſtory, by not offering ten lines to the purpoſe in his own defence.

(*c*) Neve's Animadverſions, P. 560.

(*d*) "There is no part of his character more amiable than when we view him in his retirements, and in the ſocial intercourſes with private friends: here he appeared to great advantages, and diſplayed all the endearing good qualities of the polite ſcholar, the chearful companion, and the ſincere friend. His fame would have been handed down to poſterity with undiminiſhed luſtre, if he had never engaged in the turbulent, active ſcenes of life; for which he either was not deſigned by nature, or had rendered himſelf unfit by indulging an indolent and timid diſpoſition." —— Neve's Animadverſions on Philips, P. 553, 554.

friend, whom he ſurvived only twenty months, which time was wholly ſpent in collecting the Cardinal's effects, which were diſperſed about in different places; and having diſcharged all the legacies, he gave away the remainder in ſuch a manner as he thought would be moſt agreeable to the Cardinal's mind, reſerving to himſelf only his friend's Breviary and Diary.

Several of Pole's pieces have been mentioned in the courſe of our account of his Life. Some other ſmall pieces, and ſome tranſlations from the Fathers, were alſo publiſhed by him. He was ſeveral years employed in collecting various readings, emendations, &c. of Cicero's works, with a deſign to publiſh a complete copy of them; but he was prevented by his death, and the papers are now loſt (*e*). Four large Volumes of letters which paſſed between Pole and his learned friends, with preliminary diſcourſes to each Volume, were publiſhed by Cardinal Quirini, between the years 1744 and 1752. And a fifth Volume was publiſhed in 1757, ſince the deceaſe of Quirini, but from the collections made by him.

(*e*) *Vid.* Biograph. Britan. The Author of Pole's article in that Work ſays, "We are told by Mr. Strype, that Pole wrote a book about 1530, to perſuade King Henry to continue the negociation of his marriage with Anne Boleyn, which was peruſed by Cranmer:" in which he is followed by the Author of Pole's Life in the General Biographical Dictionary, 8vo. (Vol. IX. P. 394.) who adds, "this is really not credible." But both theſe Writers are miſtaken. Strype ſays no ſuch thing. He mentions a book of Pole's, written about 1530, which was peruſed by Cranmer; but does not ſay, that the book was written to perſuade Henry to continue the negociation of his marriage with Anne Boleyn; but, on the contrary, that it was written to diſſuade the King from proſecuting his divorce from Catherine, and to perſuade him to ſubmit his cauſe to the Pope's judgment. —— *Vid.* Strype's Memorials of Cranmer, P. 6——9, and Appendix, P. 3, 4, 5.

The Life of NICHOLAS RIDLEY, Biſhop of London.

NICHOLAS RIDLEY was born in the beginning of the ſixteenth Century, in Tynedale, at a place called Wilmontſwick in Northumberland. He received his ſchool education at Newcaſtle upon Tyne, from whence he was removed to Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, about the year 1518, when Luther was preaching againſt indulgences in Germany. His diſpoſition was open and ingenuous; the care taken of him in his youth, ſeaſoned his mind with an early piety; and as he was remarkably endued with conſtancy and reſolution, he was indefatigable in his ſtudies, both at Newcaſtle and at the Univerſity. He had an opportunity of learning the Greek tongue, at the public lectures of Richard Crook, who about that time began to teach it in Cambridge; to which all the ſcholars equally contributed, whether they attended, or not. As to religious opinions, his firſt prejudices were all in favour of the Romiſh Church: and it is probable that his uncle, Dr. Robert Ridley, then Fellow of Queen's College, at whoſe expence, and under whoſe influence he was now educating, would keep him ſteady in that tract. In ſhort, his character at this time appears to have been that of an ingenious, virtuous, zealous Papiſt (*f*).

In 1522, Mr. Ridley took the degree of Batchelor of Arts. He had already acquired a conſiderable ſkill in the Latin and Greek languages; and was now making himſelf maſter of the learning more in vogue, the philoſophy and theology of the ſchools. This was certainly, in ſome degree, a miſpending of his time. He is not, however, cenſurable on that account; it was the faſhion of the age; and his proſecution of theſe ſtudies, in which he was very expert, was not wholly without its uſe. For he was afterwards thereby the better qualified to diſcern the vanity of this kind of knowledge, and to detect the ſophiſtry of his antagoniſts, when attacked from this quarter.

In 1524, his abilities were ſo well known, and ſo generally acknowledged, that the Maſter and Fellows of Univerſity College in Oxford, invited him to accept of an exhibition there. This, however, he thought proper to decline; and was the ſame year choſen

(*f*) *Vid.* Life of Dr. Nicholas Ridley, ſome time Biſhop of London, by the Rev. Gloceſter Ridley, LL.B. 4to, Edit. 1763. P. 2, 3, 43, 48.

choſen Fellow of his own College in Cambridge. The next year he took the degree of Maſter of Arts; and in the year following he was appointed by the College their general Agent in all cauſes relating to the churches of Tilney, Soham, and Saxthorpe, belonging to Pembroke Hall. But as his ſtudies were now directed to Divinity, his uncle, at his own charge, ſent him for his farther improvement to ſpend ſome time among the Doctors of the Sorbonne in Paris, and afterwards among the Profeſſors of Louvain; where he probably ſpent the years 1527, 1528, and 1529.

In 1530, Mr. Ridley was choſen junior Treaſurer of his own College; and it was at this time, when he was purſuing his theological ſtudies, the foundation of which he had laid abroad, that he not only applied himſelf with great diligence to the reading of the Scriptures, as the ſafeſt guide in thoſe ſtudies, but alſo took pains to imprint them in his memory: and for this purpoſe he uſed to walk in the orchard at Pembroke Hall, and there get without book almoſt all the Epiſtles in Greek; which walk is to this day called Ridley's Walk.

In the beginning of the year 1532, George Throgmorton and John Aſkwell, two young men from Oxford, who had formed a very high opinion of themſelves, ventured to Cambridge on no wiſer an errand, than to challenge all that Univerſity to a diſputation on two queſtions, in which they had prepared themſelves. Ridley, being famous for his abilities as a diſputant, was one of the five appointed to undertake the challengers. The oddneſs of the occaſion drew together a great concourſe of ſcholars, ſo that the ſchool doors were broken down by them. For the number of ſcholars then at Cambridge was very great, as may be concluded from a paſſage in Latimer's ſermon before King Edward in 1550; where he ſays, that "he verily believes there were "then ten thouſand ſcholars fewer than there were twenty years "ago." Throgmorton was to reſpond on the firſt queſtion, whom his opponents ſo preſſed, that, finding him a little embarraſſed, they purſued their advantage, (which was particularly the method of Ridley, when he met with ſuch vain-glorious diſputants) and never ſuffered him to recover himſelf again. At which his fellow-adventurer Aſkwell, who was to reſpond on the ſecond queſtion, was ſo diſcouraged, that he declined the diſputation, by feigning himſelf ſick. And thus ended this ridiculous challenge, to the diſgrace of the challengers.----Archbiſhop Tenniſon, in his manuſcript notes in the Library at Lambeth, calls this DUELLUM RELIGIOSUM, a religious Combat; but in truth, there was no more of religion in the queſtions, than there was of diſcretion in the challenge. The firſt was, Whether the Civil Law was more excellent than Medicine? And the ſecond, from which we may form ſome judgment of what learned trifles they buſied themſelves with in that age, was, Whether a woman, condemned

condemned to death, being twice tied up, and the cords both times breaking, ought to be hanged the third time (*g*)?

In 1533, Mr. Ridley was choſen ſenior Proctor of the Univerſity. And while he continued in that office, the important point of the Pope's Supremacy came before them to be examined upon the authority of Scripture. And for this purpoſe public diſputations were appointed, for ſifting the queſtion thoroughly. In conſequence of which, the Univerſity came at length to this reſolution, "That the Biſhop of Rome had no "more authority and juriſdiction derived to him from GOD, in "this kingdom of England, than any other foreign Biſhop." This was ſigned in the name of the Univerſity, May the 2d, 1534, by Simon Heynes, Vice-Chancellor; and by Nicholas Ridley and Richard Wilkes, Proctors.

Mr. Ridley diſcharged himſelf of his Proctor's office about October, 1534, and then took the degree of Batchelor in Divinity, and was choſen Chaplain of the Univerſity. He was likewiſe (if it be not the ſame office) Public Reader, as himſelf informs us; which Archbiſhop Tenniſon calls PRÆDICATOR PUBLICUS. He is alſo called in the Pembroke MS. MAGISTER GLOMERIÆ, whoſe office is ſuppoſed to have been ſimilar to that of the Univerſity Orator at this day. Whilſt he was in theſe offices, he loſt his good uncle and friend, Dr. Robert Ridley (*b*), on the 12th of June, 1536. But the education which the uncle generouſly beſtowed, and the improvement which the nephew had made by his great application, ſoon recommended him to another and greater patron. For in the very next year, his great reputation as an excellent preacher, and the beſt diſputant of his time, his great and ready memory, and intimate acquaintance with the Scriptures and the Fathers, occaſioned the Archbiſhop of Canterbury to deſire the aſſiſtance of his learning; for Cranmer's houſe was a kind of Univerſity, where many learned men were entertained, foreigners as well as natives. But Ridley was ingrafted into the Archbiſhop's family, and appointed one of his Chaplains; and had an opportunity this year of enjoying much of the Archbiſhop's company and leiſure. And as an earneſt of his favour and approbation, on the 30th of April, 1538, the Archbiſhop collated him to the Vicarage of Herne in Eaſt Kent. Here he was diligent to inſtruct his charge in the pure doctrines of the Goſpel, as far as they were yet diſcovered by him, (not from the Schoolmen and Popiſh Doctors), except in the point of Tranſubſtantiation, from which error he was not yet delivered. And the good fruits of his Miniſtry there, were ſeen in the effects it produced, particularly in the Lady Fiennes, whom he brought to have a juſt ſenſe of

(*g*) *Vid.* Life of Ridley, as before, P. 62, 64, 96, 97.

(*b*) Dr. Robert Ridley was a celebrated Canoniſt. He was one of Queen Catherine's advocates in the legantine Court. Cavendiſh obſerves of him, that he was a little man, but a great Divine.

of the doctrines of Chriſtianity; and which ſhe afterwards teſtified by her exemplary life and good works. And to enliven the devotion of his pariſhioners, he uſed to have the Te Deum read in his pariſh church in Engliſh; which was afterwards urged in accuſation againſt him.

It was in 1539, that the act of the Six Articles was paſſed, againſt which Mr. Ridley, who had now the character of a zealous Scripturiſt, bore his teſtimony in the pulpit: though otherwiſe he was in no danger from the penalties of the ſtatute. For the article of the corporal preſence was at that time an article of his Creed. The marriage, or uncleanneſs of Prieſts, did not affect him, who never acted againſt the ſtatute in the former inſtance, and was never charged with doing ſo in the latter. And as to the article of auricular confeſſion, he tells us towards the cloſe of his life, that he always thought confeſſion to the Miniſter might do much good. But he made a difference betwixt what he thought an uſeful appointment in the Church, and the preſſing it on the conſcience as a point neceſſary to ſalvation. This teſtimony, however, occaſioned him no ſmall trouble.

Mr. Ridley had now been two years at his pariſh of Herne, getting new lights himſelf, by a cloſe application to his ſtudies of the Scriptures and the Fathers, and by friendly conference with his patron the Archbiſhop; and faithfully communicating to his people the word of GOD, "not after the Popiſh trade," as himſelf teſtifies, in his Farewell: though as yet he acknowledges, GOD had not revealed to him the doctrine of the LORD's Supper. His improvement in knowledge was very unjuſtly charged upon him as a fickle change of opinions, and a ſervile conformity to the times: but there never appeared any fluctuating or ſhifting backward and forward in his judgment, but a regular progreſſion and advancement in the diſcovery of truth. He ſought it with diligence, and he generally, though gradually, found it; being uninfluenced by worldly motives. Of this he afterwards made a very ſolemn declaration, before the Commiſſioners at Oxford. "I have thought otherwiſe (ſaid he) in times paſt, "than I now do: yet (GOD I call to record unto my ſoul, I lie "not) I have not altered my judgment, as now it is, either by "conſtraint of any man, or laws, either for the dread of any "danger in this world, either for any hopes of advantage; but "only for the love of the truth, revealed unto me by the grace "of GOD (as I am undoubtingly perſuaded) in his holy word, "and in the reading of the antient Fathers."

During the time that Mr. Ridley continued at Herne, he ſo diligently and conſcientiouſly diſcharged his paſtoral office, that he gained the general applauſe of the people in the neighbouring pariſhes; who, neglecting their own teachers, would come for many miles round to hear his ſermons. But in 1540, he repaired to Cambridge, and there took the degree of Doctor in Divinity; which he probably did by the perſuaſion of the Archbiſhop,

Archbiſhop, who was now meditating to bring his Chaplain more into the light. And in the October following, the Maſterſhip of Pembroke Hall becoming vacant, the Fellows, who well knew the learning, abilities, and good diſpoſitions of their old Collegiate, invited him back again to College, to take upon him the guardianſhip of their ſociety. And about this time Cranmer's recommendation appeared to be of its uſual weight with the King, by his Majeſty's appointing Dr. Ridley to be one of his own Chaplains. Soon after this, the cathedral church of Canterbury was made collegiate, with a Dean, and twelve Prebendaries, and ſix Preachers; which, being Cranmer's own church, he found no difficulty in obtaining the fifth prebendal ſtall for Dr. Ridley.

With how much integrity our new Prebendary diſcharged the duties of his function, appears from his endeavours in the pulpit to ſet the abuſes of Popery ſo open before the people's eyes in his ſermons, as to provoke the Prebendaries and Preachers of what was called the Old Learning, to exhibit articles againſt him, at the Archbiſhop's viſitation in 1541, for preaching contrary to the ſtatute of the Six Articles. He feared not to bear his teſtimony againſt any error which he had diſcovered; but yet, from reſpect to the authority by which the Six Articles were enjoined, he delivered his opinion ſo cautiouſly, that his accuſers could prove nothing but the malice of their accuſation.

The ſubjects upon which he treated were, the neceſſity of prayer in a known tongue; without which, he ſaid, it were but babbling; that men ought not to build any ſecurity upon mere ceremonies; and that auricular confeſſion, though it might be uſeful, was not enjoined by Divine authority in the Scriptures. The manner in which he treated theſe ſubjects, we learn from the acknowledgment of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, in a letter to Ridley in King Edward's reign. He ſays, "You declared your-"ſelf always deſirous to ſet forth the mere truth, with great de-"ſire of unity, as you profeſſed; not extending any of your "aſſeverations beyond your knowledge, but always adding ſuch "like words, AS FAR AS YOU HAD READ; and IF ANY MAN "COULD SHEW YOU FURTHER, YOU WOULD HEAR HIM; "wherein you were much to be commended." Such was the meek and gentle ſpirit, and the ſame time ſuch the ſteady and conſiſtent conduct, of Dr. Ridley.

But notwithſtanding this, a deſign was formed, in 1543, by the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and ſome of his Popiſh aſſociates, particularly Dr. London, to procure the ruin of Archbiſhop Cranmer, and of ſuch Divines as were connected with him, and who favoured the Reformation. And in purſuance of this ſcheme, and as a part of it, an information was laid againſt Dr. Ridley, before the Juſtices in Kent. The articles of this accuſation were, 1. That he preached at St. Steven's in Rogation week, and ſaid, that auricular confeſſion was but a mere poſitive law,

law, and ordained as a godly mean for the ſinner to come to the Prieſt for counſel; but he could not find it in Scripture. 2. That he ſaid, there was no meeter term to be given to the ceremonies of the Church, than to call them BEGGARLY CEREMONIES. 3. That Te Deum had been ſung commonly in Engliſh at Herne, where the ſaid Maſter Doctor is Vicar. But the malevolence of the deſign formed for the ruin of Cranmer and his friends, being diſcovered to the King, the whole deſign was cruſhed, and a ſtop put to the proſecution againſt Dr. Ridley. (*i*)

The greateſt part of the year 1545, Dr. Ridley ſpent in retirement at his Vicarage of Herne. He had hitherto been an unſuſpecting believer of Tranſubſtantiation. The generally received doctrine, the decrees of Popes, and deciſions of Councils,

(*i*) This year, 1543, Dr. Smollet tells us, that "three *Proteſtants* were burned at Windſor;" after which he further obſerves, that Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, and the other enemies of the Reformation, were "not contented with the deſtruction of thoſe, and other *ſuch* innocent *Enthuſiaſts*." Hiſt. of Eng. Vol. VI. P. 18. Octavo Edit. Was it the deſign of the Doctor here to inſinuate to his readers, that *Proteſtant* and *Enthuſiaſt* are ſynonimous terms? In the ſame Volume of his Hiſtory, P. 61. after having given us the characters of the Biſhops of Saliſbury, Worceſter, and St. Aſaph, Shaxton, Latimer, and Barlow, he aſſerts, that "the other preachers of the *new* religion, were generally *Enthuſiaſts*." And theſe are not the only inſtances of Dr. Smollet's ſpeaking in a very contemptuous, and we will add, in a very unjuſt manner, of the firſt Reformers.—*Vid.* P. 153. of the firſt Volume of our Work.

But there is another modern Hiſtorian, Mr. Hume, who hath beſtowed the epithets *fanatical* and *enthuſiaſtical* upon the Reformers, with a ſtill more liberal hand. This gentleman ſays, that, "The firſt Reformers, who made ſuch furious and ſucceſsful attacks on the Romiſh ſuperſtition, and ſhook it to its loweſt foundations, may ſafely be pronounced to have been *univerſally* enflamed with the *higheſt Enthuſiaſm*."——Hiſt. of Gr. Britain. Vol. I. P. 7. In another place he ſays, "When the *enraged* and *fanatical Reformers* took arms againſt the Papal Hierarchy, and threatened to rend from the Church at once all her riches and authority; no wonder ſhe was animated with equal zeal and ardor, in defence of ſuch antient and invaluable poſſeſſions."——Hiſt. of Gr. Brit. P. 26. Edit. 4to. Edinb. 1754. And "the *Proteſtant Fanaticiſm*, the *Proteſtant Enthuſiaſm*, and the *fanatical Reformers*," are phraſes very familiar with this Hiſtorian. In ſhort, he not only ſpeaks of the Reformers in general as Fanatics and Enthuſiaſts, but appears to conſider Enthuſiaſm as the great characteriſtic of the Proteſtant religion.

That the Reformers were not all equally endued with prudence and ability, is certain; it is alſo certain, that many of them were animated with great zeal in defence of truth, and in oppoſition to eccleſiaſtical tyranny; but this we think no diſcredit to their characters, nor no evidence of Enthuſiaſm. And that they did not deſerve this charge of Fanaticiſm and Enthuſiaſm, thus injuriouſly and indiſcriminately brought againſt them, muſt be, we apprehend, ſufficiently apparent to every man, who is diſpoſed to examine the matter with any degree of fairneſs and candour.

This ſubject has, however, been well conſidered by a late learned and ingenious Writer; and whoſe words we ſhall, therefore, borrow on this occaſion, "Were the main princi-

had implanted this faith in him; the rhetorical expreſſions of the Fathers, and the letter of Scripture, had confirmed him in this

ples (ſays he) on which the Reformation was founded, and according to which it was conducted, irrational? or were they wild and irregular? Then, indeed, would they have been known to be of the enthuſiaſtic kind. But did the firſt Reformers ever ſpeak of any new revelation of the Divine Will, that had been made to them from Heaven? Did they lay claim to prophetic inſpiration? and, in conſequence of ſuch claim, did they mean to impoſe any doctrines of religion on the credit of their own teſtimony, and the weight of their own authority? Were theſe their pretenſions? and was this the manner of their addreſs?

"In anſwer to theſe queſtions, I appeal to their Hiſtory, to their writings yet extant, and even to what their enemies have ſaid concerning them. Was it not their avowed principle, That the faith of Chriſtians was to reſt on the word of GOD, and on this alone? and therefore, that any doctrine or practice whatever not ſo grounded, ought not to be received with religious regard; and if it was condemned by holy writ, that it ought to be rejected, even though long preſcription, and the ſanction of eccleſiaſtical authority, could be pleaded in its behalf; neither of which can ſtamp a value on error and folly, nor change the internal nature, though they may indeed the outward attire of truth and falſhood. Thus did they proceed in rejecting Popiſh errors, and in propounding and confirming the oppoſite truths. They objected; they argued; they drew their concluſions from reaſon and Scripture; they called upon their adverſaries to try their doctrines by this teſt; and they exhorted Chriſtians to judge for themſelves, to ſearch the Scriptures, and to be on their guard, againſt the influence of ſpecious forms, of crafty arts, and timorous ſuperſtition. They had themſelves ſhaken off the prejudices that were ſo apt to entangle them in the ſearch of truth; they led the way to others in the noble path, and incited them to follow their example, and to aſſert their religious liberties, to which they had a native, an unalienable right, as men and Chriſtians.

"To the charge of novelty that was brought againſt their doctrine, they made anſwer, That it muſt appear *new* to thoſe alone, who were unacquainted with the true doctrine of the Goſpel, as contained in ſacred writ.——But as the plea of antiquity was ſtrenuouſly urged, and the fame of the antient Doctors of the Chriſtian Church was loudly ſounded by thoſe who defended the Popiſh ſyſtem; to the writings of the primitive Fathers alſo did the Reformers make their appeal, (though with a regard in no ſort equal to that which they yielded to holy Scripture), and to the doctrines and practices of the pureſt, that is, of the three firſt ages of Chriſtianity. They did not decline even this inferior tribunal; well knowing that the Catholic cauſe could not be defended before it. Nay, they undertook to prove, that many of thoſe corruptions of which they complained, had not been heard of in the church, during the ſpace of ſix or ſeven hundred years. Some others might be traced backwards to the fifth, or perhaps the fourth Century; but what they were at that time, was as much to be diſtinguiſhed from what they were become in the fourteenth and fifteenth Centuries, as is the ſmall ſtream of a river near its ſource, from its deep and overflowing waters when it is poured into the ocean.

"To the moſt antient General Councils they profeſſed regard, tho' they denied infallibility. Neither could they perceive any ſort of reaſon for granting it to the Papal chair, which had ſo long, and ſo arrogantly claimed it. In ſhort, as they were not wanting in a proper reſpect to antiquity, ſo they adhered to the word of GOD, as the perfect rule of Chriſtian faith and practice, according to which all religious doctrines were to be tried, and by whoſe authority

this opinion. In the year 1544, Luther had written with great warmth againſt the doctrine of the Zuinglians, upon this ſubject, declaring them Heretics. The Zuinglians replied in the beginning of the following year, when they publiſhed their apology; in which they explained their doctrine and faith, purged themſelves of the guilt of Hereſy, and ſtated Luther's and their doctrines, ſo that the world might judge where the truth lay. It was about this time, that Ridley began to examine into the foundation of the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation; and from the coincidence of time, it has been judged probable, that it was the peruſal of this book, which was then very generally and eagerly read, that induced him to give the queſtion a fair examination. It is however, certain, that, by whatever means induced, he now entered upon this enquiry. And it appears likewiſe, that he procured a little treatiſe, written ſeven hundred years before, by Ratramus, or Bertram, a Monk of Corbey, at the requeſt of the Emperor Charles the Bald, about the year 840; which had been publiſhed at Cologn in 1532, and then ſent by the Zuinglians to Albert, Marquis of Brandenburgh, to vindicate their doctrines from the charge of novelty. From this book Ridley learned, that the determination of the Church for Tranſubſtantiation

thority they were to be finally determined. They tranſlated the Scriptures into different languages, they earneſtly recommended the ſtudy of them, and they generouſly aſſerted the right of private judgment, in the moſt important of all concerns, Religion.

"Is this the manner of Fanaticiſm or Enthuſiaſm? Was it ever known to be directed by ſych principles as theſe? or rather, does it not fly the teſt of reaſon, and fail in the reverence that is due to Holy Writ? whilſt in their ſtead it appeals to internal light and perception, to ſtrong impreſſions or impulſes on the mind; in a word, to ſomething extraordinary and ſupernatural. Is this the ſpirit of Proteſtantiſm? Are theſe its principles and pretenſions? Was this the ſpirit of the firſt Reformers? and this the plan upon which they acted?——How abſurd to think of it in this manner?--How abſurd, therefore, is it to affix the general character of *Enthuſiaſts* and *Fanatics* to thoſe, who, upon the ſlighteſt attention, muſt be fully and at once acquitted as to the eſſential part of this charge?"

"Upon the whole, as the bleſſings of the Reformation are truly ineſtimable, ſo we cannot help admiring thoſe worthy men, who were ſo unwearied in the proſecution of its noble purpoſes. Their merit was diſtinguiſhed; their integrity approved; their qualities were eminent, and their lives exemplary; their taſk was arduous; their labours inceſſant; and their ſucceſs, through the Divine Bleſſing, proportionable. They were honoured to be the inſtruments of diffuſive and laſting good to the Chriſtian Church: and therefore their names, on all theſe accounts, and notwithſtanding their failings, ought to be tranſmitted with reſpect and honour among Proteſtants from age to age. They have been thus tranſmitted, and they will be ſo; at leaſt by all who deſerve to wear that name, by all who have a due regard to the united intereſts of Truth, Liberty, and Religion."—— Letters on Mr. Hume's Hiſtory of Great Britain, printed at Edinburgh 1756. P. 49——55, 84.

had not been ſo early and general as he had before ſuppoſed; for that Bertram, a Catholic Doctor, ſo late as 840, held contrary to the preſent decrees; and that the faithful at that time, without either of them being condemned as Heretics, were divided in their opinions on this ſubject. This at once razed that foundation of AUTHORITY on which Ridley had ſo confidently built, and left him more open to conſider the reaſonings of his Author. And his eyes being by this means opened, he determined to ſearch the Scriptures more accurately on this article, and alſo the doctrine of the primitive Fathers. And how firm ſoever Cranmer might be at this time in the belief of Tranſubſtantiation, and how dangerous ſoever it was to doubt of that article, yet Ridley very honeſtly communicated his diſcoveries and ſcruples to his good friend and patron the Archbiſhop; who knowing the ſincerity of the man, and his cool judgment, was prevailed upon to examine this doctrine with the utmoſt care. The event was the conviction of both of them. And the refutation, and ſetting aſide of this abſurd doctrine, was a very important article of Reformation: it was, indeed, laying the axe to the root of the tree; for, as Cranmer expreſſes himſelf, "the "taking away of beads, pilgrimages, pardons, and ſuch like "Popery, was but the lopping a few branches; which would "ſoon ſpring up again, unleſs the roots of the tree, which were "Tranſubſtantiation and the Sacrifice of the Maſs, were pulled "up." And this he acknowledges was owing to conference with Dr. Ridley, "who by ſundry perſuaſions, and authorities of "Doctors, drew him quite from his old opinion." And in the following year, by Cranmer's means, Latimer was alſo brought to a conviction of the ſame truth. But however inſtrumental Ridley might have been in leading the Archbiſhop into this enquiry, he always diſclaimed the honour of being Cranmer's inſtructor, profeſſing to be "but the young ſcholar to the maſter "in compariſon of him:" always with an exceeding modeſty refuſing the due praiſes which even his adverſaries gave him: not aſſuming to himſelf the glory of his own improvements, but gratefully referring them to the means and opportunities of acquiring them, with which the Divine Providence had favoured him. This change of opinion with reſpect to the Sacrament, happened to Ridley in 1545, in the cloſe of which year his patron the Archbiſhop procured for him the eighth ſtall in the church of Weſtminſter.

When Edward VI. aſcended the Throne, in 1547, Dr. Ridley was a celebrated Preacher: and being appointed to preach before the young King on Aſh-Wedneſday, after having confuted the Biſhop of Rome's pretended authority and uſurped power, he took occaſion to diſcourſe concerning the abuſes of images in churches, and ceremonies, and eſpecially Holy Water for the driving away Devils. Among his auditors was Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter; who not reliſhing Ridley's ſentiments on theſe

ſubjects,

ſubjects, favoured him with a letter on the occaſion the Monday following; in which he complimented him on his learning, and his candid and diffident manner of expreſſing himſelf, but at the ſame time offered ſome arguments in defence of images, and of the propriety of uſing Holy Water in order to drive away Devils (*k*).

About this time, the Fellows of Pembroke Hall preſented Dr. Ridley to the church of Soham, in the Dioceſe of Norwich; but the Preſentation being diſputed by the Biſhop, Ridley was admitted to that Living on the 17th of May, by a command from the King. Three days after, a commiſſion was granted to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Biſhops of Durham and Rocheſter, Dr. Ridley, and ſix others, to examine a cauſe of the Earl of Northampton, whoſe Counteſs had been guilty of adultery. The Canon Law granted a ſeparation, but not the liberty of marrying again: the Pope indeed diſpenſed in theſe caſes. Theſe Commiſſioners were appointed to examine what was to be done upon the authority of the Scriptures, and the judgment of the primitive Chriſtians. They were unwilling to be haſty and precipitate in a point of this conſequence; and took more time than agreed with the Earl's impatience for a ſecond marriage. He, therefore, ventured to take another wife before his cauſe was determined. His raſhneſs and precipitancy gave offence: the Council ſeparated him from his new wife, and delivering her to the care of the Queen-Dowager, obliged the Earl to wait the ſentence of the Commiſſioners; who at length, though not till the beginning of the next year, diſſolved the former marriage entirely, and gave to both the liberty of contracting again elſewhere.

On the 4th of September this year, Dr. Ridley was elected to fill the See of Rocheſter, which was become vacant by the tranſlation of Dr. Holbeach to the Biſhopric of Lincoln. He was conſecrated on the 25th of September, in the chapel belonging to Dr. May, Dean of St. Paul's, in ſuch form and manner as was at that time uſual in the Church of England, by chriſm, or holy unction, and impoſition of hands; and after an oath renouncing the uſurped juriſdiction of the Roman Pontiff, was veſted, according to antient rites, with the robes and inſignia appropriated to his dignity. Theſe circumſtances are particularly mentioned, becauſe Dr. Brookes, in the ſubſequent reign, would not allow Ridley to have been a Biſhop, and only degraded him from his Prieſt's Orders, which is not eaſy to be accounted for. For if the pretence was, that his abjuring the Pope invalidated his conſecration, that would in like manner have unbiſhopped Bonner, and every Biſhop after him. Nay, Tonſtal, Gardiner, and every one of the moſt popiſhly affected, had renounced the Roman Pontiff after their conſecrations (*l*).

In

(*k*) *Vid.* P. 224, 225, of this Volume.

(*l*) Life of Ridley, P. 199, 211, 212.

In 1548, Biſhop Ridley appears to have been employed in the reformation of the Common Prayer, in conjunction with Archbiſhop Cranmer, five other Prelates, and others. And in 1549, he was put into commiſſion, together with Cranmer, and ſeveral others, to ſearch after all Anibaptiſts, Heretics, and contemners of the Common Prayer. For complaint had been brought to the Council, that with the ſtrangers who were come into England, ſome Anabaptiſts were mingled, who were diſſeminating their errors, and making proſelytes. In conſequence of Ridley's being put into this commiſſion, he was concerned in bringing Joan Bocher, commonly called Joan of Kent, and ſome time after George Van Parre, a Dutchman, to the ſtake. Theſe two acts of blood reflect the greateſt diſhonour upon Ridley, and his Proteſtant collegues. We have ever condemned perſecution in Papiſts, and we will never defend it in Proteſtants. The putting theſe two unfortunate perſons to death is indeed utterly indefenſible, upon any conſiſtent Proteſtant principles. We ſhall, however, ſay the leſs of this matter here, becauſe we have treated of it more particularly in the Life of Cranmer.

Some time in the month of May, this year, Biſhop Ridley, with others who were appointed in commiſſion with him, repaired to Cambridge, to hold (as he then underſtood it) a viſitation for the aboliſhing ſtatutes and ordinances which maintained Popery and Superſtition; for he knew not the further end propoſed, which was the ſuppreſſion of Clare-Hall. He deſired to ſee the inſtructions: but was put off by his aſſociates, who ſeemed afraid to ſhew them unto him, till they had engaged him in the action, by opening it with a ſermon, and proceeding two days in the buſineſs of it. They then ventured to ſhew him their inſtructions; in which he found the ſuppreſſion of Clare-Hall was the thing intended, under a cover of uniting it to Trinity-Hall, and erecting there a new College of Civilians. Whether this deſign was agreeable to the Biſhop, or not, he however thought it beſt to concur with the other Commiſſioners, in perſuading the Maſter and Fellows voluntarily to ſurrender their College into the King's hands: but the ſociety could not be induced to conſent to ſuch a ſurrender. The Commiſſioners upon this ſat privately by themſelves, conſulting in what manner they ſhould proceed: and the majority determined that they might proceed to the union of the two Colleges, by the Royal authority, without the conſent of the ſocieties. But Ridley modeſtly oppoſed this determination, and with great calmneſs diſſented. This put a ſtop to their proceedings for the preſent: and the Commiſſioners acquainted the Protector with this interruption from the Biſhop of Roche ſter, complaining, that he BY HIS BARKING hindered them from proceeding in the King's ſervice. The Protector thereupon wrote a chiding letter to Ridley, and ſeveral letters paſſed between them upon the ſubject. But notwithſtanding all the means which were uſed to influence our Pre-

late, he ultimately refuſed to give his countenance and concurrence to a proceeding which he thought unjuſt: and he being thus ſteady, the affair dropped.

The Viſitors, eſpecially Biſhop Ridley, had another commiſſion to execute, which was to preſide at a public diſputation appointed to be held at Cambridge, as there had been one a ſhort time before at Oxford, relating to the Sacrament of the LORD's Supper. The poſitions appointed to be the ſubjects of this diſputation were: I. "Tranſubſtantiation cannot be proved by "the plain and manifeſt words of Scripture, nor can thereof be "neceſſarily collected, nor yet confirmed by the conſents of the "antient Fathers for theſe one thouſand years paſt. II. In the "LORD's Supper is none other oblation or ſacrifice, than one "only remembrance of CHRIST's death, and of thankſgiving." After the diſputations were ended, Biſhop Ridley determined, in a very learned, ſolid, and ſatisfactory manner, againſt Tranſubſtantiation, and the oblation of CHRIST in the LORD's Supper.

This was more than a mere ſcholaſtic exerciſe: for the occaſion of appointing this diſputation aroſe at Oxford, where Dr. Smith, taking offence at Peter Martyr's expoſition of Scripture, challenged Martyr to a public diſputation; which Martyr declared himſelf ready to engage in, but not without the King's leave. The Privy Council gave leave, but Smith ran away from his challenge. Then Martyr challenged all the Roman Catholics in that Univerſity to maintain their Tranſubſtantiation, and the Privy Council appointed Delegates to hear and preſide at the diſputation. And like diſputations were appointed at Cambridge, that the Papiſts there might likewiſe have an opportunity of defending their opinions, if they could. Langdale, one of the diſputants, and for his zeal made Archdeacon of Chicheſter by Queen Mary, compoſed a pretended refutation of Biſhop Ridley's determination: but with this ground of ſuſpicion of unfairneſs in his account of managing the diſpute, that though he had the King's licence for printing it at Paris in February, 1553; yet it was not printed till three years after, when Langdale was ſecure that Ridley could make no reply. However, Pilkington, another of the diſputants, afterwards Biſhop of Durham, ſays, that the Biſhop made all things ſo clear in his determination, and the auditors were ſo convinced, that ſome of them would have turned Archbiſhop Cranmer's book on that ſubject into Latin (*m*).

In October, this year, Bonner, Biſhop of London, was deprived. Biſhop Ridley was one of the Commiſſioners before whom his cauſe was determined. And upon the confirmation of the ſentence againſt Bonner, Ridley was thought the moſt proper perſon to fill the important See of London, on account of his great

(*m*) Life, as before, P. 267—279.

great learning, and zeal for the Reformation. It was alſo thought needleſs to have two Biſhoprics ſo near together as London and Weſtminſter; the latter therefore it was now reſolved ſhould be ſuppreſſed, and united to the See of London. Ridley's patent to the See of London was DURING LIFE (*n*), tho' it appears that ſeveral other Prelates in this reign held their Biſhoprics, according to their patents, only upon good behaviour. Ridley was inſtalled on the 12th of April, 1550 (*o*).

Our Prelate filled up this high ſtation with great dignity; for his behaviour in it was pious, benevolent, uſeful and exemplary. With reſpect to his predeceſſor Bonner, he was very careful to do him no injury in his goods, taking not one penny-worth of his moveables, which he found in the epiſcopal palace, but giving him liberty to remove whatever was his; and what he knew to be his, though not taken away according to this leave, he carefully preſerved for Bonner's uſe. Bonner had bought a quantity of lead for the repairs of his houſe and church, which Ridley employed to the uſes deſigned, but paid Bonner for it. And that no innocent perſons might ſuffer by his promotion, he paid upwards of fifty pounds to Bonner's own ſervants, which ſum was due to them from their maſter for liveries and wages. Nor did his predeceſſor's mother, or his ſiſter, Mrs. Mungey, who lived near the palace at Fulham, loſe the honour or

(*n*) The patent was in the following terms: "For the ſingular learning in the ſacred Scriptures, and moſt approved manners with which the ſaid Nicholas, late Biſhop of Rocheſter, is endued, and becauſe, according to the commendation of our SAVIOUR, we judge him above all others worthy to be put over many things, who hath been found faithful over few, we of our grace and mere motion grant to him the Biſhopric of London to have, hold, and occupy *durante vita ſua naturali*, during the time of his natural life."

(*o*) This year HECTOR BOETHIUS, (or BOEIS), the Scottiſh Hiſtorian, is ſuppoſed to have died. He was deſcended from an antient and conſiderable family, and born at Dundee, in the ſhire of Angus, about the year 1470. After having finiſhed the courſe of his ſtudies in polite literature at Dundee, he was ſent over by his parents to the Univerſity of Paris, where he applied himſelf to Philoſophy in the College of Mountague, and became a profeſſor of it there. Here he had an opportunity of cultivating an acquaintance with ſeveral perſons of the moſt eminent learning, and particularly Eraſmus, who kept up a correſpondence with him afterwards. Dr. William Elphinſton, Biſhop of Aberdeen, having founded the King's College in that city about the year 1500, ſent over to Paris for Boethius, and appointed him Principal. He took for his collegue Mr. William Hay, and by their joint labour the kingdom was furniſhed with ſeveral eminent ſcholars. Upon the death of his patron, Biſhop Elphinſton, he undertook to write the Life of that Prelate, and of his Predeceſſors in the ſame See. This Work is in Latin, and entitled, *Vitæ Epiſcoporum Murthlacenſium et Aberdonenſium*. It was publiſhed at Paris, in Quarto, in 1522. He begins at Beanus, the firſt Biſhop of that See, and ends at Gawin Dunbar, who was Biſhop when the book was publiſhed. A third part of the Work is ſpent in the Life of Biſhop Elphinſton, for whoſe ſake it was undertaken.—Boethius next applied himſelf to write, in

or the benefit of the Biſhop of London's board. He always ſent for them to dinner and ſupper, and placed Mrs. Bonner at the upper end of his table, never diſplacing her, though even any of the King's Council dined with him, as they often did; not frowning upon her misfortunes, but courteouſly alleviating them with all the honour and tenderneſs that he could ſhew to her, ſaying, "By your Lordſhip's favour, this place of right and "cuſtom is for my mother Bonner." As if he had ſucceeded to the relation, as well as to the office of her ſon.

Our Prelate was a pattern of piety, temperance, and regularity, to all around him. He ſpent much of his time in prayer and contemplation; and took great pains in the inſtruction and improvement of his family. His mode of life was, as ſoon as he had riſen and dreſſed himſelf, to continue in private prayer half an hour: then, if no other buſineſs interrupted him, he retired to his ſtudy, where he continued till ten of the clock, at which hour he went to prayers with his family. He alſo daily read a lecture to them, beginning at the Acts of the Apoſtles,

in the ſame language, the Hiſtory of Scotland; the firſt Edition of which was printed by Badius Aſcenſius at Paris, in the year 1526, and conſiſted of ſeventeen books, and ended with the death of King James I. But the next Edition, in 1574, was much enlarged, having the addition of the eighteenth book, and part of the nineteenth. The Work was afterwards brought down to the reign of James III. by John Ferrerius, a native of Piedmont.

Dr. Mackenzie obſerves, that of all the Scottiſh Hiſtorians, next to Buchanan, Boethius has "been the moſt cenſured and commended by the learned men that have made mention of him." He has been much cenſured by Humphry Lhuyd, the eminent Engliſh Antiquarian, by Buchanan, by William Lloyd, Biſhop of Worceſter, by Biſhop Stillingfleet, Gerard Voſſius, Biſhop Nicholſon, and his countryman Sir Robert Gordon. On the other hand, he has been much commended by Mr. William Gordon, John Ferrerius, Paulus Jovius, and Archbiſhop Spotſwood. And Buchanan, though he often cenſures him, acknowledges, that "he was not only remarkable for his knowledge in polite literature above what was common in his time, but alſo that he was a man of ſingular humanity and courteouſneſs." Eraſmus ſays, "That he was a man of an extraordinary and happy genius, and of great eloquence." Indeed, the ſtyle of his Hiſtory is much and generally applauded; and the truth ſeems to be, that, like ſome modern Writers of the Engliſh Hiſtory, he was more attentive to the elegance of his language, and the harmony of his periods, than to the truth of the facts which he related.

"It appears (ſays Dr. Mackenzie) that as to the endowments of his mind, he was well ſeen in the Belles Lettres, Theology, Philoſophy, and Hiſtory; but ſomewhat credulous, and much addicted to the belief of legendary ſtories. As for the accompliſhments of his body, 'tis ſaid that he was diſcreet, genteel, well bred, attentive, generous, affable, and courteous. He was acquainted with moſt of the learned men of his age, and a man of ſo great probity and integrity, that the great Eraſmus ſays of him, That he knew not what it was to make a lye."—*Vid.* Mackenzie's Lives and Characters of the moſt eminent Writers of the Scots nation, Vol. II. P. 376——451. Biograph. Britan. Vol. II. P. 846. General Dictionary, Vol. III. P. 431. New and General Biograph. Dict. 8vo. Vol. II. P. 237.

and ſo going regularly through St. Paul's Epiſtles, giving to every one that could read a New Teſtament, and hiring them to learn by heart ſome choſen chapters. After prayers he went to dinner, where he was not very forward to begin diſcourſe; but when he did, he entered into it with great wiſdom and diſcretion, and ſometimes with facetiouſneſs. This converſation he would indulge for an hour after dinner, or otherwiſe amuſe himſelf during that time with playing at cheſs. The hour for unbending being expired, he returned to his ſtudy, where he continued till five, except ſuitors, or buſineſs abroad, required otherwiſe. He then went to prayers with his family as in the morning, after which he ſupped; then diverting himſelf for another hour after ſupper, as he did after dinner, he went back to his ſtudy, and continued there till eleven at night, when he retired to private prayer, and then went to bed (*p*).

Soon after Ridley's promotion to the See of London, he was engaged in a diſpute with John Hooper, Biſhop Elect of Gloceſter, on the ſubject of Veſtments. When the act of the Six Articles was paſſed, in the preceding reign, Hooper, who then reſided in the Univerſity of Oxford, was obliged to quit it, and ſome time after the kingdom (*q*); and accordingly he ſpent moſt of the remainder of King Henry's reign at Baſil and Zurich. But early in King Edward's reign he returned to England, and being an able preacher, a man of moſt unblameable manners, and a zealous Proteſtant, he was nominated to the Biſhopric of Gloceſter, which was now vacant. But when Hooper came to be conſecrated, he objected to the veſtments (*r*) appointed to be uſed at that ſolemnity; and to the final clauſe in the oath, "So help me GOD, and all Saints!" And he applied to Cranmer to be diſpenſed with in theſe particulars; but the Archbiſhop told him, that theſe things were enjoined by ſtatute, and that it was not in his power to diſpenſe with them, without incurring a PREMUNIRE. Upon this Hooper applied to

(*p*) Life, P. 298, 299, 300.

(*q*) After he left the Univerſity, he by ſome means got to be Chaplain and Steward in the houſe of Sir John Arundel, who was afterwards put to death in the reign of King Edward. But Arundel being diſpleaſed at Hooper's attachment to the reformed principles, he was obliged to quit that gentleman's ſervice, and he then went into France. But after ſtaying ſome time there in a diſagreeable ſituation, he returned into England, and lived with a gentleman of the name of Saintlow. But at length being ſought after, in order to avoid being apprehended, he diſguiſed himſelf in a mariner's habit, made himſelf maſter of a boat, and ſailed to Ireland, from whence he retired to Switzerland. During his reſidence there he married, and became intimately acquainted with Bullinger; and alſo applied himſelf very cloſely to the ſtudy of the Hebrew tongue.

(*r*) John Fox ſays, that, "Notwithſtanding that godly reformation of religion that begun in the Church of England, beſides other ceremonies more ambitious than profitable, or tending to edification, they uſed to wear ſuch garments and apparel as the Popiſh Prieſts were wont to do. Firſt, a chymere, and under that a white

to the Earl of Warwick, to write to the Archbiſhop in his favour, which he accordingly did; and the King alſo wrote a letter to Cranmer, in which he freed him from all dangers, penalties, and forfeitures, that he might incur by omitting the rites with which Hooper ſcrupled to comply; but the Archbiſhop, ſays Mr. Strype, thought the King's bare letters were not ſufficient to ſecure him againſt eſtabliſhed laws. Upon this endeavours were uſed to ſatisfy Hooper's conſcience, and Biſhop Ridley was thought a proper perſon for that purpoſe. Accordingly Hooper and Ridley conferred together upon this matter, and there were long arguings between them; and the debate at length kindled into ſome heats. From being perſonal, the controvery became general; the pulpits and ſchools engaged in the diſpute, DE RE VESTIARIA, as it was called; and Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, and ſome other learned foreigners, became parties in it. Theſe contentions alarmed the Council; they ſent for Hooper, and required him to ceaſe the occaſion of the controverſy, and conform himſelf to the laws, with reſpect to the veſtments (*s*). He deſired he might be permitted to write his ſentiments on the ſubject; which was granted him: and he accordingly offered a book to the Council, againſt the uſe of thoſe habits which were then uſed by the Church of England in her ſacred Miniſtries. Three days after the Council wrote to Ridley, that "whereas "there had been ſome difference between him and the Elect of "Glouceſter, upon certain ceremonies belonging to the making "a Biſhop, their Lordſhips deſire was, becauſe they would in no "wiſe be ſtirring up of controverſies between men of one pro-"feſſion, that he would ceaſe the occaſion thereof." In anſwer to this, Ridley requeſted, that as the Elect of Glouceſter had leave to offer in writing his reaſons for diſſenting, he alſo in his own juſtification might put in writing ſuch arguments as moved him to be of the opinion which he held; which was accordingly granted him (*t*). And at length the Council began to think Hooper blameable, and his great patrons to give him up. At firſt, therefore, he was ſuſpended from preaching, and confined to his houſe, only with permiſſion to reſort to ſome of the Biſhops for conference. This order of Council he did not obey; they therefore removed him to a more effectual, but honourable con-

white rochet, then a mathematical cap with four angles, dividing the whole world into four parts. Theſe trifles, tending more to ſuperſtition than otherwiſe, as he could never abide, ſo in no wiſe could he be perſuaded to wear them. For this cauſe he made ſupplication to the King's Majeſty, moſt humbly deſiring his Highneſs either to diſcharge him of the Biſhopric, or elſe to diſpenſe with him for ſuch ceremonial orders." Acts and Monuments, Vol. III. P. 146. Edit. 1641.

(*s*) As to the part of the oath which Hooper objected to, it appears that the King himſelf ſtruck out the words *all Saints* with his own hand.

(*t*) Biſhop Burnet, in his account of this diſpute, ſays, that the grounds on which Hooper went were, that the epiſcopal veſtments "were human inventions,

finement, committing him to the care of the Archbiſhop, at Lambeth, to be reformed or puniſhed. After ſome time ſpent in vain to reduce him to a compliance, he was reported as obſtinate to the Council, who committed him to the Fleet, with an order that he ſhould be kept from conference with any perſon, except the Miniſters of that Houſe. However, after ſome time he became more tractable: and at length was conſecrated at Lambeth chapel, after the uſual form, Biſhop Ridley and the Biſhop of Rocheſter likewiſe aſſiſting in their epiſcopal habits (*u*).

In June, 1550, Biſhop Ridley viſited his Dioceſe, and ſet forth ſome injunctions, one of which was to take down altars, and ſet up tables inſtead of them for celebrating the LORD's Supper. In this he agreed with Hooper, who had preached before the King in the beginning of the year to the ſame purpoſe, ſaying, "It would be very well that it might pleaſe the Magiſtrate to "turn the altars into tables, according to the firſt inſtitution of "CHRIST; and thereby to take away the falſe perſuaſion of "the people, which they have of ſacrifices to be done upon the "altars. Becauſe, as long as altars remain, both the ignorant "people, and the ignorant and evil-perſuaded Prieſts, will "dream always of ſacrifice."

In 1551, the Sweating Sickneſs prevailed in England, which deſtroyed great numbers. It appeared in London the 8th of June,

inventions, brought in by tradition or cuſtom, not ſuitable to the ſimplicity of the Chriſtian religion: that all ſuch ceremonies were condemned by St. Paul as beggarly elements: that theſe veſtments had been invented chiefly for celebrating the maſs, with much pomp, and had been conſecrated for that effect: therefore he deſired to be excuſed from the uſe of them. Cranmer and Ridley, on the other hand, alledged, that traditions in matters of faith were juſtly rejected; but in matters of rites and ceremonies, cuſtom was oft a good argument for the continuance of that which had been long uſed. Thoſe places of St. Paul did only relate to the obſervance of the Jewiſh ceremonies, which ſome in the Apoſtles times pleaded were ſtill to be retained, upon the authority of their firſt inſtitution by Moſes: ſo this implying, that the MESSIAS was not yet come, in whom all theſe had their accompliſhment, the Apoſtles did condemn the uſe of them on any ſuch account; though when the bare obſerving them, without the opinion of any ſuch neceſſity in them, was likely to gain the Jews, they both uſed circumciſion, and purified themſelves in the temple: if then they who had ſuch abſolute authority in thoſe matters, did condeſcend ſo far to the weakneſs of the Jews, it was much more becoming ſubjects to give obedience to laws in things indifferent. And the abuſe that had been formerly, was no better reaſon to take away the uſe of theſe veſtments, than it was to throw down churches, and take away the bells, becauſe the one had been conſecrated, and the other baptized, with many ſuperſtitious ceremonies. Therefore they required Hooper to conform himſelf to the law."——Hiſt. of Reformation, Vol. II. P. 152, 153.

(*u*) Biſhop HOOPER was a Prelate of conſiderable learning, great piety, and of a truly primitive character. He was remarkably hoſpitable, generous, and liberal to the poor. He was thrown into priſon ſoon after the acceſſion of Mary, and deprived on the 19th of March, 1554. When he and Ridley were both in priſon,

June, and ended the 19th, in which time 872 died of this diſtemper (*w*). At the ſame time died at Bugden, in the Biſhop of Lincoln's palace, the two young Dukes of Suffolk, (for the younger ſurvived to inherit the title a few hours), on the 16th of that month, both in the ſame bed. Several of the Court alſo ſickened and died; which occaſioned the King to remove from Weſtminſter to Hampton Court. However, in the midſt of this malignant and peſtilential diſtemper, Biſhop Ridley continued to reſide in London, aſſiduous in the care of his Dioceſe, and to diſcharge his duty, by endeavouring to improve the preſent public calamity to the reformation of the manners of the people; and whilſt he was thus employed, chearfully reſigning himſelf to the care of Providence, and neither *fearing the peſtilence that walketh in darkneſs, nor the ſickneſs that deſtroyeth in the noon day.*

In 1552, Ridley viſited his old College at Cambridge, and upon his return called at Hundſdon, to pay his reſpects to the Princeſs Mary. She thanked him for his civility, and entertained him with very pleaſant diſcourſe for a quarter of an hour, telling him, that ſhe remembered him at Court, and mentioned particulary a ſermon of his before her father: and then leaving her chamber of preſence, ſhe diſmiſſed him to dine with her Officers. After dinner, ſhe ſent for him again; when the Biſhop in converſation told her, that he did not only come to pay his duty to her Grace by waiting upon her, but farther to offer his ſervice, to preach before her the next Sunday, if ſhe would be pleaſed to permit him. Her countenance changed at this; and ſhe continued ſome time ſilent: at laſt ſhe ſaid, As for this matter, I pray you, my Lord, make the anſwer to it yourſelf. The Biſhop proceeding to tell her, that his office and duty obliged him to make this offer; ſhe again deſired him to make the anſwer to himſelf, for that he could not but know what it would be. Yet if the anſwer muſt come from her, ſhe told him, the doors of the pariſh church ſhould be open for him if he came, and that he might

priſon, the latter wrote thus to Hooper, "Now, moſt dear brother, foraſmuch as I underſtand by your tracts, that we thoroughly agree, and wholly conſent together, in thoſe things which are the grounds and ſubſtantial points of our religion, howſoever in time paſt, in ſmaller matters and appendages to religion, your wiſdom and my plainneſs (I confeſs) have in ſome points varied, each following his ſeveral opinion; know that even with my whole heart, GOD is my witneſs, in the bowels of CHRIST I love you, in truth, and for the truth's ſake, which abideth in us, and as I am perſuaded, ſhall, by the Grace of GOD, abide in us for ever. And foraſmuch as I perceive, brother, the world ceaſes not to defend its cauſe, and conſpires againſt CHRIST our SAVIOUR, with all poſſible force and ſtrength, let us join hands together in CHRIST, and if we cannot overthrow, yet let us do our beſt to ſhake thoſe powers, not with carnal, but with ſpiritual weapons."

Biſhop Hooper was burnt at Glouceſter, on the 9th of February, 1555, (See P. 241. of this Volume), being then near ſixty years of age. He was born in the county of Somerſet.

(*w*) See the firſt Volume of our Work, P. 390, 391.

might preach if pleaſed; but that neither would ſhe hear him, nor ſhould any of her ſervants. Madam, ſaid the Biſhop, I truſt you will not refuſe GOD's word. I cannot tell, ſays ſhe, what you call GOD's word. That is not GOD's word now, which was GOD's word in my father's days. The Biſhop obſerved, that GOD's word is the ſame at all times, but has been better underſtood and practiſed in ſome ages than in others. Upon which ſhe could reſtrain her anger no longer, but ſaid to him, You durſt not for your ears have avouched that for GOD's word in my father's days, that now you do. And then, to ſhew how able a judge ſhe was in this controverſy, ſhe added, As for your new books, I thank GOD, I never read any of them; I never did, and never will. She then flew out into many bitter expreſſions againſt the form of religion at preſent eſtabliſhed, and againſt the government of the Realm, and the laws made in her brother's minority; which ſhe ſaid ſhe was not bound to obey, till the King came to perfect age; and when he was, ſhe would obey them. She then aſked the Biſhop, if he was one of the Council? And on his replying in the negative, You might well enough, ſaid ſhe, as the Council goeth now-a-days; and parted from him with theſe words, "My Lord, for your civility in "coming to ſee me, I thank you; but for your offering to "preach before me, I thank you not a whit." After this the Biſhop was conducted to the room where they had dined, where Sir Thomas Wharton gave him a glaſs of wine; which when he had drank, he ſeemed concerned, and ſaid, Surely I have done amiſs! and vehemently reproached himſelf for having drank in that place where GOD's word had been refuſed; whereas, ſaid he, if I had remembered my duty, I ought to have departed immediately, and to have ſhaken off the duſt from my feet for a teſtimony againſt this houſe. This bigotry of the Princeſs Mary, gave Ridley but a ſorrowful proſpect of what was to be expected, if ever ſhe came to the Crown (*x*).

On the firſt of March, 1553, when the Parliament met, King Edward being dangerouſly ill, and in no condition to go to Weſtminſter, ordered both Houſes to attend him at Whitehall; where Biſhop Ridley preached before him, and in his ſermon much recommended charity, as a duty incumbent upon all to perform, eſpecially thoſe of the higheſt rank and dignity, as well in regard of their large abilities, as becauſe they were under great obligations to give examples of goodneſs to others. The ſame day after dinner the King ſent for the Biſhop privately into the gallery at Whitehall, where he cauſed him to ſit in a chair by him, and would not permit him to remain uncovered. Then after courteouſly thanking him for his ſermon, he repeated all the principal points of it; adding, "I took myſelf to be eſpecially "touched by your ſpeech, as well in regard of the abilities "which

(*x*) Life, P. 379——381.

" which GOD hath given me, as in regard of the example " which from me he will require. For, as in the kingdom I " am next under GOD, ſo muſt I moſt nearly approach to him in " goodneſs and mercy: for as our miſeries ſtand moſt in need " of help from him, ſo are we the greateſt debtors; debtors to " all that are miſerable, and ſhall be the greateſt accomptants of " our diſpenſation therein. And therefore, my Lord, as you " have given me (I thank you) this general exhortation, ſo di- " rect me, I intreat you, by what particular actions I may this " way beſt diſcharge my duty."

The Biſhop, equally aſhoniſhed and rejoiced at hearing this ſpeech from the King, continued for ſome time ſilent: at laſt, tears and words breaking out together, he declared to his Majeſty, that as he little expected ſuch a queſtion, ſo he was not furniſhed with a preſent anſwer; for this matter had a great mixture of civil government, wherein he conceived that the citizens of London had beſt experience, as overburthened with multitudes of poor, not only of their own, but from all parts of the Realm beſide; and therefore as they beſt knew both the quality of ſuch people, and the inconveniencies which they occaſion, ſo could they beſt adviſe what remedies were fitteſt: wherefore, if the King were pleaſed to afford his letters to that effect, he would confer with them, and very ſhortly return with an anſwer. The King immediately cauſed his letters to be written, and would not ſuffer the Biſhop to depart till he had confirmed them with his hand and ſignet, and enjoined the Biſhop to be the meſſenger, deſiring him to uſe as much expedition as poſſible. The Biſhop accordingly haſted with his letters to the Lord Mayor, Sir George Barnes, who preſently aſſembled certain Aldermen, and twenty-four Commiſſioners, by whoſe advice the poor were divided into three claſſes. The firſt claſs comprehended thoſe who were poor by impotency of nature, as young fatherleſs children, old decripid perſons, ideots, cripples, and ſuch like. The ſecond claſs comprehended diſeaſed and ſick perſons, and wounded ſoldiers. The third claſs the poor by idleneſs or unthriftineſs, as riotous ſpenders, vagabonds, loiterers, lewd ſtrumpets, and their companions. The firſt they obſerved were to be educated and maintained; the ſecond to be cured and relieved; and the third to be chaſtiſed and reduced to good order. When this was repreſented to the King, he gave to the city for education and maintenance of the firſt claſs of poor the Grey Friar's church near Newgate market, with all the revenues thereto belonging: for cure and relief of the ſecond claſs, he gave St. Bartholomew's near Smithfield; and for correction of the third, he appointed his houſe at Bridewell, the antient manſion of many Engliſh Kings (*y*). For the maintenance

(*y*) Biſhop Ridley had before made earneſt ſolicitation to Sir William Cecil, and other great men at Court, that this old palace might be converted

nance and ſupport of theſe places, together with the new re-edified hoſpital of St. Thomas in Southwark, the King gave ſeven hundred and fifty marks yearly out of the rents of the hoſpital of St. John Baptiſt, or the Savoy, with all the bedding and furniture then belonging to that place. And when the charter of this gift was preſented to him, with a blank left for lands to be afterwards received in mortmain to an yearly value, the King preſently with his own hand filled up the void ſpace with theſe words, "four thouſand marks by year." This done, the pious young Monarch fervently returned thanks to GOD, for having been graciouſly pleaſed to prolong his life to finiſh that buſineſs (z).

On the 6th of July, 1553, the excellent and amiable King Edward died; and an attempt being made to raiſe Lady Jane Grey to the Throne, in which Biſhop Ridley was induced by his attachment to the intereſts of the Reformation to concur, he was commanded by the Council to preach at St. Paul's, and recommend Queen Jane to the people; which order he obeyed with much zeal and earneſtneſs, pointing out the danger in which the nation would be, if the Princeſs Mary ſucceeded; who was a rigid Papiſt, and would bring back again the Papal power to enſlave them, and ſubvert the true religion already eſtabliſhed. He then related his own experience of her deafneſs to good counſel, and averſeneſs from better information; refuſing ſo much as to hear him, when on a certain time in the preceding year he had endeavoured to bring her to the knowledge of the Goſpel: inferring from thence, that, if ſhe was Queen, it muſt be expected ſhe would overturn all the religion ſo happily eſtabliſhed under King Edward, and would betray the kingdom to a foreign power.

However, the whole deſign in favour of the Lady Jane miſcarried, and the Princeſs Mary was acknowledged and proclaimed Queen. Mary was now at Framingham, where all haſtened to her to implore her mercy; but this Biſhop Ridley could not obtain; for he was ſent up from Framingham on a lame horſe, and committed to the Tower on the 26th of July. He was, however, never queſtioned for his ſermon at St. Paul's, the Queen chuſing rather to proceed againſt him for Hereſy.

Notwithſtanding this, Ridley might have ſaved himſelf from the danger which threatened him, and recovered the Queen's favour, if he would have brought over the weight of his learning and authority to countenance her proceedings in religion. He was, therefore, ſoon treated with more reſpect and indulgence than the other priſoners in the Tower; having the liberty of walking

converted into an hoſpital for reclaiming of vagrants, and other uſeful purpoſes. Accordingly it was at length endowed, and granted by the Crown, as above-mentioned, for correcting and reclaiming idle, looſe vagrants, and finding them work; and alſo for training up boys to ſeveral uſeful trades.

(z) Life of Ridley, as before, P. 396——399.

walking about in it, to ſee whether he would voluntarily be preſent at the maſs, or not. And Mr. Fox ſays, that he was once preſent at it; but there is reaſon to think he was miſtaken in this particular (*a*). However, it is certain that he was uſed with great civility in the Tower, the Papiſts ſparing neither courteſy, compliment, nor argument, to win him.

In the mean time, Ridley was very deſirous of conferring with Cranmer and Latimer, who were now his fellow priſoners, in order to ſift his own opinions, and correct or ſtrengthen them from the experience of thoſe veterans. He knew his life was at ſtake, and he verily believed the truth of CHRIST was ſo alſo: he would not willingly ruſh on death through tortures for a miſtaken queſtion, or a point of little importance; nor weakly betray the cauſe of truth, either over-reached by their ſophiſtry, or terrified by their cruelties. He therefore deſired the ſincere advice of theſe true friends, either to point out his errors, or confirm his reſolution. And for this purpoſe they had ſeveral conferences, exchanging papers and letters on theſe ſubjects. Thus did Ridley employ himſelf during his impriſonment; examining himſelf, and trying his own ſpirit carefully, leſt either ignorance or prejudice ſhould miſlead him; ſeeking the advice of the elder and more experienced; propoſing his reaſons, and ſubmitting them to the cenſure of others. In ſhort, through his whole life, he applied with great induſtry to acquaint himſelf with the truth; and when aſſured, no man ſhewed more reſolution in maintaining it.

When Ridley had been about eight months in the Tower, he was conveyed from thence to Oxford, together with Cranmer and Latimer, to hold a public diſputation there (*b*). And when he was firſt brought before the Commiſſioners appointed by the Convocation to defend the Popiſh doctrines, and the three articles which were to be the ſubject of the diſputation were read to him; namely, that the natural body of CHRIST was really in the Sacrament; that no other ſubſtance remained in the Sacrament, after the words of conſecration, than the ſubſtance of the body and blood of CHRIST; and that the maſs was a propitiatory ſacrifice; Ridley anſwered, without the leaſt heſitation, that the articles were all falſe; and that they ſprang out of a bitter and ſour root. The Commiſſioners charged him with preaching a ſermon, whilſt he was Biſhop of Rocheſter, in defence of Tranſubſtantiation. But this he denied, defying them to produce one witneſs who heard him; which they could not do. They next aſked him, whether he did not, about the ſame time, deſire the preſent Lord Chancellor to ſtick to the maſs? He anſwered, that the Lord Chancellor would ſay no ſuch thing; for if he

(*a*) *Vid.* Life of Ridley, P. 434, 435.

(*b*) *Vid.* P. 168, 169. of this Volume.

did, he reported not the truth. It was then demanded of him, whether he would diſpute, or no? He anſwered, that as long as GOD gave him life, he ſhould not only have his heart, but alſo his mouth and pen to defend his truth: but that he required time and books. They ſaid he ſhould diſpute on Tueſday, and till that time he ſhould have books, and time to look for his diſputations.

The day appointed for Dr. Ridley's diſputation was Tueſday the 17th of April, 1554. And in the courſe of the debate he diſplayed great acuteneſs of underſtanding, ſtrength of reaſoning, and extent of learning, though he had no leſs than fourteen opponents. He would, however, have done more juſtice to his cauſe, if he had not ſo readily admitted the authority of the Fathers, on which his adverſaries laid great ſtreſs. But in what a tumultuous and diſorderly manner the diſputation was carried on, we may form ſome judgment by an account given of it by Biſhop Ridley himſelf, and which has been preſerved by Fox. "I never yet ſince I was born (ſays Ridley) ſaw or heard any "thing done or handled more vainly or tumultuouſly, than the "diſputation which was with me, in the ſchools at Oxford. Yea, "verily, I could never have thought that it had been poſſible to "have found amongſt men, recounted to be of knowledge and "learning in this Realm, any ſo brazen-faced and ſhameleſs, ſo "diſorderly and vainly to behave themſelves, more like ſtage-"players in interludes to ſet forth a pageant, than grave Di-"vines in ſchools to diſpute. The clamours of the Sorbonne, "which at Paris I have ſeen in times paſt, when Popery moſt "reigned, might be worthily thought (in compariſon of this "thraſonical oſtentation) to have had much modeſty. And no "great wonder, ſeeing they which ſhould have been moderators "and guides of others, and who ſhould have given good ex-"ample in words and gravity, they themſelves, above all others, "gave worſt example, and did, as it were, blow the trumpet to "the reſt, to rave, roar, rage, and cry out. Whence it mani-"feſtly appears, that they never ſought for truth, but for the "glory of the world, and a bragging victory.——A great part "of the time appointed for the diſputations, was vainly ſpent in "opprobrious taunts, hiſſings, clapping of hands, and triumphs, "more than could have been borne even in ſtage-plays, and "that in Engliſh to prejudice the common people. All which "things when I with godly grief did ſuffer, proteſting openly "that ſuch exceſſes and outrageous diſorder was unbecoming "thoſe ſchools, and men of learning and gravity, and did but "betray the weakneſs of their cauſe: I was ſo far by this my "humble remonſtrance from doing any good, that what with "hiſſing and ſhouting, and what with over-bearing, I was forced "to hear ſuch reproaches, checks, and taunts for my labour, "that no perſon of any honeſty, without bluſhing, could abide

"to

" to hear ſpoken, by a moſt vile varlet, againſt a moſt wretched " ruffian."

Two days after the diſputations were ended, Biſhop Ridley, with his fellow priſoners Cranmer and Latimer, were condemned as Heretics. After ſentence of condemnation was paſſed, Ridley anſwered, " Although I be not of your company, yet I " doubt not but my name is written in another place, whither " this ſentence will ſend us ſooner, than we ſhould by the courſe " of nature have come."

Ridley was continued in cloſe confinement at Oxford upwards of a year and a quarter after this condemnation, when a new proceſs was carried on againſt him, as well as his fellow priſoners, the former proceedings having been irregular. A commiſſion was now granted from Cardinal Pole, as the Pope's Legate, to the Biſhops of Lincoln, Glouceſter, and Briſtol, impowering them to cite Latimer and Ridley before them, and to try them for Hereſy. Accordingly they underwent another examination before theſe Commiſſioners, by whom they were finally condemned on the firſt of October, 1555.

During the time that Ridley and Latimer lay in priſon after their condemnation, which was about a fortnight, every method was tried to win the former. They ſeemed aſhamed to ſacrifice a man of ſuch piety and learning, and rather wiſhed to bring him over, to add weight to their own party. Brookes, Biſhop of Glouceſter, in great ſimplicity pointed out to him the only method of reclaiming him to the Church of Rome, which was to " captivate his ſenſes, and ſubdue his reaſon ;" and then " he " doubted not but he might be eaſily induced to acknowledge " one Church with them." Lord Dacres, who was kinſman to Ridley, about this time offered ten thouſand pounds to the Queen, if ſhe would preſerve ſo valuable a life. But this ſhe would not agree to, on no condition but that of his recantation ; and Ridley, with the ſpirit of a primitive martyr, nobly refuſed life on any ſuch terms.

Accordingly, on the 15th of October, which was the day preceding that appointed for his execution, he was degraded from Prieſt's Orders by the Biſhop of Glouceſter ; after which he prepared himſelf for his approaching death ; which a ſound judgment, and a good conſcience, made him look upon as a matter of joy and triumph. He called it his MARRIAGE, and in the evening waſhed his beard and his legs, and ſupped (*c*) with his brother-in-law, Mr. Shipſide, and others, behaving with the utmoſt chearfulneſs. And when they aroſe from table, Mr. Shipſide offered to watch all night with him. But he would not ſuf-

(*c*) The following are the particulars of the ſupper which Biſhop Ridley had the night before he ſuffered ; which ſhews the manner of living, and the price of proviſions, at that time.

Bread

fer him, ſaying, that he minded (GOD willing) to go to bed, and to ſleep as quietly that night, as ever he did in his life.

The next morning the Mayor and Bailiffs of Oxford brought forth their priſoners, Ridley and Latimer. Ridley came firſt, dreſſed in an handſome black gown, furred, faced with points, ſuch as he uſed to wear in his epiſcopal character; about his neck was a tippet of velvet, furred likewiſe, his head covered with a velvet night cap, and his ſquare cap upon that; and he walked to the ſtake between the Mayor and one of the Aldermen. As he paſſed towards the priſon called Bocardo, he looked up to the chamber where Cranmer lay, in hopes of ſeeing him at the window, and ſpeaking to him: but the Archbiſhop was at that time buſily engaged in diſputation with Friar Soto and others, ſo that he happened not to be at the window at that time. When Ridley arrived at the ſtake, he earneſtly lifted up his hands and eyes to Heaven; and then ſeeing Latimer coming towards him, he with a moſt chearful countenance ran to him, embraced and kiſſed him, and ſaid to him, "Be of good heart, "brother, for GOD will either aſſuage the fury of the flame, "or elſe ſtrengthen us to abide it." Then moving to the ſtake, he kneeled down, and kiſſing it, prayed earneſtly, as did Latimer likewiſe. Then riſing, they conferred together a little while. Dr. Smith was appointed to preach at the ſtake; and when he had ended his ſermon, Ridley requeſted of the principal perſons preſent, that he might be permitted to ſpeak two or three words: but he was rudely refuſed, and was told, that he muſt not have liberty to ſpeak, unleſs he would recant his erroneous opinions. Not otherwiſe? ſaid he. No, returned Dr. Marſhall; therefore if you will not do ſo, then there is no remedy, but you muſt ſuffer for your deſerts. "Well," replied the noble martyr, "ſo long as the breath is in my body, I will "never deny my LORD CHRIST, and his known truth. GOD's "will be done in me." They were then commanded to make themſelves ready; upon which Biſhop Ridley, taking off his gown and tippet, gave them to his brother Shipſide. Some part of his apparel he gave elſewhere, and ſome the Bailiffs took. He likewiſe gave away ſeveral other ſmall things to gentlemen ſtanding by, many of whom wept, and were greatly affected. When he was ſtripped to his ſhirt and truſs, he would have

	£.	S.	D.	
Bread and ale	0	0	3	
Shoulder of mutton	0	0	9	
A pig	0	0	11	
A plover	0	0	4	
Wine	0	0	1	halfpenny.
Cheeſe and pears	0	0	2	
	0	2	6	halfpenny.

have been burnt in them: but his brother Shipſide prevailed on him to pull off the latter, as it would elſe encreaſe his pain, and might do a poor man good. Then ſtanding at the ſtake upon a ſtone, he lifted up his hands towards Heaven, and prayed, "O "Heavenly FATHER, I give unto thee moſt hearty thanks, for "that thou haſt called me to be a profeſſor of thee, even unto "death. I beſeech thee, LORD GOD, take mercy upon the "Realm of England, and deliver the ſame from all her ene-"mies." Then the ſmith took an iron chain, and brought it round the middles of both the martyrs; and as he was driving in the ſtaple, Dr. Ridley ſhook the chain, and ſaid to the ſmith, "Good fellow, knock it in hard, for the fleſh will have its "courſe." And now his brother-in-law, Mr. Shipſide, brought him ſome gunpowder in a bag, and would have tied it about his neck. The Biſhop aſked what it was; and being informed, ſaid, "I take it to be ſent of GOD, and therefore I will receive "it as ſent of him: and have you any for my brother Lati-"mer?" And being anſwered in the affirmative, he bade him give it to him betime, leſt it ſhould be too late: which was done accordingly.

Dr. Ridley then ſaid to the Lord Williams, "My Lord, I muſt "be a ſuitor to your Lordſhip in the behalf of divers poor men, "and eſpecially in the cauſe of my poor ſiſter: I have made a "ſupplication to the Queen's Majeſty in their behalf. I be-"ſeech your Lordſhip, for CHRIST's ſake, to be a mean to her "Grace for them. My brother here hath the ſupplication, "and will reſort to your Lordſhip to certify you hereof. There "is nothing in all the world that troubleth my conſcience, I "praiſe GOD, this only excepted. Whilſt I was in the See of "London, divers poor men took leaſes of me, and agreed with "me for them. Now I hear ſay, the Biſhop, who now occupi-"eth the ſame room, will not allow my grants unto them made, "but, contrary to all law and conſcience, hath taken from them "my livings, and will not ſuffer them to enjoy the ſame. I be-"ſeech you, my Lord, be a mean for them. You ſhall do a "good deed, and GOD will reward you." There is ſomething extremely great in this behaviour of Ridley: in his ſhewing himſelf, at the very inſtant that a cruel death awaited him, ſo regardleſs of his own ſufferings, and ſo recollected and ſolicitous for the good and happineſs of others.

When the faggots were kindled, and Ridley ſaw the fire flaming up towards him, he cried out with an exceeding loud voice, "Into thy hands, O GOD, I commend my ſpirit; O "LORD receive my ſpirit." His fellow ſufferer Latimer was ſoon dead; but the fire was ſo ill managed on the ſide on which Ridley was, by piling too great a quantity of faggots over the furze, that the fire firſt burned beneath, being kept down by the wood: which when Dr. Ridley felt, he deſired them, for Chriſt's

ſake,

ſake, to let the fire come to him. His brother hearing his earneſt requeſt, but not underſtanding well the reaſon of it, with an ill-adviſed kindneſs, to rid him out of his pain, heaped more faggots upon him, quite covering him with them; which made the fire, mouldering beneath, ſo intenſe, that it burned all his nether parts before it once touched the upper. This made him leap up and down under the faggots, and often deſire them to let the fire come to him, ſaying, "I cannot burn." Which, indeed, appeared too true; for after his legs were conſumed, he ſhewed that ſide towards the ſpectators, clean, ſhirt and all, untouched with flame. Yet in all this torment he forgot not to call upon GOD, having ſtill in his mouth, "LORD have mercy "upon me;" adding between whiles, "Let the fire come to "me, I cannot burn." Thus he continued crying out without relief, till one of the ſtanders by, with his bill, pulled off the faggots above; and where the tortured martyr ſaw the fire flame up, he wreſted himſelf to that ſide. And when the flame touched the gunpowder, he was ſeen to ſtir no more; but burned on the other ſide; and either from the chain's looſing, or by the overpoiſe of his body, after his legs were conſumed, fell over the chain, down at Latimer's feet (*d*).

Such was the end of Biſhop Ridley! a Prelate of great learning and piety, of the moſt diſtinguiſhed abilities, and of exemplary manners. He was of a chearful and agreeable temper; he behaved to thoſe about him with much courteouſneſs and affability, and he was very generous and liberal to the poor. In this reſpect Turner, afterwards Dean of Wells, bears an honourable teſtimony concerning him. "If there were no other "witneſs of his beneficence to the Poor, (ſays he), I will teſtify "this to all, that before he was advanced to any eccleſiaſtical "preferment, he carried me along in company with him to the "next hoſpital; and when I had nothing to give to the poor, "beſide what he himſelf, according to his eſtate, liberally gave, "he often ſupplied me, that I might give too. While he was "himſelf in priſon, what aid he ſent out of England to us in "our exile in Germany, that learned man, his faithful Achates, "Dr. Edmund Grindall, now Biſhop of London, can teſtify; "and many others who were aſſiſted by his liberality." Anthony Wood ſays of Biſhop Ridley, that "he was a perſon ſmall "in ſtature, but great in learning, and profoundly read in Di"vinity."

The ſame Writer mentions the following pieces, which were written by Ridley. 1. A Treatiſe concerning Images, not to be ſet up, nor worſhipped, in churches. 2. Brief declaration of the LORD's Supper, publiſhed in 1555, and 1586, in Octavo; written

(*d*) Life, P. 662——669.

ten during his impriſonment in Oxford. It was tranſlated into Latin by William Whittyngham. 3. A friendly farewell, written during his impriſonment at Oxford, unto all his true lovers, a little before his death. Lond. 1559. 8vo. 4. A piteous lamentation of the miſerable ſtate of the Church of England, in the time of the late revolt from the Goſpel. Lond. 8vo. 5. A compariſon between the comfortable doctrine of the Goſpel and the traditions of Popiſh religion. 6. Account of the diſputation held at Oxford, printed at Oxford in 4to. 1688. 7. A Treatiſe of the bleſſed Sacrament.——Many of Ridley's letters, and alſo ſome of theſe pieces, have been likewiſe publiſhed by Fox, and alſo lately by the Reverend Mr. Gloceſter Ridley, in his copious and accurate account of Biſhop Ridley's Life, to which we have been ſo much indebted in our account of the Life of this excellent Prelate.

THE

The Life of JOHN LELAND.

JOHN LELAND was born in London, but in what year is not known. He loſt both his parents whilſt he was very young, but he met with a generous friend and patron in Mr. Thomas Miles, who brought him up, and cauſed him to be carefully educated at St. Paul's ſchool, under the famous William Lily. When he had made a ſufficient progreſs in grammatical learning, he was ſent to CHRIST's College in Cambridge, where having ſtudied for ſome years with great diligence and ſucceſs, he removed from thence to Oxford, and further proſecuted his ſtudies in All Soul's College (*e*).

Having thus laid in a conſiderable ſtock of learning in his own country, he travelled for further improvement to Paris, where he had the advantage of the converſation and inſtructions of Budæus, Faber, Paulus Æmilius, Ruellius, and Francis Sylvius; by whoſe aſſiſtance he perfected himſelf in the Latin and Greek tongues. He alſo learned the French, Italian, and Spaniſh languages.

Upon his return to England, he entered into holy orders, and was preſented to the Rectory of Poppeling, or Popering, in the Marches of Calais. And King Henry VIII. appointed him one of his Chaplains; and conceiving an high opinion of his learning, and particularly in Antiquities, he conſtituted him his library-keeper, and dignified him with the title of his Antiquary; a title which was never enjoyed by any other, either before or ſince.

In the year 1533, a commiſſion was granted to him under the Great Seal, by virtue of which he had free liberty and power to enter and ſearch the libraries of all Cathedrals, Abbies, Priories, Colleges, &c. as likewiſe all other places wherein any records, or writings, that related to the Engliſh Hiſtory and Antiquities, were depoſited. And with this view, he obtained, in 1536, a diſpenſation for non-reſidence upon his Living at Popeling, that he might proſecute his deſign of travelling throughout England, in ſearch of its moſt valuable Antiquities.

"He entered upon this journey (ſays Mr. Hearne) with an unuſual willingneſs, being very apprehenſive that 'twould conduce much to the honour of this nation, and to the common benefit

(*e*) *Vid.* Biogr. Britan. New and Gen. Biog. Dict. and Wood's Athenæ Oxonienſes, Vol. I. Col. 67——70. Edit. 1691.

beſt of learning. He carried on his travels, without intermiſſion, for ſeveral years, in which time he went over moſt parts of England and Wales: and he was ſo inquiſitive in his remarks, that being not content with what the libraries of the reſpective houſes, to which he applied himſelf, afforded, nor with what was recorded in the windows and other monuments belonging to Cathedrals, Monaſteries, &c. he wandered from place to place where he thought there were any footſteps of Roman, Saxon, or Daniſh buildings, and took particular notice of all the tumuli, coins, inſcriptions, &c. which he happened to light upon (*f*)."

We may form ſome idea of Mr. Leland's great labours, and extreme aſſiduity, in ſearching after Antiquities, and whatever was worthy of notice, in every part of England, by what he himſelf ſays in his NEW-YEAR'S-GIFT, which was addreſſed to King Henry VIII. in 1545. "I have (ſays he) ſo travelled in "your dominions, both by the ſea-coaſts, and the middle parts, "ſparing neither labour nor coſts, by the ſpace of theſe ſix "years paſt, that there is almoſt neither cape, nor bay, haven, "creek, or pier, river, or confluence of rivers, breaches, waſhes, "lakes, mires, fenny waters, mountains, vallies, moors, heaths, "foreſts, chaces, woods, cities, boroughs, caſtles, principal "manor-places, monaſteries, and colleges, but I have ſeen "them; and noted, in ſo doing, a whole world of things very "memorable (*g*)."

In this addreſs to the King, Mr. Leland, after a ſhort relation of his travels, and his collections, alſo acquaints his Majeſty, that he had digeſted into four books an account of the illuſtrious Writers in this Realm, with their lives and monuments of literature; and alſo lays before him a ſcheme of what he further intended to do. Promiſing a draught or map of England on a ſilver plate; and a deſcription of the kingdom, in which the antient names of places in Britain would be reſtored; then the civil Hiſtory of this nation, in as many books as there are ſhires in England and Wales; a ſurvey of the Britiſh iſles in ſix books; and, finally, an account of the Nobility of England in three books.

Mr. Leland did not only ſearch out and reſcue antique monuments of literature from the deſtructive hands of time, by a faithful copy and regiſter of them, but likewiſe ſaved many from being deſpoiled by the hands of men. For in that age the Engliſh were remarkably negligent and inattentive to their own Hiſtory and Antiquities; and they paid ſcarce any attention to the moſt valuable monuments of Engliſh literature (*b*). This being obſerved by foreigners, eſpecially in Germany, young

(*f*) Preface to the firſt Volume of the Itinerary, P. 5, 6.

(*g*) New-Year's-Gift, prefixed to the firſt Volume of the Itinerary, publiſhed by Tho. Hearne at Oxford, in 1710. P. 21.

(*b*) See Vol. I. P. 364.

ſtudents were frequently ſent from thence, who cut them out of the books in the libraries, and then, returning home, publiſhed them as monuments of their own country (*i*). This pilferage, together with the great havock which was made of them at the diſſolution of the Monaſteries, was obſerved by Mr. Leland with the utmoſt regret. He wrote a letter to Cromwell, when that great man was Secretary of State, ſoliciting his aſſiſtance for the preſervation of many antient manuſcripts, which were in danger of being utterly deſtroyed: and accordingly our Antiquarian had the ſatisfaction of preſerving many good antient Authors, that otherwiſe would have periſhed, to the great detriment of learning: ſome of them he placed in the King's library, and ſome remained in his own cuſtody.

In 1542, Mr. Leland was preſented to the Rectory of Haſeley in Oxfordſhire; and in 1543, the King gave him a Canonry in King's College (now Chriſt-church) in Oxford; and, about the ſame time, the Prebend of Eaſt and Weſt Knoll, in the cathedral church of Sarum: but the Canonry of Chriſt-church he loſt in 1545, upon the ſurrender of that College to the King, and inſtead of it had no penſion allowed him as other Canons had, but (according to Anthony Wood) preferment elſewhere. He had retired to his houſe in St. Michael le Querne, London, in order to digeſt the numerous collections which he had made, and to finiſh the works which he had deſigned. But either too hard ſtudy, or ſome other cauſe unknown, deprived him of his underſtanding, and threw him into a frenzy. Whereupon King Edward VI. by letters patents, dated March 5, 1550, granted the cuſtody of him, by the name of John Laylond, junior, of St. Michael's pariſh in le Querne, Clerk, to his brother, John Laylond, ſenior; and for his maintenance, to receive the profits of Haſeley, Poppeling, and Eaſt and Weſt Knoll above-mentioned. In this diſtraction he continued, without ever recovering the uſe of his reaſon, two years, when the diſorder put a period to his life on the 18th of April, 1552. He was interred in the church of St. Michael le Querne, which ſtood at the weſt end of Cheapſide, London.

Anthony Wood calls Mr. Leland, a "ſingular light and ornament of Great Britain;" and further obſerves, that "he was eſteemed by the generality of ſcholars of his time an excellent Orator and Poet, learned in the Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Spaniſh, Britiſh, Saxon, Welch, and Scottiſh tongues, a moſt diligent ſearcher into Antiquity, and a favourer and lover of all thoſe that bent their minds that way." And one of his contemporaries boldly affirms, that England never ſaw, and, he believes, ſhould never ſee, a man to him in all things to be compared, with regard to his ſkill in the Antiquities of Britain: for that undoubtedly he was in theſe matters wonderful and peerleſs;

(*i*) *Vid.* Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I Col. 68.

peerleſs; ſo that concerning them, England had yet never a greater loſs. Upon the whole, Leland may not unjuſtly be ſtiled the Father of Engliſh Antiquaries, ſince his works have been made uſe of by John Bale, in his catalogue of Engliſh Writers; Mr. Camden, in his Britannia; William Burton, Eſq; in his deſcription of Leiceſterſhire; Sir William Dugdale, in his Antiquities of Warwickſhire, and Baronage of England; and by moſt of our other learned Antiquarians.——Leland was a great favourer of the reformed opinions; and it was intimated by ſome of the Catholics, that the loſs of his ſenſes was a judgment on him for having degenerated from the Romiſh religion.

Thoſe Works of Mr. Leland which have been printed (*k*), are as follows:

I. JOANNIS LELANDI ANTIQUARII DE REBUS BRITANNICIS COLLECTANEA. Publiſhed by Thomas Hearne at Oxford, in 1715, in ſix Volumes, 8vo. The fourth Volume of this Work, containing the lives and characters of moſt of the eminent Writers of England, had been before publiſhed by Mr. Anthony Hall, under the title of Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis, auctore Joanne Lelando Londinate, Oxon, 1709, 2 Vols. 8vo.

II. THE ITINERARY OF JOHN LELAND THE ANTIQUARY. Publiſhed by Hearne at Oxford in 1710, in 9 Vols. 8vo. A ſecond Edition of this Work was re-printed in 1745, with improvements and additions.

III. NÆNIÆ IN MORTEM THOMÆ VIATI EQUITIS INCOMPARABILIS. An Elegy on the death of Sir Thomas Wiat, Knt. Lond. 1542. 4to. reprinted by Hearne, at the beginning of the ſecond Volume of the Itinerary.

IV. A Poem on the birth of Edward, Prince of Wales, in Latin. Lond. 1543. 4to. re-printed in the 9th Vol. of the Itinerary. Biſhop Nicolſon obſerves, that "John Leland is alſo reported by Pits, to have written a Dictionarium Britannico-Latinum. But I ſuſpect there's no more grounds for ſuch a ſtory than only this: Leland publiſhed a Latin poem upon the birth of the Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward the Sixth; and, taking occaſion to uſe ſome hard words in it, added to it, Syllabus et Interpretatio Antiquarum Dictionum, quæ paſſim per libellum lectori occurrunt. And this, I believe, is all the Welch Dictionary that will be found of his compoſure."

V. Aſſertio inclytiſſimi Arturii, regis Britanniæ. Elenchus Antiquorum nominum. Lond. 1544. 4to. tranſlated into Engliſh, and publiſhed by R. Robinſon in 1582.

(*k*) Mr. Leland's manuſcript collections were eſteemed ſo valuable, that King Edward VI. thought them worth his notice and care; and accordingly ordered his tutor, Sir John Cheke, to take them into his cuſtody. From him they paſſed into ſeveral hands, and the largeſt and moſt valuable part of them were at length publiſhed by the induſtrious Thomas Hearne.

VI. CYGNEA CANTIO. A Swan's Song, with a Commentary on the ſame. Lond. 1545. 4to. re-printed in 1658. 12mo. and in the 9th Volume of the Itinerary. Biſhop Nicolſon obſerves, that this is "a poetical piece of flattery, or a panegyric on King Henry; wherein the Author brings his Swan down the river of Thames, from Oxford to Greenwich, deſcribing (as ſhe paſſes along) all the towns, caſtles, and other places of note within her view. And the antient names of theſe, being ſometimes different from what the common herd of Writers had uſually given, therefore (in his Commentary on this Poem) he alphabetically explains his terms; and, by the bye, brings in a great deal of the antient Geography of this iſland."

VII. Principum ac illuſtrium aliquot et eruditorum in Anglia virorum encomia, &c. Publiſhed by Mr. Thomas Newton of Cheſhire, in 1589, 4to.

VIII. A New-Year's-Gift to King Henry VIII. in the 37th year of his reign; publiſhed in the Author's life-time by John Bale, with notes. Lond. 1549. 8vo. and re-printed by Hearne in the firſt Vol. of the Itinerary.

IX. LAUDATIO PACIS. The Praiſe of Peace, a Latin poem. Lond. 1546. 4to. Re-printed by Hearne in the fifth Volume of the Collectanea.

Some other ſmall pieces, written by Leland, have alſo been publiſhed by Mr. Hearne,



THE

The Life of JOHN DUDLEY, Duke of Northumberland.

JOHN DUDLEY was born in the year 1502, being the eldeſt ſon of Edmund Dudley, Eſq; by Elizabeth, daughter of Edward, Lord L'Iſle. At the time his father was beheaded (*l*), which was towards the beginning of the reign of King Henry VIII. he was about eight years old. In 1511, an act was paſſed, by which the attainder of Edmund Dudley, the father, was reverſed, and John Dudley, the ſon, was reſtored in blood; in conſequence of which he inherited a very

(*l*) EDMUND DUDLEY, father to our Duke, was a very eminent and able Lawyer, and Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in 1504. But he is deſervedly infamous in Hiſtory for being a principal inſtrument of Henry VII. in his cruel and unjuſt oppreſſions and extortions of his people, in conjunction with Sir Richard Empſon, for which they were both attainted of high treaſon, and beheaded at the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. [See the firſt Volume of our Work, P. 315.] Lord Bacon gives the following account of the iniquitous tranſactions in which Dudley and Empſon were concerned. "As Kings (ſays he) do more eaſily find inſtruments for their *will* and *humour*, than for their *ſervice* and *honour*, he (Henry VII.) had gotten for his purpoſe, or beyond his purpoſe, two inſtruments, Empſon and Dudley, (whom the people eſteemed as his *horſe-leeches* and *ſhearers*) bold men, and careleſs of fame, and that took toll of their maſter's griſt. Dudley was of a good family, eloquent, and one that could put *hateful buſineſs* into *good language*. But Empſon, that was the ſon of a ſieve-maker, triumphed always upon the deed done, putting off all other reſpects whatſoever. Theſe two perſons, being Lawyers in ſcience, and Privy Counſellors in authority, (as the corruption of the beſt things is the worſt) turned *law* and *juſtice* into *wormwood* and *rapine*. For firſt, their manner was, to cauſe divers ſubjects to be indicted of ſundry crimes, and ſo far forth to proceed in form of law; but when the bills were found, then preſently to commit them. And nevertheleſs, not to produce them in any reaſonable time to their anſwer; but to ſuffer them to languiſh long in priſon, and by ſundry artificial devices and terrors, to extort from them great fines and ranſoms, which they termed compoſitions and mitigations. Neither did they (towards the end) obſerve ſo much as the half-face of juſtice, in proceeding by indictment; but ſent forth their precepts to attach men, and convent them before themſelves and ſome others, at their private houſes, in a court of commiſſion, and there uſed to ſhuffle up a *ſummary proceeding* by examination, without trial of Jury; aſſuming to themſelves there, to deal both in pleas of the Crown, and controverſies civil. Then did they alſo uſe to enthral and charge the ſubjects lands with tenures in capite, by finding falſe offices, and thereby to work upon

very opulent fortune which had been left by his father. He had all due care taken of his education, his guardian, Edmund Guilford, Eſq; being one of the fineſt gentlemen in King Henry's Court, and his mother a very accompliſhed woman. About the year 1523, this Lady married, with the King's conſent, Sir Arthur Plantagenet, who, in her right, was created Viſcount L'Iſle; and about the ſame time ſhe brought her ſon to Court, who being a young gentleman of a handſome perſon, and fine accompliſhments, he attended the King's favourite Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, in his expedition into France; where his gallant behaviour greatly recommended him to the notice of his General, and alſo procured him the honour of Knighthood.

Sir John Dudley appears to have been early tinctured with ambition; and it was probably motives of that kind which induced him to attach himſelf to Cardinal Wolſey, whom he accompanied in his Embaſſy to France, in the nineteenth year of that reign; ſoon after which he was appointed Maſter of the Armory in the Tower. His hopes at Court did not hinder him from attending to his concerns in the country, where he was very careful to improve his intereſt among the Gentry; and, in 1536, was Sheriff of Staffordſhire, where he lived hoſpitably, and made himſelf popular among his neighbours. Whilſt Wolſey's power and influence continued, Sir John Dudley paid court to him; and he afterwards ingratiated himſelf with Lord Cromwell, when he found that great man was much in the King's favour, and had the chief management of public affairs. And when the Lady Anne Cleves arrived in England, Dudley was made Maſter of the Horſe to the intended Queen.

On the firſt of May, 1539, he was the firſt of the challengers in the triumphant tournament held at Weſtminſter, in which he appeared

upon them for wardſhips, liveries, primier ſeiſines, and alienations, (being the fruits of thoſe tenures) refuſing upon divers pretexts and delays, to admit men to traverſe thoſe falſe offices, according to the law. Nay, the King's Wards, after they had accompliſhed their full age, could not be ſuffered to have livery of their lands, without paying exceſſive fines, far exceeding all reaſonable rates. They did alſo vex men with informations of intruſion upon ſcarce colourable titles.—They would alſo ruffle with Jurors, and inforce them to find as they would direct, and (if they did not) convent them, impriſon them, and fine them. Theſe and many other courſes, fitter to be buried than repeated, they had of preying upon the people; both like *tame hawks* for their maſter, and like *wild hawks* for themſelves; inſomuch as they grew to great riches and ſubſtance. But their principal working was upon *Penal Laws*, wherein they ſpared none, great nor ſmall; nor conſidered whether the law were poſſible or impoſſible, in uſe or obſolete. But raked over all old and new ſtatutes, though many of them were made with intention rather of terror, than of rigour; having ever a rabble of Promoters, Gueſſmongers, and leading Jurors, at their command, ſo as they could have any thing found either for fact, or valuation."——Hiſt. of King Henry VII. P. 209, 210, 211. Edit. 1629.

appeared with great magnificence. This tournament had been proclaimed in France, Flanders, Scotland, and Spain, for all comers to try their proweſs againſt the Engliſh challengers, who were Sir John Dudley, Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir Thomas Poyningſ, Sir George Carew, Knights; and Anthony Kingſton and Richard Cromwell, Eſquires. When the challengers came into the liſts, they were preceded by a band of Knights and gentlemen, all dreſſed in white velvet, and the furniture of their horſes of the ſame; but the challengers themſelves were much more magnificently dreſſed. The firſt day there were forty-ſix defendants, amongſt whom were the Earl of Surrey, Lord William Howard, Lord Clinton, and Lord Cromwell, ſon to the famous Miniſter of that name, who had been a ſhort time before created Earl of Eſſex. Sir John Dudley, by ſome miſchance of his horſe, had the misfortune to be overthrown by one Mr. Breme; however, he mounted again, and performed very gallantly. After this was over, the challengers rode in ſtate to Durham Houſe, where they entertained the King, Queen, and Court. On the ſecond of May, Anthony Kingſton and Richard Cromwell were made Knights; and on the third, the challengers fought on horſeback with ſwords, againſt twenty-nine defendants; Sir John Dudley and the Earl of Surrey running firſt with equal advantage. On the fifth of May they fought on foot at the barriers againſt thirty defendants. In the courſe of theſe military diverſions, the challengers, at a vaſt expence, entertained both Houſes of Parliament, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and their Ladies, and all the perſons of diſtinction then in town; as a reward for which, the King gave to each of them a houſe, and an hundred marks a year for ever, out of the revenues of the Knights of Rhodes, which had been given to his Majeſty by the Parliament then ſitting (*m*).

In 1542, his father-in-law dying, Sir John Dudley was, by letters patent, raiſed to the dignity of Viſcount L'Iſle, and at the next feſtival of St. George was elected Knight of the Garter. This was ſoon after followed by a much higher inſtance of the King's truſt and confidence; for his Majeſty, on account of his abilities and courage, conſtituted him Lord High Admiral of England for life. It is ſaid, that he had ſerved with reputation at ſea, before he obtained this high employment; and in particular we are told, that he boarded and took the Admiral of Sluys, fighting her ſhip to ſhip.

In 1544, the Lord Admiral was ordered to command a fleet of two hundred ſail, on board of which ten thouſand men were embarked, in order to invade Scotland. The troops were landed about four miles from Leith, from whence they marched to Edinburgh, the Lord Admiral commanding the vanguard, and the Earl of Hertford the main battle. The former had the credit

(*m*) *Vid.* Biograph. Britan.

dit of routing the Scots, and of forcing the principal gate of Edinburgh, into which he was the firſt man that entered. They ſet fire to that city, where they were joined by the Lord Evers, Warden of the Eaſt Marches, at the head of a land army. But not being able to take the citadel, the Earl of Hertford and the Lord Admiral retreated to Leith; to which ſetting fire, they re-embarked, and having ſcoured the coaſts of Scotland, and taken out of the havens and creeks all ſuch veſſels as they found there, made the beſt of their way home; while the land army burnt Seton, Haddington, and Dunbar; and having ravaged the country in its march, retreated in ſafety to Berwick (*n*).

King Henry being now engaged alſo in a war with France, on the 9th of July, 1543, the ſiege of Bulloigne was formed by the Duke of Suffolk. The King himſelf came to the camp in perſon on the 26th of the ſame month, and the Lord Admiral arrived there two days after, where he encamped the neareſt the town of any of the King's forces. In this ſiege he was preſent in moſt of the attacks, and had here the misfortune to loſe his eldeſt ſon. Bulloigne was ſurrendered on the 14th of September, and on the 18th the King made his public entry into it, and ſoon after delivered the keys of the town to the Lord Admiral, with the title of Governor; and upon his embarking for England, on the 30th of the ſame month, declared him his Lieutenant-General.

The Dauphin of France being now not far diſtant, with an army of upwards of fifty thouſand men, he formed a deſign of retaking Bulloigne, and accordingly on the 9th of October attempted it by ſurprize; but through the vigilance and courage of the Lord Admiral, and his garriſon, the French were repulſed, with the loſs of eight hundred of their beſt troops. And on the firſt of February following, the Lord Admiral ſallied out of Bulloigne, with a ſmall body of horſe and foot, and attacked a much ſuperior corps of French forces, and forced them to retire with precipitation, making himſelf maſter of twelve pieces of cannon.

The French Monarch being much galled at the conqueſt of Bulloigne by the Engliſh, hired from ſeveral of the Italian Powers, at a great expence, a conſiderable number of ſhips; and having aſſembled upwards of two hundred ſail, beſides gallies, gave the command of this fleet to Annebault, Admiral of France, in hopes of recovering Bulloigne, and alſo with a deſign of making ſome attempts on the Engliſh coaſts. The French fleet, however, met with an accident when it firſt put to ſea, one of their beſt ſhips, of the burthen of eight hundred tons, taking fire. But between Alderney and Guernſey, their gallies attacked the Engliſh Lord Admiral L'Iſle, who then had but a ſmall

(*n*) *Vid.* Burchett's Complete Hiſt. of the moſt remarkable Tranſactions at Sea, P. 339, 340.

ſmall ſquadron with him; and they bent all their endeavours to take his own ſhip; but he defended himſelf ſo well againſt eighteen of their veſſels at once, that they were at laſt glad to retire. At length the whole French fleet appeared before St. Helen's, and making a ſhew of attempting ſomething upon the coaſt, the Lord Admiral advanced, his fleet conſiſting of ſixty ſail; but after exchanging ſome ſhot, the French retired. The Engliſh fleet being then reinforced, and having taken ſome troops on board, offered the French battle again, which they accepted, and a ſharp engagement enſued for two hours, till night parted the two fleets, when the French retired to Havre de Grace, and appeared no more. However, the Engliſh Admiral ſoon after paid a viſit to the coaſt of France; and landing ſix thouſand men at Treport, burnt the town and abbey, with thirty ſhips which were in the harbour; all which he did with the loſs of fourteen men only, and then returned with his fleet to England.

In 1546, the Lord Admiral was appointed, together with Tonſtal, Biſhop of Durham, and Dr. Nicholas Wotton, Dean of Canterbury and York, to take the oath of the French King, Francis I. for obſerving the treaty of peace which was ſigned the ſeventh of June, in that year. And on the 16th of October following he was, together with other perſons of rank, named in a commiſſion for ſettling the accompts of the army. This appears to have been the laſt public ſervice the Lord Admiral performed in the reign of Henry VIII. from whom he had received ſome very conſiderable grants; and that Monarch left him five hundred pounds by his will, and appointed him one of his ſixteen executors, to whom the government of the kingdom was to be intruſted, during the minority of young Edward.

Notwithſtanding that, by King Henry's will, his ſixteen executors were equal in power, ſoon after the acceſſion of Edward, the Earl of Hertford, the King's uncle, afterwards Duke of Somerſet, was raiſed above the reſt with the title of Protector of the kingdom. Shortly after, Lord L'Iſle reſigned the poſt of High Admiral, that office being given to Sir Thomas Seymour, Baron of Sudley, brother to the Protector; but Lord L'Iſle was, the ſame day, the 17th of February, 1547, created Earl of Warwick, and made Great Chamberlain of England; and ſoon after he had conſiderable grants from the Crown, particularly Warwick caſtle and manor.

Henry VIII. had earneſtly recommended it to his executors, to effectuate, if poſſible, the deſign which he had formed, of uniteing the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, by a marriage between his ſon Edward and the young Queen of Scotland. We have ſeen, in the Life of Cardinal Beaton, that a treaty for this purpoſe was ratified by the Regent and Parliament of Scotland; but that the Scots afterwards renounced this treaty, and entered into a ſtrict confederacy with the Court of France. In

reſentment of this treatment, and in order to compel the Scots to agree to the propoſed marriage, Henry had entered into a war with that nation (*o*). And with the ſame view the Protector Somerſet aſſembled an army of eighteen thouſand men, with which he marched into Scotland, accompanied by our Earl of Warwick, in quality of his Lieutenant-General. The Protector, on his arrival in Scotland, publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he urged many reaſons to induce the Scots to conſent to the propoſed marriage; but this having no effect, hoſtilities commenced.

Before any action of importance occurred, the Earl of Warwick eſcaped a very imminent danger, of which the following relation is given by Sir John Hayward. "As the Engliſh (ſays "he) directed their way towards the place where they underſtood the Scots aſſembled, they came to a river called Lynne, "croſſed with a bridge of ſtone. The horſemen and carriages "paſſed through the water, the footmen over the bridge, which "becauſe it was narrow, the army was long in ſetting over. "The avaunt guard marched forth, and the battail followed; "but as the rear was paſſing over, a very thick miſt did ariſe. "The Earl of Warwick having before eſpied certain plumps of "Scottiſh horſemen ranging the field, returned towards the "rear, to prevent ſuch danger as the thickneſs of the miſt, the "nearneſs of the enemy, and the diſarray occaſioned by the narrowneſs of the bridge might caſt upon them. The Scots "conjecturing (as it was) that ſome perſonage of honour ſtaid to "have a view of the rear, called to the Engliſh to know if any "Nobleman were near; for that one whom they named (well "known to be of honourable condition) would preſent himſelf "to the General, in caſe he might ſafely be conducted. Certain young ſoldiers, not uſed to ſuch trains, made raſh and "ſudden anſwer, that the Earl of Warwick was near, under "whoſe protection he might be aſſured. Hereupon they paſſed "the water, placed two hundred of their prickers behind a "hillock, and with forty more caſt about to find the Earl. Now "the Earl eſpying ſix or ſeven of them ſcattered near the army, "and taking them to be of the Engliſh, ſent one to command "them to their array; and to that end himſelf rode an eaſy "pace towards them, followed only with ten or twelve on "horſeback. He that had been ſent before was ſo heedleſs either to obſerve, or to advertiſe what they were, that the Earl "did not diſcover them to be enemies, until he was in the "midſt among them. Certainly a Commander ſhould not "careleſsly caſt himſelf into danger; but when either upon "neceſſity, or miſadventure, he falleth into it, it much advanceth both his reputation and enterprize, if bravely he behave himſelf. Now the Earl eſpying where he was, gave ſo "rude

(*o*) See P. 296, 297, 298, 299, & 301, of this Vol.

" rude a charge upon a Captain of the Scots, named Dandy " Care, that he forced him to turn, and chaſed him above " twelve ſcore at the lance's point. Herewith the reſidue re- " tired deceitfully towards the place of their ambuſh, from " whence iſſued about ſixty more. Then the Earl gathered " his ſmall company about him, and with good countenance " maintained the fight. But the enemy in the end, whether " perceiving ſome ſuccours advancing from the army where " the alarm was then taken, or whether intending to draw the " Engliſh further into their ambuſh, turned away an eaſy pace. " The Earl forbad his men from following, fearing a greater " ambuſh behind the hill, as in truth there was. At his return " he was received with great applauſe by the Engliſh ſoldiers, " for that he did ſo well acquit himſelf in the danger, where- " into, by error, and not by raſhneſs, he had been carried. One " of his men was ſlain; another hurt in the buttock; a third, " named Vane, ſo grievouſly hewn, that many thouſands have " died of leſs than half his hurts, whereof, notwithſtanding, he " was cured afterwards. Of the Scots, three were taken pri- " ſoners, and preſented to the General by the Earl, of whom " one had received many great entertainments and courteſies " in England (*p*)."

The Regent of Scotland had ſummoned together the whole force of that kingdom to oppoſe the Engliſh army. The Scottiſh army was double the number of the Engliſh. However, on the 10th of September, the two armies came to a deciſive engagement, in which the Scottiſh army was totally defeated (*q*). There fell not two hundred of the Engliſh; and according to the moſt moderate computation, there periſhed above ten thouſand of the Scots (*r*). Fifteen hundred were taken priſoners, among whom was the Earl of Huntley, and five hundred gentlemen; and all the Scottiſh artillery was taken. In this engagement the Earl of Warwick behaved with the utmoſt gallantry; and greatly contributed to the defeat of the enemy by his conduct and valour. This action is by ſome Writers ſtiled the battle of Muſſelburgh, and by others the battle of Pinkey.

(*p*) Sir John Hayward's Life and Reign of K. Edward the Sixth, 4to. Edit. 1630. P. 20, 21, 22.

(*q*) Burnet ſays, " The Engliſh had the advantage of the ground. And in the beginning of the action, a cannon ball from one of the Engliſh ſhips killed the Lord Grame's eldeſt ſon, and twenty-five men more; which put the Earl of Argyle's Highlanders into ſuch a fright, that they could not be held in order. But after a charge given by the Earl of Angus, in which the Engliſh loſt ſome few men, the Scots gave ground; and the Engliſh obſerving that, and breaking in furiouſly upon them, the Scots threw down their arms, and fled. The Engliſh purſued hard, and ſlew them without mercy."——Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. P. 34.

(*r*) Hume's Hiſt. Vol. IV. P. 327, 8vo. Edit. Sir John Hayward ſays, that, after the action, " the dead bodies lay all the way ſcattered ſo thick

After this victory, the Protector, having burnt Edinburgh, and taken Leith, the caſtles of Hume, Dunglaſs, Eymouth, Faſt-caſtle, Roxborough, and ſome other ſmall places; and having received the ſubmiſſion of ſome counties on the borders, he retired out of Scotland. Had he proſecuted the advantages which his victory had given him, he might have impoſed what terms he pleaſed on the Scottiſh nation. But he was impatient to return to England, where he heard ſome of the Council, and even his own brother, the Admiral, were carrying on cabals againſt his authority (*s*). The Regent of Scotland deſired leave to ſend Commiſſioners in order to treat of a peace; and the Protector, having appointed Berwick for the place of meeting, left the Earl of Warwick with full powers to negociate. But no Commiſſioners from Scotland ever appeared: for this overture of the Scots was only an artifice to gain time, till ſuccours ſhould arrive from France. The Earl of Warwick, therefore, returned to London, having acquired great honour in this expedition againſt the Scots (*t*).

The unhappy quarrels which at this time aroſe between the Protector Somerſet, and his brother Thomas Seymour, Baron Sudley, and Lord High Admiral, were of very bad conſequence to the nation, and did in the end prove the ruin of both the brothers. According to ſome Writers, the diviſions between them were firſt occaſioned by their wives (*u*): however, the Admiral appears to have been a very ambitious, and a very bad man, though ſuperior to his brother, both in courage and ability. And the Earl of Warwick is ſaid to have endeavoured to encreaſe the animoſity between the Protector and the Admiral, with a view of aggrandizing himſelf by the ruin of both. The Protector appears to have been upon the whole a man of probity and

thick, as a man may ſee ſheep grazing in a well ſtored paſture, moſt ſlain in the head or neck, for that the horſemen could not well touch lower with their ſwords; and ſcarce credible it is how ſoon they were ſtripped and laid naked upon the ground. But then again the eyes of all men were faſtened upon them with pity and admiration, to behold ſo many naked bodies, as for tallneſs of ſtature, whiteneſs of ſkin, largeneſs and due proportion of limbs, could hardly be equalled in any one country. The ground where their ſeveral battalions firſt brake, lay ſtrewed with pikes, ſo thick as a floor is uſually ſtrewed with ruſhes, whereby the places could hardly be paſſed over either by horſe or by foot: the river Eſke ran red with blood, ſo as they who periſhed therein might almoſt be ſaid to be drowned in their fellows blood." Life and Reign of Ed VI. P. 35.

(*s*) Burnet, after obſerving that the Protector "might eaſily have made an end of the war now at once, if he had followed his ſucceſs vigorouſly;" adds, "the Earl of Warwick, who had a great ſhare in the honour of the victory, but knew that the errors in conduct would much diminiſh the Protector's glory, which had been otherwiſe raiſed to an unmeaſurable height, was not diſpleaſed at it."—Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. P. 34.

(*t*) Burnet, Vol. II. P. 34, 35, 55. Hume, Vol. IV. P. 327.

(*u*) The Duke of Somerſet had married Anne, daughter to Sir Edward Stanhope. Of this Lady, Hayward

and moderation; however, the deſigns and practices of his brother the Admiral againſt him at length appeared ſo dangerous, that Sudley was deprived of the office of Admiral, and committed to the Tower. The Admiral had ſet himſelf at the head of a party againſt the Protector, and it is ſaid that he had even gone ſo far as to coin money, and raiſe troops, threatening to take the King and the Government out of his brother's hands. However, Lord Sudley was attainted in Parliament, without being heard in his own defence, according to a common, but very unjuſt practice of that age; and accordingly he was ſoon after beheaded on Tower Hill. It is ſaid, that the Earl of Warwick ſtimulated the Protector to conſent to the execution of his brother.

In 1549, there were ſeveral very dangerous inſurrections in different parts of England, ſome of which were excited by the Popiſh Clergy. One of the moſt alarming of theſe inſurrections was that in Norfolk, which roſe to a great height, and was attended with great violences. Among the things chiefly complained of by the people who had aſſociated themſelves together on this occaſion, was the incloſing of commons, and the oppreſſions of the gentry. Their numbers continued to encreaſe till they amounted to ſixteen thouſand men; and they had for their leader one Robert Ket, a tanner, who exerciſed his

Hayward gives the following unfavourable character. She was (ſays he) "a woman for many imperfections intolerable, but for pride monſtrous; ſhe was both exceeding ſubtile and violent in accompliſhing her ends, for which ſhe ſpurned over all reſpects both of conſcience and of ſhame." P. 82. The Lord Admiral married Queen Catherine Parr, widow of King Henry VIII. David Lloyd, ſpeaking of the Protector, and his brother the Admiral, ſays, "Very great was the animoſities betwixt their wives; the Dutcheſs refuſing to bear the Queen's train, and in effect juſtled with her for precedence: ſo that what betwixt the train of the Queen, and long gown of the Dutcheſs, they raiſed ſo much duſt at the Court, as at laſt put out the eyes of both their huſbands, and occaſioned their executions." In another place the ſame Writer ſays, "Intereſt and blood united theſe brothers ſo ſtrongly, that there was no dividing of them, but by practiſing on their wives, whoſe humours were above their intereſt, and fancy above their relation. Their precedence is made a queſtion at Court, where it bred firſt a diſtance, and upon an interview contrived in this Lord's houſe, (the Earl of Warwick's) a difference; that difference is improved to an animoſity, (he can do little that cannot blow up a ſpark in a woman's breaſt to a flame) that animoſity to malice, and malice cannot dwell long in thoſe weaker breaſts without a miſchief: miſchief they cannot do themſelves: (the ivy cleaves to the oak, and theſe women to their huſbands; though both ruin the thing they cling to:) what ſuggeſtions! what inſinuations! what petty fears and jealouſies! what little tales and paſſions! yet continual droppings wear a ſtone: the women's diſcords drive themſelves into the huſbands hearts, until the Admiral falls, and leaves the Protector to his own integrity: whoſe large truſt and infinite buſineſs could not but bewray him to ſome error, as his great power did to much envy, that firſt diveſted him of that power, and then of his life." State Worthies, Vol. I. P. 189, 300, 301. Mr. Whitworth's Edition, 1766.

his authority in a very outrageous manner. Having taken poſſeſſion of Mouſhold Hill, near Norwich, he erected his tribunal under an old oak, which was from thence called the Oak of Reformation; and there ſummoning the Gentry to appear before him, he gave ſuch decrees as he thought proper. The Marquis of Northampton was firſt ſent againſt him, with fifteen hundred horſe, and a ſmall body of Italian ſoldiers; but was repulſed by the malecontents in an action, in which Lord Sheffield was killed. The Protector then ſent the Earl of Warwick againſt the inſurgents, at the head of ſix thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred horſe, who had been levied for the Scottiſh war. It was, however, with ſome difficulty that Warwick made himſelf maſter of Norwich; but after ſome ſkirmiſhes with the rebels, he at laſt made a general attack upon them. They fought with great bravery; and both in drawing up their men, and in the courſe of the action, behaved much better than might have been expected from ſuch undiſciplined ſoldiers. They were, however, defeated by the Earl of Warwick, upwards of two thouſand of them being killed in the action (*w*). But notwithſtanding this defeat, great numbers of them were collected about the ordnance, who intrenched themſelves with their carts and carriages, and boldly ſtood on their defence. Upon this, the Earl of Warwick marched immediately towards them; but before he attacked them, he ſent them a meſſage, by Norroy, King at Arms, importing, "That he was ſorry to ſee ſo much "courage exerted in ſo bad a cauſe; but that, notwithſtanding "what had paſſed, they ſhould have his Majeſty's pardon, if "they would lay down their arms: otherwiſe they muſt ex"pect nothing but death." Their anſwer was, "That they "did expect nothing but death; but they were free-born Eng"liſhmen, and therefore they diſdained a diſhonourable and "ignominious death. They rather choſe, they ſaid, to fall in "the field, like men, and like ſoldiers, than to be induced to "ſurrender themſelves by deceitful promiſes, and then be put "to death like dogs." Having received this anſwer, the Earl again prepared to attack them; but before he gave the ſignal for the onſet, he once more ſent to them, to know if they would accept the pardon which was offered them, in caſe he himſelf came to them in perſon, and aſſured them of it. To this they returned anſwer, "That they had ſo much confidence in the Earl of Warwick's honour, that if they might have the aſſurance of pardon from his own mouth, they were willing to ſubmit." The Earl accordingly went in among them, and cauſed their pardon to be read, upon which they immediately laid down their arms. Ket, their leader, was taken the next day, and

(*w*) In King Edward's Journal, publiſhed in Burnet, it is ſaid that two thouſand of the rebels were ſlain; but Speed ſays, the number killed in the action and purſuit were three thouſand five hundred.

and hanged ſome time after at Norwich caſtle; and nine of his principal followers, who were alſo taken priſoners, were hanged on the boughs of the Oak of Reformation (*x*).

The capacity of the Protector Somerſet was not equal either to his high ſtation, or to his ambition; and as he had created himſelf enemies among the Nobility, and the Members of the Council, by treating them with too little reſpect, the errors in his conduct gave them ſome handle againſt him. All this was obſerved by the Earl of Warwick, who now began to entertain very ambitious views, and was deſirous of raiſing his own fortunes upon the ruin of thoſe of Somerſet. He, therefore, aſſociated himſelf with ſuch Members of the Council as were diſcontented with the Protector, and formed a very ſtrong party againſt him. "The Earl of Warwick (ſays Hayward) drew "about eighteen of the Privy Council to knit with him againſt "the Lord Protector. Theſe he did ſo wind up to his purpoſe, "that they withdrew from the Court, fell to ſecret conſultations, and walked in the city with many ſervants weaponed, "and in new liveries, the cauſes whereof many conjectured, "but few knew. They were all deſirous that the Protector's "greatneſs ſhould be taken lower, but none conceived that the "Earl's malice did extend unto death (*y*)."

The diſcontented Lords now aſſembled at Ely Houſe, where Warwick uſually reſided; and there they aſſumed to themſelves the whole power of the Council, and began to act independently of the Protector, whom they repreſented as the author of every public grievance. Somerſet ſent Secretary Petre to them, to know the cauſe of their meetings; but the Secretary, inſtead of returning to the Protector, continued with Warwick and his aſſociates; who, on the 8th of October, 1549, went into the city, where, having acquainted the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, that they had no other views than for the ſafety of the King's perſon, the redreſs of grievances, and the reſtoring the peace of the kingdom, the city teſtified its approbation of their meaſures. The Protector had removed the King from Hampton Court to Windſor; and the diſcontented Lords there ſent repreſentations to his Majeſty againſt his uncle. Somerſet diſcovered ſo little firmneſs and magnanimity on this occaſion, that it encouraged his enemies to proceed the more vigorouſly againſt him; and he having ſubmitted himſelf to the Council, they removed him from the King's preſence (*z*), and on the 28th of October he was committed to the Tower.

The

(*x*) *Vid.* Hayward's Life and Reign of Edward IV. P. 73——78. and Speed's Hiſt. of Gr. Britain, P. 1095, 1096. Edit. 1632.

(*y*) Hiſt. of Edw. VI. P. 85, 86.

(*z*) Hayward ſays, that the day after this, divers of the Council rode from London to the King at Windſor; "but the Earl of Warwick rode not with them, for he was a perfect maſter of his craft: he had well learned to put others before him

The Earl of Warwick had prevailed on ſeveral of the Popiſh party to join with him in his proceedings againſt Somerſet, and in particular Wriotheſley, the late Lord Chancellor. Indeed, the Papiſts in general were much pleaſed with the removal of the Protector from the Government, and they entertained hopes that the Catholic cauſe would receive conſiderable advantages from this event. But the Earl of Warwick appears to have been, in reality, very indifferent about any religious matters: only "finding (as Burnet ſays) the King ſo zealouſly addicted "to the carrying on of the Reformation, that nothing could recommend any one ſo much to him, as the promoting it further would do, he ſoon forſook the Popiſh party, and was ſeemingly the moſt earneſt on a further Reformation that was poſſible (*a*).

The Earl of Warwick was now again conſtituted Lord High Admiral, by the King's letters patents, with very extenſive powers; and he very much ingratiated himſelf with the young King, and by his influence and intrigues had the chief management of the public affairs. As to the Duke of Somerſet, articles of accuſation had been exhibited againſt him (*b*), and which he had been prevailed on to confeſs before the Council; in conſequence of which he was deprived of his Protectorſhip, and all his other offices, and fined in two thouſand pounds a year of land. However, the proſecution againſt him was carried no further; but his fine was remitted by the King, and he recovered his liberty. And ſhortly after, a treaty of marriage was ſet on foot between Lord L'Iſle, eldeſt ſon of the Earl of Warwick, and the Lady Anne Seymour, daughter to the Duke of Somerſet; and which was at length concluded, being ſolemnized on the third of June, 1550, in the preſence of the King, who expreſſed great joy at this alliance (*c*).

About

him in dangerous actions, and in matters of miſchief to be ſeen to do leaſt, when in very deed all moved from him." P. 96.

(*a*) Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. P. 139.

(*b*) Amongſt the articles againſt him, were the following: "That he ſaid the Lords of the Parliament were loth to reform inclofures, and other things, therefore the people had a good cauſe to reform them themſelves.——That in time of rebellion he ſaid, That he liked well the actions of the rebels, and that the avarice of gentlemen gave occaſion for the people to riſe, and that it was better for them to die than to periſh for want. That divers times he openly ſaid, That the Nobility and Gentry were the only cauſe of dearth. Whereupon the people roſe to reform matters of themſelves." Hayward, P. 99.

"Great clamour was raiſed againſt the Duke (ſays the ingenious Mr. Horace Walpole) for a merit of the moſt beautiful nature. This was, his ſetting up a *Court of Requeſts* within his own houſe, "to hear the petitions and ſuits of *poor men*, and upon the compaſſion he took of their oppreſſions, if he ended not their buſineſſes, he would ſend his letters to Chancery in their favour."——Strype, Vol. II. P. 183. "In times when almoſt every act of State was an act of tyranny, how amiable does this illegal juriſdiction appear!"——Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, Vol. I. P. 113.

(*c*) Notwithſtanding this alliance between the families of Somerſet and Warwick, Haward obſerves, that "many doubted whether the

About this time the Earl of Warwick reſigned the office of High Chamberlain, which was beſtowed on the Marquis of Northampton; but the King appointed Warwick Lord Steward of his Houſhold; and in April, 1551, he was alſo conſtituted Earl Marſhal of England. On the 15th of Auguſt following, Sir Robert Dudley, one of the Earl's younger ſons, was ſworn one of the ſix ordinary Gentlemen of the Chamber (*d*); a ſhort time afterwards the Earl of Warwick was made Lord Warden of the Northern Marches (*e*); and, on the eleventh of October the ſame year, he was advanced to the dignity of Duke of Northumberland (*f*).

The new Duke of Northumberland, notwithſtanding his alliance with the family of Somerſet, was ſtill meditating that Nobleman's ruin; who, though deprived of the Protectorſhip, ſtill enjoyed ſome influence, and a conſiderable ſhare of popularity. Northumberland ſecretly gained many of the friends and ſervants of Somerſet; he ſometimes terrified him by the appearance of danger; and ſometimes provoked him by ill uſage and contempt: in hopes by this behaviour to excite Somerſet to ſome imprudent action, which might enable him to effectuate his deſtruction (*g*). Accordingly the unguarded Somerſet ſometimes broke out into threatening expreſſions againſt Northumberland; and at other times he formed raſh projects, which he immediately abandoned; whilſt his treacherous confidents carried to his enemy every paſſionate word which dropped from him, and revealed the ſchemes which had been ſuggeſted by

the Earl retained not ſome ſecret offence againſt the Duke, which if he did, it was moſt cunningly ſuppreſſed; doubtleſs of all his virtues he made beſt vice of diſſimulation. And as this friendſhip was drawn together by fear on both ſides, ſo it was not like to be more durable than was the fear." P. 102.

(*d*) The Earl of Warwick "joins himſelf by alliance to the beſt families, and advanceth his children by employments to the greateſt truſts; particularly (what Sir Richard Baker ſaith had been better if it had never been) his ſon Robert (afterwards Earl of Leiceſter) was ſworn one of the ſix ordinary Gentlemen of the King's Chamber: upon which particular the foreſaid Hiſtorian obſerveth, *That after his coming into a place ſo near him, the King enjoyed his health but a while.*" Lloyd's State Worthies, Vol. I. P. 301, 302.

Hayward ſays, "Sir Robert Dudley, one of the Duke of Northumberland's ſons, a true heir both of his hate againſt perſons of Nobility, and of his cunning to diſſemble the ſame, was ſworn one of the ſix ordinary Gentlemen.——After his entertainment into a place of ſo near ſervice, the King enjoyed his health not long." P. 128, 129.

(*e*) We are informed by Hayward, that the Earl of Warwick had alſo "one thouſand marks land granted to him, and one hundred horſemen of the King's charge." P. 114.

(*f*) Biograph. Britan.

(*g*) "The Protector (ſays Lloyd) was free-ſpirited, open-hearted, humble, hard to diſtruſt, eaſy to forgive. The Earl (Warwick) was proud, ſubtil, cloſe, cruel, and implacable; and therefore it was *impar congreſſus*, an unequal conteſt between them, almoſt with as much diſadvantage as between a naked and armed perſon." State Worthies, Vol. I. P. 301.

themſelves (*b*). At length, the deſigns of Northumberland being ripe for execution, the Duke of Somerſet was committed to the Tower, as was alſo his Dutcheſs, and ſeveral others, the following day (*i*). On the firſt of December, he was brought to his trial before the Marquis of Winchester, who acted as High Steward, and twenty-ſeven Peers, (amongſt whom was the Duke of Northumberland), being charged with high treaſon, in forming a deſign to excite inſurrections againſt the Government, and alſo with felony, in forming a deſign to murder Privy Counſellors. He was acquitted of the treaſon, but found guilty of the felony (*k*), for which he was beheaded on Tower-Hill on the 22d of January, 1552, his death being greatly lamented by the generality of the people (*l*).

After the death of the Duke of Somerſet, Northumberland having gained a very great aſcendancy over the young King, obtained eſtates and Lordſhips from him to a prodigious amount, and

(*h*) Hume, Vol. IV. P. 377.

(*i*) "The Duke of Somerſet (ſays Speed) not well adviſed, and yielding too much unto ſycophant flatteries, was put in fear of ſome ſudden attempt intended againſt him, and therefore counſelled to wear under his garment a coat of defence, which he accordingly did; and being ſo armed, came unto the Council table, ſuppoſing no man had known of any ſuch thing; but his boſom being opened, and the armour perceived, he was forthwith apprehended, as intending the death of ſome Counſellor, and by Northumberland ſo vehemently taxed (who in Council was ever the principal man) that he was forthwith attached, and ſent to the Tower, upon the ſixteenth of October, with the Lord Grey of Wilton, Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir Thomas Arundel, Sir Ralph Vane, and Sir Miles Partridge." Hiſt. of Great Britain, P. 1101.

(*k*) "Sir Thomas Palmer, who had all along acted the part of a ſpy upon Somerſet, accuſed him of having formed a deſign to raiſe an inſurrection in the North, to attack the Gens d'Arms on a muſter day, to ſecure the Tower, and to excite a rebellion in London: but what was the only probable accuſation, he aſſerted, that Somerſet had once had a project for murdering Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, at a banquet, which was to be given them by Lord Paget. Crane and his wife confirmed Palmer's teſtimony with regard to this laſt deſign; and it appears that ſome raſh ſcheme of that nature had been mentioned; though no regular conſpiracy had been formed, nor means prepared for its execution." Hume, Vol. IV. P. 377, 378.

The people intereſted themſelves greatly in Somerſet's behalf. "When he was diſcharged of treaſon, there was ſo loud a ſhout in Weſtminſter Hall, as was heard to Long Acre; when condemned of felony, there was a ſilence and amazement for three hours." State Worthies, Vol. I. P. 200.

(*l*) "The people (ſays Burnet) were generally much affected with this execution; and many threw handkerchiefs into the Duke of Somerſet's blood, to preſerve it in remembrance of him. One Lady, that met the Duke of Northumberland when he was led through the city in Queen Mary's time, ſtabbing one of theſe bloody handkerchiefs, ſaid, Behold the blood of that worthy man, that good uncle of that excellent King, which was ſhed by thy malicious practice, doth now begin apparently to revenge itſelf on thee. Sure it is, that Northumberland, as having maliciouſly contrived this, was ever after hated by the people." Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. P. 286.

and governed the public affairs almoſt entirely at his own pleaſure; and he had with ſuch dexterity brought the Nobility into his intereſts, or humbled and depreſſed thoſe who made any oppoſition to him, that he ſeemed to have all things to hope, and little to fear. And he now began to execute a project which he had planned, of a more dangerous nature than any in which he had been hitherto concerned. As a preliminary ſtep to this deſign, he found means to conclude a marriage between his fourth ſon, Lord Guilford Dudley, and the Lady Jane Grey, eldeſt daughter of the Duke of Suffolk. The Dutcheſs, the Lady Jane's mother, was, by King Henry's will, the next heir to the Crown, after the Princeſſes Mary and Elizabeth. Northumberland, therefore, having married his ſon to the Lady Jane, and the King's health declining very faſt, the Duke adviſed the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion. He repreſented to the young King, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the great evils which would befal the nation, and the imminent danger which the Proteſtant religion would be in, if the Princeſs Mary ſhould ſucceed him. This made a great impreſſion upon Edward, ſo that he acknowledged the neceſſity of excluding Mary from the ſucceſſion; and was prevailed on to agree to ſettle the Crown by his letters patent on the Lady Jane Grey. "How they prevailed with "him to paſs by his ſiſter Elizabeth, (ſays Burnet), who had "been always much in his favour, I do not ſo well under-"ſtand (*m*). But the King being wrought over to this, the "Dutcheſs of Suffolk, who was next in King Henry's will, was "ready to devolve her right on her daughter, even though ſhe "ſhould come afterwards to have ſons."

The Duke having thus far ſucceeded in his views, and procured the King's conſent to the ſettlement of the Crown upon Lady Jane, the next point was to procure a proper inſtrument for this purpoſe to be drawn by the Judges. But in this he met with conſiderable difficulty; the Judges repreſenting, in the ſtrongeſt terms, that the deſign was treaſonable, and that all would be guilty of treaſon, who ſhould be concerned in it. This oppoſition greatly exaſperated Northumberland; he threatened all the Judges; and gave to Sir Edward Montague, Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, the appellation of traitor; and declared, that he would fight in his ſhirt with any man who ſhould oppoſe the Lady Jane's ſucceſſion. The Judges, however, ſtill maintained their opinion; but at length, by threats, by promiſes, and by intrigues of every kind, Northumberland prevailed; and by the King's letters patent, ſigned by the Mem-

(*m*) Though the King "bore a tender affection to the Lady Elizabeth, (ſays Mr. Hume) who was liable to no ſuch objection, (that of religion) means were found to perſuade him, that he could not exclude the one ſiſter, on account of illegitimacy, without alſo giving an excluſion to the other."

bers of the Council, and moſt of the Judges, the Lady Jane Grey was made ſucceſſor to King Edward (*n*).

The young King died upon the ſixth of July, 1553. The Duke of Northumberland endeavoured to conceal Edward's death for ſome time, in hopes of getting the Princeſs Mary into his hands, before her brother's death was known; but finding this impracticable, he carried his daughter-in-law, the Lady Jane, from Durham-Houſe to the Tower, for greater ſecurity, and on the 10th of July proclaimed her Queen. The Council alſo wrote to Lady Mary, requiring her ſubmiſſion; but they were ſoon informed, that ſhe was retired into Norfolk, where many of the Nobility, and multitudes of people, reſorted to her. It was then reſolved to ſend forces againſt her under the command of the Duke of Suffolk; but Queen Jane, as ſhe was then ſtiled, was very much averſe to parting with her father; and the Council earneſtly preſſed the Duke of Northumberland to go in perſon againſt Mary, to which he was but little inclined, being apprehenſive of ſome cabals among the Members of the Council in his abſence. However, they aſſured him in the ſtrongeſt terms of their attachment; and on the 14th of July he ſet out, accompanied by the Marquis of Northampton and the Lord Grey, with two thouſand horſe, and ſix thouſand foot: but the diſaffection of the people was ſo apparent, that Northumberland could not help remarking it; and as they paſſed through Shoreditch, he ſaid to Lord Grey, "Many come "out to look at us, but I find not one who cries, GOD ſpeed "you." From this time Northumberland's activity and courage, for which he had been hitherto ſo famous, ſeems to have deſerted him. He advanced, indeed, to St. Edmonds-bury in Suffolk; but as he found his army diminiſh, the people little affected towards him, and no ſupplies coming from London, tho' he had written to the Lords for that purpoſe in the moſt preſſing terms, he retired back again to Cambridge. In the mean time, the Council had cauſed Queen Mary to be proclaimed at London; and Northumberland having received information of this, cauſed her to be likewiſe proclaimed at Cambridge, himſelf throwing up his cap, and crying, "GOD ſave Queen Mary!" with how much joy and ſincerity may be eaſily conceived.

Northumberland's

(*n*) "After this ſettlement was made, with ſo many inauſpicious circumſtances, Edward declined viſibly every day in his health; and ſmall hopes were entertained of his recovery. To make the matter worſe, his Phyſicians were diſmiſſed by Northumberland's advice, and by an order of Council; and he was put into the hands of an ignorant woman, who undertook, in a little time, to reſtore him to his former ſtate of health. After the uſe of her medicines, all the bad ſymptoms encreaſed to the moſt violent degree: he felt a difficulty of ſpeech and breathing; his pulſe failed, his legs ſwelled, his colour became livid; and many other ſymptoms appeared of his approaching end." —— Hume, Vol. IV. P. 391.

Northumberland's affected loyalty was, however, of no ſervice to him. He was arreſted by the Queen's command, brought to his trial for high treaſon, and being condemned by his Peers, received ſentence of death. Northumberland's behaviour in his preſent circumſtances, diſplayed in the ſtrongeſt manner the debaſing nature of conſcious guilt. He had great conſtitutional courage; had in repeated inſtances ſhewn in the field the utmoſt intrepidity; and had been undaunted at the greateſt dangers. But the conſciouſneſs of accumulated crimes, made him dread the approach of death, and cauſed him to behave in the moſt abject manner. When he was arreſted by the Earl of Arundel, he fell on his knees to that Nobleman, to beg his intereſt with the Queen in his favour. And he alſo, in the moſt mean manner, intreated Gardiner's intereſt to ſave his life. We are told, that Northumberland aſked that Prelate, "If there "were no hope at all for him to live, and to do ſome penance "the reſt of his days for his ſins paſt. Alas! (ſaid he) let me "live a little longer, though it be but in a mouſe-hole." Gardiner replied, "That he wiſhed to GOD any thing could have "contented his Grace, but a kingdom, when he was at liberty, "and in proſperity. And even at that preſent he wiſhed it lay "in his power to give him that mouſe-hole: for he would allow "him the beſt palace he had in the world for that mouſe-hole. "And did moreover then offer to do for him what he could poſ"ſible. But becauſe his offence (he ſaid) was great, and ſen"tence paſſed againſt him, and his adverſaries many, it would "be beſt for him to provide for the worſt: and eſpecially that he "ſtood well with G O D, in matter of conſcience and reli"gion. For to ſpeak plainly, it was moſt likely that he muſt "die (*p*)."

The twenty-firſt of Auguſt, 1553, was the day appointed for the Duke of Northumberland's execution: when a great concourſe of people aſſembled upon Tower-Hill, where a ſcaffold was erected, and all the uſual preparations made, and the executioner ready; but, after waiting ſome hours, the people were ordered to depart. This delay was to afford time for his making an open ſhew of the change of his religion, ſince that very day, in the preſence of the Mayor and Aldermen, and ſome of the Members of the Privy Council, he heard maſs in the Tower. But the next day he was actually brought out to ſuffer death, on the ſame ſcaffold, where he made a ſpeech to the people, in which he acknowledged that he juſtly merited death for his treaſon againſt the Queen, in taking up arms againſt her; he declared that he died in the Roman Catholic faith; he ſaid, that he had been miſled by others; he called the new preachers ſeditious and lewd; and exhorted the people, if they would avoid ruin, to return back again to the old religion. It is intimated, that

(*p*) *Vid.* Strype's Life of Cranmer, P. 316.

that he was induced to hear maſs the preceding day, and to ſpeak in this manner on the ſcaffold, by a promiſe that was made him, "That if he would recant and hear maſs, he ſhould "have his pardon, yea, though his head were upon the "block (*q*)." However this be, having ended his ſpeech to the people, he kneeled down and prayed; after which, the executioner aſking him forgiveneſs, he replied, "I forgive thee with "all my heart; do thy part without fear." Then bowing towards the block, he ſaid, "I have deſerved a thouſand deaths:" after which, laying his head on the block, the executioner ſevered his head from his body. He was buried in the Tower, in St. Peter's church, nigh the body of Edward, Duke of Somerſet.

Thus deſervedly fell JOHN DUDLEY, Duke of Northumberland. He was a man of great abilities and great courage, and eminently diſtinguiſhed for his military talents. But his ambition was boundleſs; he poſſeſſed the moſt profound diſſimulation, was unjuſt and rapacious (*r*), and ſeems to have ſcrupled no crimes that would advance his purpoſes. It is ſaid, that his private life was diſſolute, and that he diſregarded even common decency.

He married Jane Guilford, daughter and heir of Sir Edward Guilford, Marſhal of Calais, Lord-Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Maſter of the Ordnance under King Henry VIII. She is ſaid to have been a Lady of great piety and virtue. She had been thirty years married to the Duke of Northumberland when he was executed; at which time her condition was truly deplorable, ſhe being, in the ſtrict ſenſe of the words, turned out of doors, all her furniture ſeized, left without fortune, without friends, and without neceſſaries. And beſides the loſs of her huſband, her calamity was alſo heightened by having one of her ſons ſoon after

(*q*) *Vid.* Strype's Life of Cranmer, P. 315. and Hiſt. of the Reform. Vol. II. P. 244. and Biograph. Britan.

(*r*) He treated John, Baron of Dudley, who was his near relation, and the head of his family, in a mean and barbarous manner. That Nobleman's eſtate being entangled by uſurers, the Duke of Northumberland, by purchaſing aſſignments of mortgages, drew the eſtate by degrees entirely into his own hands, ſo as at laſt to compaſs what he had for many years deſired, the poſſeſſion of the antient caſtle of Dudley; which he thoroughly repaired, and added to it a noble ſtructure, and alſo adorned all parts of the caſtle with the arms of the noble families from which, by his mother's ſide, he was deſcended, that, in ſucceeding times, it might not be taken for an acquiſition, but the patrimony of his family. Northumberland, having thus deſpoiled his poor couſin of his caſtle and eſtates, thruſt the titles of Dudley and Somerie amongſt his other Baronies, leaving his unhappy kinſman a new and ſtrange title in their ſtead; for living, as well as he could, amongſt the great families in Staffordſhire and Warwickſhire, who pitied his misfortunes, he went there currently by the name of Lord Quondam, till, by a ſudden revolution, he became maſter of Dudley caſtle again, and his ſon obtained, out of the forfeitures of the Duke of Northumberland, an ample fortune, free from all incumbrances, with a clear title.——Biogr. Brit. from Dugdale.

ter alſo loſe his life on the ſcaffold. Conſidering her age, her quality, and the manner in which ſhe had ſpent her days, her condition may now be reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been very miſerable: however, by degrees things grew better with her, more particularly after the marriage of Queen Mary to King Philip, when the Spaniſh Lords and Ladies of his Court employed their intereſt in her favour (*s*). The Dutcheſs died at her houſe at Chelſea, on the 22d of January, 1555, and was buried with great funeral ſolemnity in the church there, where an handſome monument was erected to her memory.

By this Lady the Duke of Northumberland had thirteen children, eight ſons, and five daughters. His eldeſt ſon, Henry, was killed at the ſiege of Boulogne, at the age of nineteen. His ſecond ſon, Thomas, died when he was two years old. His third ſon, John, who had the title of Earl of Warwick in his father's life-time, was, at the coronation of King Edward VI. made one of the Knights of the Bath; and, in the ſixth year of that Prince's reign, he was made Maſter of the Horſe. This young Nobleman was condemned with his father, but afterwards reprieved and releaſed out of the Tower with his uncle, Sir Andrew Dudley. He then went to his brother's houſe at Penſhurſt in Kent, where he died in two days after, in the twenty-fourth year of his age. He is ſaid to have been very religious and learned, and well ſkilled in military affairs.

The Duke's fourth ſon, Ambroſe Dudley, attended his father into Norfolk againſt the rebels in 1549, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf, and obtained the honour of Knighthood. He was always very high in King Edward's favour: but being afterwards concerned in the cauſe of Lady Jane, he was attainted, received ſentence of death, and remained a cloſe priſoner till the 18th of October, 1554, when he received his pardon, and was diſcharged out of the Tower. In 1557, in company with both his brothers, Robert and Henry, he engaged in an expedition to the Low Countries, and joined the Spaniſh army, that lay then before St. Quintin's. He had his ſhare in the famous victory over the French, who came to the relief of that place, and was likewiſe preſent during the remainder of the ſiege, which after the battle was reſumed He had there the misfortune to loſe his younger brother; and their ſervices being repreſented to Queen Mary, ſhe conſented to reſtore the whole family in blood, and accordingly an act was paſſed this year for that purpoſe. On the acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth, he became immediately one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons at her Court; and was called, as in the days of her brother, Lord Ambroſe Dudley. In the fourth year of her reign, he was created Baron L'Iſle, and Earl of

(*s*) The reaſon aſſigned for the interceſſion of the Spaniſh Courtiers in the Dutcheſs of Northumberland's behalf, is, that her uncle Henry Guilford had ſerved long in Spain, and was knighted by King Ferdinand; and for his gallant behaviour in war, had the arms of the kingdom of Granada granted him, as an augmentation of his paternal coat.

of Warwick. He was alſo advanced to ſeveral high places, and diſtinguiſhed by numerous honours; and we find him in moſt of the great and public ſervices during this active and buſy reign. In the laſt years of his life, he endured great pain and miſery from a wound received in his leg when he defended New Haven againſt the French, in the year 1562; and this bringing him very low, he at laſt ſubmitted to an amputation, which however proved fatal to him, for he died upon the 20th of February, 1589. He was thrice married, but had no iſſue. He was a man of great ſweetneſs of temper, and of an unexceptionable character, ſo that he was beloved by all parties, and hated by none: and was generally called, "The good Earl of Warwick."

The Duke's fifth ſon was Robert, afterwards Earl of Leiceſter, of whom we ſhall treat more at large hereafter. His ſixth ſon, Guilford Dudley, married the Lady Jane Grey in May, 1553, and on the 12th of February following, loſt his life, together with his unfortunate Lady, upon the Scaffold. His ſeventh ſon, Henry, was killed by a ſhot in the laſt aſſault at the ſiege of St. Quintin's, as he was ſtooping to draw his ſtocking over his knee, that it might not incommode him in ſcaling.

The Life of the Lady JANE GREY.

THIS amiable and celebrated, though unfortunate Lady, was very nobly deſcended by both parents. Her father was Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorſet, who was deſcended in a direct line from Sir Thomas Grey, Knight of the Garter, created Marquis of Dorſet by Edward the Fourth, who married his mother. And her mother was the Lady Frances Brandon, the eldeſt of the two ſurviving daughters of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, by Mary, Queen Dowager of France, youngeſt daughter of King Henry VII. and ſiſter to King Henry VIII. Lady Jane very early gave aſtoniſhing proofs of the pregnancy of her parts. Her form was extremely pleaſing, but the beauties of her mind were ſtill more engaging. "She ſeemed, we are told, to have been born with thoſe attractions, which ſeat a Sovereignty in the face of moſt beautiful perſons; yet was her mind endued with more excellent charms than the attractions of her face; modeſt and mild of diſpoſition, courteous of carriage, and of ſuch affable deportment, as might intitle her to the name of Queen of Hearts, before ſhe was deſigned for Queen over any ſubjects (*)."

Female accompliſhments were, probably the firſt part of her education, and her genius appeared in the works of her needle, and then in the beautiful character which ſhe wrote, commended by all who had ſeen it. She played admirably on various inſtruments of muſic, and accompanied them with a voice exquiſitely ſweet in itſelf, and aſſiſted by all the graces that art could beſtow.

Her father, the Marquis of Dorſet, had himſelf a tincture of letters, and was a patron of learned men. He had two Chaplains, Harding and Aylmer, both men of diſtinguiſhed learning, whom he employed as tutors to his daughter; and under their inſtructions, and eſpecially that of Aylmer, ſhe made a moſt extraordinary proficiency. She ſpoke and wrote her own language with peculiar accuracy; and it is ſaid that the French, Italian, and Latin tongues, and eſpecially Greek, were as natural to her as her own; for ſhe not only underſtood them perfectly,

(*) Harleian Miſcellany, Vol. I. P. 392.

perfectly, but ſpoke and wrote them with the greateſt freedom (*a*). She was likewiſe verſed in Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic: and all this while a mere child. She had alſo a ſedateneſs of temper, a quickneſs of apprehenſion, and a ſolidity of judgment, that enabled her not only to become the miſtreſs of languages, but of ſciences; ſo that ſhe thought, ſpoke, and reaſoned, upon ſubjects of the greateſt importance, in a manner that greatly ſurprized even men of the beſt judgment and abilities. And ſhe was in no reſpect elated by theſe extraordinary endowments, but remarkably mild, humble, and modeſt in her demeanour.

Her parents, as appears from her own teſtimony, were both of them ſomewhat auſtere in their behaviour to her; and as ſhe was naturally very fond of literature, that fondneſs was much heightened, as well by the ſeverity of her parents in the feminine part of her education, as by the gentleneſs with which her tutor Aylmer inſtructed her in learning of an higher kind. And when mortified and confounded by the unmerited chidings of her parents, ſhe returned with double pleaſure to the leſſons of the latter, and ſought in Demoſthenes and Plato, who were her favourite Authors, that delight which was denied her in all the other ſcenes of life, in which ſhe mingled but little, and ſeldom with any ſatisfaction.

Her alliance with the Crown, as well as the great favour in which the Marquis of Dorſet her father ſtood with Edward VI. did, however, neceſſarily bring her ſometimes to Court; and ſhe received particular marks of the young King's attention, who was nearly of the ſame age with herſelf, and took great delight in her converſation; but nevertheleſs, ſhe ſeems to have continued for the moſt part at her father's ſeat at Broadgate in Leiceſterſhire, where ſhe was with her beloved books in 1550, when the famous Roger Aſcham paid her a viſit, as we learn from himſelf. "Before I went into Germany, (ſays he) I came "to Broadgate in Leiceſterſhire, to take my leave of that no- "ble Lady, Jane Grey, to whom I was exceedingly much be- "holden. Her parents, the Duke and the Dutcheſs, with all "the houſhold, gentlemen and gentlewomen, were hunting in "the park; I found her in her chamber, reading the Phœdo of "Plato in Greek, and that with as much delight as ſome gen- "tlemen would read a merry tale in Boccace. After ſalutation, "and duty done, with ſome other talk, I aſked her, Why ſhe "would loſe ſuch a paſtime in the park? Smiling, ſhe an- "ſwered me, I know all their ſport in the park is but a SHADOW "to that I find in Plato: alas! good folk, they never felt what "true pleaſure meant. And how came you, Madam, quoth "I, to this deep knowledge, and what did chiefly allure you "unto it, ſeeing not many women, but very few men, have attained

(*a*) Biograph. Britan. New and Gen. Dict. 8vo. Harleian Miſc. Vol. I. P. 392.

" tained thereunto? I will tell you, ſaith ſhe, and tell you a " truth, which perchance you will marvel at. One of the " greateſt benefits, that ever GOD gave me, is, that he ſent me " ſo ſharp and ſevere parents, and ſo gentle a ſchool-maſter. For, " when I am in preſence either of my father or mother, whe- " ther I ſpeak, keep ſilence, ſit, ſtand, or go; eat, drink, be " merry, or ſad; be ſewing, playing, dancing, or doing any " thing elſe, I muſt do it, as it were, in ſuch weight, meaſure, " and number, even ſo perfectly, as GOD made the world; or " elſe I am ſo ſharply taunted, ſo cruelly threatened, yea pre- " ſently ſometimes, with pinches, nips, and bobs, and other " ways (which I will not name, for the honour I bear them) ſo " without meaſure miſordered, that I think myſelf in Hell, till " the time come, that I muſt go to Mr. Aylmer; who teacheth " me ſo gently, ſo pleaſantly, with ſuch fair allurements to " learning, that I think all the time nothing, whilſt I am with " him. And when I am called from him, I fall to weeping, be- " cauſe whatſoever I do elſe, but learning, is full of grief, trou- " ble, fear, and whole miſliking unto me. And thus my book " hath been ſo much my pleaſure, and bringeth daily to me " more pleaſure and more, that in reſpect of it, all other plea- " ſures, in very deed, be but trifles and troubles unto me." " I " remember (adds Mr. Aſcham) this talk gladly, both becauſe " it is ſo worthy of memory, and becauſe alſo it was the laſt " talk that ever I had, and the laſt time that ever I ſaw that no- " ble and worthy Lady (*w*)."

Mr. Aſcham was ſo much delighted with this interview with the Lady Jane, that in a letter to her dated the 18th of January, 1551, he ſpeaks of it in rapture, and by a beautiful apoſtrophe, addreſſing himſelf to Mr. Aylmer, felicitates him on his having ſo ingenious a ſcholar. He alſo reminded Lady Jane of the Greek epiſtle which ſhe had promiſed to write to him, and deſired her likewiſe to write another to his friend Sturmius, that what he had ſaid of her wherever he came, might be rendered credible by ſuch authentic evidence.

The Lady Jane was early inſtructed in the principles of the reformed religion, which ſhe ſeriouſly and attentively ſtudied, and for which ſhe was extremely zealous; and this, together with her other excellent and amiable accompliſhments, greatly endeared her to King Edward. She was once on a viſit to the Princeſs Mary at New-hall in Eſſex; and whilſt ſhe was there, ſhe went to take a walk with the Lady Anne Wharton, and they happening to paſs by the chapel, Lady Anne made a low curteſy to the hoſt, at which Lady Jane teſtified ſome ſurprize, and aſked whether the Princeſs Mary were there? Lady Anne anſwered, " No; but I made my curteſy to him that made us all." " Why, " (replied Lady Jane), how can that which hath been made by

(*w*) Aſcham's Schoolmaſter, P. 11.

" the baker, be him that made us all ?" This incident being related to the Princeſs Mary, it gave her a diſlike to the Lady Jane, which ſhe retained ever after (*x*).

In May, 1553, the Lady Jane was married to the Lord Guilford Dudley, fourth ſon to the Duke of Northumberland. Their nuptials were celebrated with great pomp; and this match was ſo much to the ſatisfaction of the King, that he contributed bountifully to the expence of it from the Royal Wardrobe. Lord Guilford Dudley appears to have been a deſerving young Nobleman, and is ſaid of all the Duke of Northumberland's ſons to have been the leaſt like his father. However, it was a very unfortunate marriage to the Lady Jane; it was brought about by the Duke of Northumberland to promote his own ambitious deſigns; which did in the end prove fatal not only to him, but to this amiable Lady, as well as to her huſband.

In what manner, and with what views, the Lady Jane was appointed ſucceſſor to King Edward, to the excluſion of the Princeſſes Mary and Elizabeth, we have had occaſion to relate in the Life of the Duke of Northumberland; we ſhall not therefore repeat it here. It is ſufficient to obſerve, that ſhe was altogether uninfluenced by any ambitious views, and that this ſettlement of the ſucceſſion was in no reſpect agreeable to her. Indeed, it does not appear, that ſhe was at all conſulted about it, either by her father, who had now been ſome time created Duke of Suffolk, or by the Duke of Northumberland; nor does ſhe ſeem even to have been acquainted with it till after the death of Edward.

The Duke of Northumberland endeavoured for ſome time to keep the death of King Edward (which happened on the 6th of July, 1553), ſecret; but on Monday the tenth of July, in the forenoon, he repaired, together with the Duke of Suffolk, whom he had brought into his views, to Durham-Houſe, where the Lady Jane reſided with her huſband as part of Northumberland's family. There the Duke of Suffolk, with much ſolemnity, explained to his daughter the diſpoſition the late King had made of his Crown by letters patents; the clear ſenſe the Privy Council had of her right; and the conſent of the Magiſtrates and citizens of London; and in concluſion, himſelf and Northumberland fell on their knees, and paid their homage to her as Queen of England. The poor Lady, ſomewhat aſtoniſhed at their behaviour and diſcourſe, but in no reſpect moved by their reaſons, or in the leaſt elevated by ſuch unexpected honours, anſwered them, " That the laws of the kingdom, and natural right, " ſtanding for the King's ſiſters, ſhe would beware of burthen- " ing her weak conſcience with a yoke which did belong to " them; that ſhe underſtood the infamy of thoſe who had per- " mitted the violation of right to gain a ſcepter; that it were to " mock

(*x*) *Vid.* Fox's Acts and Monuments, Vol. III. P. 992. Edit. 1641.

" mock GOD, and deride juſtice, to ſcruple at the ſtealing of a " ſhilling, and not at the uſurpation of a Crown. Beſides " (ſaid ſhe) I am not ſo young, nor ſo little read in the guiles " of fortune, to ſuffer myſelf to be taken by them. If ſhe en- " rich any, it is but to make them the ſubject of her ſpoil ; if " ſhe raiſe others, it is but to pleaſure herſelf with their ruins ; " what ſhe adored but yeſterday, is to-day her paſtime. And if " I now permit her to adorn and crown me, I muſt to-morrow " ſuffer her to cruſh and tear me in pieces.---But in caſe it " ſhould not prove fatal unto me, and that all its venom were " conſumed, if fortune ſhould give me warranties of her con- " ſtancy, ſhould I be well adviſed to take upon me theſe thorns " which would dilacerate, though not kill me outright ; to " burthen myſelf with a yoke which would not fail to torment " me, though I were aſſured not to be ſtrangled with it ? my " liberty is better than the chain you profer me, with what pre- " cious ſtones ſoever it be adorned, or of what gold ſoever " framed. I will not exchange my peace for honourable and " precious jealouſies, for magnificent and glorious fetters. And " if you love me ſincerely, and in good earneſt, you will rather " wiſh me a ſecure and quiet fortune, though mean, than an " exalted condition, expoſed to the wind, and followed by ſome " diſmal fall."

All the moving eloquence of this ſpeech had no effect either upon the Duke of Northumberland, or her father : and the Lady Jane was at length prevailed on, or rather compelled, by the exhortations of her father, the interceſſion of her mother, the artful perſuaſions of Northumberland, and above all, the earneſt deſires of her huſband, whom ſhe tenderly loved, to comply with what was propoſed to her. And thus, with an heavy heart, ſhe ſuffered herſelf to be conveyed by water to the Tower, where ſhe entered with all the ſtate of a Queen, attended by the principal Nobility. It is very remarkable, that her train was ſupported by the Dutcheſs of Suffolk, her mother, in whom, if in any of this line, the right of ſucceſſion remained : but the Dutcheſs had agreed to give up all her pretenſions in favour of her daughter. About ſix o'clock in the afternoon, the Lady Jane was proclaimed Queen with all due ſolemnity in the city, the ſame day ſhe aſſumed the regal title, and proceeded to exerciſe ſome acts of ſovereignty. The royalty of this unfortunate Lady was, however, but of ſhort duration ; for on the 19th of the ſame month the Princeſs Mary was proclaimed Queen in Cheapſide ; ſo that the reign of Jane continued only about nine days (*y*).

As

(*y*) It has been ſaid, that it was the ſhort reign of Queen Jane, which gave birth to the common proverb of *a nine days wonder*.

The following incident has been related to ſhew the ſuddenneſs of the revolution, which reduced Queen Jane to the condition of a private

7 perſon.

As ſoon as the Duke of Suffolk, who now reſided with his daughter in the Tower, was informed that Queen Mary had been proclaimed in Cheapſide, he went to his daughter's apartment, and in the ſofteſt terms he could, acquainted her, that matters were ſo ſituated, that, laying aſide the ſtate and dignity of a Queen, ſhe muſt again return to the condition of a private perſon. To which, with a compoſed and ſerene countenance, ſhe made this anſwer: "Sir, I better brook this meſſage, than "my former advancement to royalty: out of obedience to you, "and my mother, I have grievouſly ſinned, and offered vio- "lence to myſelf. Now I do willingly, and as obeying the "motions of my ſoul, relinquiſh the Crown, and endeavour to "ſalve thoſe faults committed by others, (if at leaſt ſo great a "fault can be ſalved), by a willing relinquiſhment and ingenu- "ous acknowledgment of them."

The Lady Jane was now confined as a priſoner in the Tower; and her misfortunes were increaſed by ſeeing the father of her huſband, with all his family, and many of the Nobility and Gentry, brought priſoners to the Tower for ſupporting her claim to the Crown; and her grief muſt have received ſome increaſe from her father-in-law, Northumberland, being ſoon after brought to the block. Before the end of the month, ſhe had alſo the mortification of ſeeing her own father, the Duke of Suffolk, in the ſame circumſtances with herſelf; but her mother, the Dutcheſs, not only remained exempt from all puniſhment, but had ſuch an intereſt with the Queen, as to procure the Duke his liberty on the laſt day of that month.

Lady Jane, and her huſband the Lord Guilford Dudley, were, however, ſtill continued in confinement; and, on the third of November, they were carried from the Tower to Guildhall, and with Archbiſhop Cranmer, and others, arraigned and convicted of

perſon. There was one Mr. Edward Underhill, deſcended from a good family in Warwickſhire, who for his ſervices in the army had been taken into the band of gentlemen penſioners, in which he remained during the reign of Edward, and was now about Queen Jane, to whom he was known, and by whom he was well eſteemed. It happened that while he was upon duty at the Tower, his wife was brought to-bed of a ſon; and at the chriſtening of this child, which was fixed for the 19th of July, 1553, the Duke of Suffolk and the Earl of Pembroke were godfathers by proxy, and Queen Jane was godmother, and as a further mark of her favour, directed that the child ſhould be named Guilford, after her huſband. The perſon ſent to repreſent the Queen, was Lady Throckmorton, the wife of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, who at the time ſhe left the Tower, in order to be preſent at the ceremony, received the commands of Queen Jane, in a manner ſuitable to that rank, and carried them to Mr. Underhill's. But on her return to the Tower, when the ceremony of chriſtening the child was over, ſhe found, to her great amazement, the canopy of ſtate removed, with all the other enſigns of royalty; and ſhe was informed by one of the new Officers, that her Lady, the late Queen, was a priſoner for high treaſon; and that ſhe muſt attend her under the like circumſtances.——*Vid.* Biogr. Brit.

of high treaſon before Judge Morgan, who pronounced on them ſentence of death. However, the ſtrictneſs of their confinement was mitigated in December by a permiſſion to take the air in the Queen's garden, and other little indulgences; and it has been ſuppoſed, that if Wiat's rebellion had not happened, the Queen would have ſpared their lives. It is at leaſt evident, that this rebellion, in which the Lady Jane's father had engaged, haſtened their deaths.

The day firſt appointed for the execution of the Lady Jane, was Friday the 9th of February, 1554. This news ſhe had long expected; and the innocence of her life, as well as the misfortunes to which ſhe had been hitherto expoſed, rendered it the leſs unwelcome to her. And the Queen ſent Dr. Feckenham (z) to attend her, in order to prepare her for death, and to

(z) JOHN DE FECKENHAM was ſo called, becauſe he was born of poor parents in a cottage near the foreſt of Feckenham, in Worceſterſhire, his right name being HOWMAN. He diſcovered in his youth very good parts, and a ſtrong propenſity to learning; whereupon the Prieſt of the pariſh took him under his care, and inſtructed him for ſome years, and afterwards got him admitted into Eveſham Monaſtery. At eighteen years of age, he was ſent by his Abbot to Glouceſter College in Oxford, where there was an apartment particularly appropriated to the uſe of the young Monks of Eveſham Monaſtery. After he had ſufficiently improved himſelf in academical learning at Oxford, he was recalled to his Abbey; which being diſſolved in November, 1535, he had an yearly penſion of an hundred florins allowed him for his life. Upon this he returned to Glouceſter College, where he further proſecuted his ſtudies for ſome years; and, in 1539, took the degree of Batchelor of Divinity, being about that time Chaplain to Dr. John Bell, Biſhop of Worceſter. But that Prelate reſigning his See in 1543, Feckenham became Chaplain to Bonner, Biſhop of London, with whom he continued till 1549, when Bonner was deprived of his Biſhopric; and Feckenham was about the ſame time committed to the Tower of London, but for what cauſe is not very certainly known. He was ſoon after taken from thence, to diſpute on the chief points controverted between the Proteſtants and Papiſts. The firſt diſputation he engaged in was at the Savoy, in the houſe of Francis Ruſſel, Earl of Bedford: the ſecond at Sir William Cecil's, in Channel-row; and the third at Sir John Cheke's, in White Friars. He was from thence carried down to Worceſterſhire, where he ſtill held a Benefice; and had four ſolemn diſputations with John Hooper, Biſhop of that Dioceſe. He was afterwards remanded to the Tower, where he continued till Queen Mary's acceſſion to the Crown, in 1553; but was then releaſed, and made Chaplain to the Queen. He alſo again became Chaplain to Bonner, and was made Prebendary of St. Paul's, then Dean of St. Paul's, then Rector of Finchley in Middleſex, which he held only a few months, and then Rector of Greenford in the ſame county. In April, 1554, he was one of the diſputants at Oxford againſt Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley; but he ſaid very little againſt them. During Queen Mary's reign, he was conſtantly employed in doing good offices to the afflicted Proteſtants, from the higheſt to the loweſt. When the Princeſs Elizabeth was in confinement, he interceded with Queen Mary in her behalf, and that with ſo much warmth and earneſtneſs, that the Queen was for ſome time diſpleaſed with him on that account. In May, 1556, he was complimented by

to endeavour to prevail on her to be reconciled to the Church of Rome. And it is certain that he was a very proper perſon for this purpoſe; for he had an acute wit, a very plauſible manner of ſpeaking, and much tenderneſs in his nature. Lady Jane received him with great civility, and behaved towards him with ſo much calmneſs and ſweetneſs of temper, that he could not help being overcome with her diſtreſs; ſo that either miſtaking, or pretending to miſtake her meaning, he procured a reſpite of her execution till the 12th. When he acquainted her with it, ſhe told him, "That he had entirely miſunderſtood her ſenſe of "her ſituation; that far from deſiring her death might be de-"layed, ſhe expected and wiſhed for it as the period of her mi-"ſeries, and her entrance into eternal happineſs." Neither did he gain any thing upon her in regard to Popery; for though ſhe heard him patiently, yet ſhe continued to the laſt ſtedfaſt in the

by the Univerſity of Oxford with the degree of Doctor in Divinity; being then in univerſal eſteem for his learning, piety, humility, moderation, and charity. The September following, he was made Abbot of Weſtminſter-Abbey, which was then reſtored by Queen Mary; and fourteen Benedictine Monks placed there under his government, with epiſcopal power.

Upon the death of Queen Mary, in 1558, her ſucceſſor Elizabeth, being not unmindful of her obligations to Dr. Feckenham, ſent for him before her Coronation, to conſult and reward him; and it is intimated by ſome Writers, that the Queen offered him the Archbiſhopric of Canterbury, provided he would conform to the laws, which he refuſed. He appeared in her firſt Parliament, taking the loweſt place on the Biſhop's form; and was the laſt mitred Abbot that ſat in the Houſe of Peers. During his attendance there, he ſpoke and proteſted againſt every thing tending towards the Reformation; and the ſtrong oppoſition which he could not be reſtrained from making, occaſioned his commitment to the Tower in 1560. He continued there till 1563, when he was taken from thence, and committed to the cuſtody of Horne, Biſhop of Wincheſter; but in 1564, he was again remanded to the Tower. He was afterwards removed to the Marſhalſea; but being diſcharged from thence, he lived for ſome time in Holborn, where he built an aqueduct. In 1571, he attended Dr. John Story before his execution. In 1578, we find him in free cuſtody with Cox, Biſhop of Ely, whom the Queen had put upon uſing his endeavours to bring Feckenham to acknowledge her ſupremacy, and come over to the Church: and he was at length induced to do the former, though he could never be brought to a thorough conformity. Soon after the reſtleſs ſpirit of many of the Roman Catholics, and their frequent attempts upon the Queen's life, obliged her to impriſon the moſt conſiderable of them; upon which Feckenham was impriſoned, with ſome others, in Wiſbich caſtle, in the iſle of Ely, where he continued during the remainder of his life, which he ſpent in great piety and devotion, and in works of charity and beneficence. He died in 1585, and was buried in Wiſbich church.

Dr. FECKENHAM was of a middle ſize, ſomewhat fat, round faced, handſome, and of a pleaſant and agreeable aſpect. He was a learned, pious, generous, and benevolent man, and very ready to do kind and friendly offices to thoſe whoſe religious ſentiments were different from his own. He wrote Commentaries on the Pſalms, and a Treatiſe on the Euchariſt; but they were never publiſhed. Some ſmall Pieces of his have been printed.——*Vid.* Biograph. Britan. New and Gen. Biogr. Dict. 8vo. and Wood's Athen. Oxon.

the belief of the Proteſtant doctrines. And ſhe anſwered his arguments " with that calmneſs of mind, (ſays Burnet) and clearneſs of reaſon, that it was an aſtoniſhing thing to hear ſo young a perſon, of her ſex and quality, look on death, ſo near her, with ſo little diſorder, and talk ſo ſenſibly, both of faith and holineſs, of the Sacrament, the Scriptures, and the authority of the Church (*a*)."

Before the day appointed for her execution arrived, the Lady Jane wrote the following letter to her unhappy father, who ſhe heard was more diſturbed with the thoughts of being the author of her death, than with the apprehenſions of his own.

" FATHER,

" Although it hath pleaſed GOD to haſten my death by you, " by whom my life ſhould rather have been lengthened; yet " can I ſo patiently take it, as I yield GOD more hearty thanks " for ſhortening my woeful days, than if all the world had " been given into my poſſeſſion, with life lengthened at my " own will: and albeit I am well aſſured of your impatient do- " lors, redoubled many ways, both in bewailing your own woe, " and eſpecially, as I hear, my unfortunate ſtate; yet my dear " father, if I may without offence rejoice in my miſhaps, me- " thinks in this I may account myſelf bleſſed; that waſhing " my hands with the innocency of my fact, my guiltleſs blood " may cry before the LORD, Mercy to the innocent; and tho' " I muſt needs acknowledge, that being conſtrained, and as you " well know, continually aſſayed, in taking the Crown upon " me, I ſeemed to conſent, and therein grievouſly offended the " Queen and her laws; yet do I aſſuredly truſt, that this my of- " fence towards GOD is ſo much the leſs, in that being in ſo " royal an eſtate as I was, mine enforced honour never mixed " with my innocent heart. And thus, good father, I have " opened my ſtate to you, whoſe death at hand, although to " you perhaps it may ſeem right woeful, to me there is no- " thing that can be more welcome, than from this vale of mi- " ſery to aſpire to that heavenly Throne of all joy and pleaſure,

(*a*) Part of the converſation between Dr. Feckenham and the Lady Jane, was as follows:

Feck. Why? what do you receive in that ſacrament? [viz. the Lord's ſupper.] Do you not receive the body and blood of Chriſt?

L. Jane. No ſurely, I do not ſo believe. I think that at the Supper I neither receive fleſh nor blood, but bread and wine: which bread when it is broken, and the wine when it is drunken, putteth me in *remembrance* how that for my ſins the body of Chriſt was broken, and his blood ſhed on the croſs; and with that bread and wine I receive the benefits that came by the breaking of his body, and ſhedding of his blood, for our ſins on the croſs.

Feck. Why? doth not Chriſt ſpeak theſe words, *Take, eat, this is my body?* Require you any plainer words? Doth he not ſay it is his body?

L. Jane. I grant he ſaith ſo: and ſo he ſaith, *I am the Vine, I am the Door*; but he is never the n *Door*, nor the *Vine*. Doth not ſay, *He calleth things that are* ... *though they were?* God ſ... the...

" with CHRIST our SAVIOUR. In whoſe ſtedfaſt faith, (if it " may be lawful for the daughter ſo to write to her father) the " LORD, that hitherto hath ſtrengthened you, ſo continue you, " that at laſt we may meet in Heaven, with the Father, Son, " and Holy Ghoſt. Amen (*b*)."

The night before her execution, ſhe likewiſe wrote the following letter, on the blank leaves at the end of a Greek Teſtament, which ſhe bequeathed as a legacy to her ſiſter, the Lady Katharine Grey (*c*).

" I have here ſent you, my dear ſiſter Katharine, a book, " which although it be not outwardly trimmed with gold, yet " inwardly it is more worth than all the precious mines which " the vaſt world can boaſt of. It is the book, my only beſt and " beſt beloved ſiſter, of the Law of the LORD: it is the teſtament " and laſt will which he bequeathed unto us wretches and " wretched ſinners, which ſhall lead you to the path of eternal " joy: and if you with a good mind read it, and with an " earneſt deſire follow it, no doubt it ſhall bring you to an im- " mortal and everlaſting life. It will teach you to live, and " learn you to die. It ſhall win you more, and endow you with " greater felicity, than you ſhould have gained by the poſſeſſion " of our woeful father's lands. For, as if GOD had proſ- " pered him, you ſhould have inherited his honours and ma- " nors; ſo if you apply diligently this book, ſeeking to direct " your life according to the rule of the ſame, you ſhall be an " inheritor

ſhould ſay, that I eat the very natural body and blood of Chriſt: for then either I ſhould pluck away my redemption, or elſe there were two bodies, or two Chriſts. One body was tormented on the croſs; and if they did eat another body, then had he two bodies: or if his body were eaten, then was it not broken upon the croſs: or if it were broken upon the croſs, it was not eaten of his diſciples.

Feck. Why, is it not as poſſible, that Chriſt by his power could make his body both to be eaten and broken, as to be born of a woman without the ſeed of man, and to walk on the ſea, having a body, and other ſuch like miracles as he wrought by his power only?

L. Jane. Yes verily, if God would have done at his ſupper a miracle, he might have done ſo; but I ſay he minded no work, or miracle, but only to break his body, and ſhed his blood on the croſs for our ſins. But I pray you anſwer me to this one queſtion, Where was Chriſt when he ſaid *Take, eat, this is my Body?* Was not he at the table when he ſaid ſo? He was at that time alive, and ſuffered not till the next day. Well, what took he, but bread? And what brake he, but bread? And what gave he, but bread? What he took, he brake; and what he brake, he gave; and what he gave, that did they eat; and yet all this while, he himſelf was at ſupper before his diſciples, or elſe they were deceived.

An account of this conference between the Lady Jane and Dr. Feckenham is preſerved by Fox, in his Acts and Monuments; and alſo in the Harleian Miſcellany, Vol. III. P. 113, 114 and in the ſecond volume of the Phœnix.

(*b*) Acts and Monuments, Vol. III. P. 32. 33 edit. 1641.

(*c*) Lady Katharine Grey is ſaid to have been a learned lady, as well as her ſiſter; and, according to ſeveral writers, the original of the above letter was written in Greek, and that which is now preſerved, and which we have given above, is only a tranſlation.

" inheritor of ſuch riches, as neither the covetous ſhall with-
" draw from you, neither the thief ſhall ſteal, neither yet the
" moths corrupt. Deſire with David, my beſt ſiſter, to under-
" ſtand the Law of the LORD your GOD. Live ſtill to die,
" that you by death may purchaſe eternal life. And truſt not
" that the tenderneſs of your age ſhall lengthen your life: for
" unto GOD, when he calleth, all hours, times, and ſeaſons,
" are alike. And bleſſed are they whoſe lamps are furniſhed
" when he cometh: for as ſoon will the LORD be glorified in
" the young as in the old.

" My good ſiſter, once again let me intreat thee to learn to
" die; deny the world, defy the Devil, and deſpiſe the fleſh,
" and delight yourſelf only in the LORD; be penitent for your
" ſins, and yet deſpair not; be ſtrong in faith, yet preſume
" not; and deſire with St. Paul, to be diſſolved and to be with
" CHRIST, with whom even in death there is life. Be like the
" good ſervant, and even at midnight be waking, leſt when
" death cometh and ſtealeth upon you like a thief in the night,
" you be with the ſervants of darkneſs found ſleeping; and leſt
" for lack of oil, you be found like the five fooliſh virgins, or
" like him that had not on the wedding garment, and then you
" be caſt into darkneſs, or baniſhed from the marriage. Re-
" joice in CHRIST, as I truſt you do; and ſeeing you have the
" name of a Chriſtian, as near as you can follow the ſteps, and
" be a true imitator, of your Maſter CHRIST JESUS; and
" take up your croſs, lay your ſins on his back, and always em-
" brace him. Now as touching my death; rejoice as I do, my
" deareſt ſiſter, that I ſhall be delivered of this corruption, and
" put on incorruption; for I am aſſured that I ſhall for loſing of
" a mortal life, win one that is immortal, joyful, and everlaſt-
" ing; the which I pray GOD grant you in his moſt bleſſed
" hour, and ſend you his all-ſaving grace to live in his fear,
" and to die in the true Chriſtian faith. From which, in
" GOD's name, I exhort you, that you never ſwerve, neither for
" hope of life, nor fear of death. For if you will deny his
" truth, to give length to a weary and corrupt breath, GOD
" himſelf will deny you, and by vengeance make ſhort what
" you by your ſoul's loſs would prolong; but if you will cleave
" to him, he will ſtretch forth your days to an uncircumſcribed
" comfort, and to his own glory. To the which glory GOD
" bring me now, and you hereafter, when it ſhall pleaſe him to
" call you. Farewell once again, my beloved ſiſter, and put
" your only truſt in GOD, who only muſt help you. Amen.

Your loving Siſter,

JANE DUDLEY."

The reader, after perusing these letters (*d*), and being informed that the Lady Jane was not more than seventeen years of age at the time of her death, will easily be induced to believe, that the liberal encomiums which have been bestowed upon her, were not unmerited. The day finally appointed for her execution, as well as that of her husband, Lord Guilford Dudley, was the twelfth of February, 1554. It had been intended to execute them together on the same scaffold at Tower-Hill; but the Council, dreading the effects of the people's compassion for their youth, beauty, innocence, and noble birth, gave orders that she should be beheaded within the Tower, and that he only should be executed on Tower-Hill.

The Lord Guilford earnestly desired the Officers, that he might take his last farewell of her, which they readily consented to; but the Lady Jane declined the interview; alledging, that the tenderness of their parting would overcome the fortitude of both, and would too much unbend their minds from that constancy, which their approaching end required of them. She hoped, she said, that their separation would be only for a moment; and that they should soon meet each other again in an happier state, where their affections would be for ever united, and where death, disappointment, and misfortunes, could no longer have access to them, or disturb their felicity (*e*).

She expressed great tenderness, when she saw her husband led out to execution; but she soon recovered herself (*f*), and stood at a window out of a window. She also saw his headless trunk carried back in a cart; and found herself more confirmed, by the reports which she heard of the constancy of his end, than frightened by a spectacle dreadful and melancholy. After this she wrote three short sentences in her table-book, one in Greek, another in Latin, and a third in English. The purport of the Greek sentence was, "If his slain body shall give "offence any against me before men, his most blessed soul shall "remove an eternal proof of my innocence in the presence of "GOD." The Latin was to this effect: "The justice of men "took away his body, but the Divine mercy has preserved his "soul." And the English ran thus: "If my fault deserved "punishment, my youth at least, and my imprudence, were wor-"thy of excuse: GOD and posterity will shew me favour (*g*)."

About

(*d*) Besides the above, she also wrote a Comfortable Letter to Dudley, her father-in-law, exhorting him to Patience, and to Repentance, which is printed in the Harleian Miscellany, and also in the Phœnix. She likewise translated into Greek, and Latin verse, the Prayer of Dr. Cranmer, which is printed in the Harleian Miscellany, and also in the Phœnix. These are all the Latin and Greek compositions, extant, of Lady Jane Grey. There is also a Latin Oration, pointed in a Book entitled, *Lyftlake ab Ecclesiæ Helvetiæ reformatoribus vel ad eos scripsere*, &c. Tigur. 1742, 8vo. Some other small pieces are likewise attributed to her.

(*e*) Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. IV. P. 420. 8vo. edit.

(*f*) Burnet, Vol. II. P. 272.

(*g*) Sir John Bridges, Lieutenant of the Tower, desired the Lady Jane, on the scaffold, to bestow some memorial

About an hour after the death of her husband, she was led out by the Lieutenant to a scaffold that was erected upon the green, opposite the White Tower. She was attended to and upon the scaffold by Dr. Feckenham; but she was observed not to give much attention to his discourses, keeping her eyes deadily fixed on a book of prayers which she had in her hand. After some short recollection, she saluted those who were present with a serene countenance; and then took leave of Feckenham, saying, "GOD will abundantly requite you, good Sir, for your humanity to me, though your discourses gave me more uneasiness than all the terrors of my approaching death." She then addressed herself in a short speech to the spectators, in which she said, that her offence was not the having laid her hand upon the Crown, but the not rejecting it with sufficient constancy; that she had not erred through ambition, but from her reverence to those, whom she had been taught to respect and obey. She declared, that she died a true Christian, and hoped for salvation only from the mercy of GOD, in the blood of CHRIST. She said, that she had loved herself and the world too much, on which account that punishment had justly come to her from GOD: but she blessed him, that he had made it a means to lead her to repentance. Then, having desired the people's prayers, she kneeled down, and repeated the fifty-first Psalm; after which she stood up, and gave her gloves and her handkerchief to her women. When she untied her gown, the executioner offered to assist her, but she desired him to let her alone; and turning to her women, they undressed her, and gave her an handkerchief to bind about her eyes. The executioner kneeling, desired her pardon; to which she answered, "Most willingly." He desiring her to stand upon the straw, which brought her near the block, she said, "I pray dispatch me quickly." The handkerchief being then bound close over her eyes, she began to feel for the block, to which she was guided by one of the spectators. When she felt it, she stretched herself forward, and said, "LORD,

mortal upon him; upon which she gave him her table-book, in which she had written the above sentences, as an acknowledgment of his civility.

In the place of her confinement, the following verses were also found written, and, as some say, with a pin.

"Non aliena putes homini quæ ob-
"tingere possunt:
"Sors hodierna mihi, cras erat illi
"tibi.

Sand not secure, who stand in mortal state,
What's mine to-day, shall next day be thy fate.

"Deo juvante nil nocet livor ma-
"lus,
"Et non juvante, nil juvat labor
"gravis.
"Post tenebras, spero lucem.

If Heaven protect, Hell's malice cannot wound,
By Heaven deserted, peace can ne'er be found.
These shadows past, I hope for

" LORD, into thy hands I commend my ſpirit;" and immediately, at one ſtroke, the executioner ſevered her head from her body.

Thus fell, in the bloom of youth, this amiable, accompliſhed, and noble Lady; an innocent victim to the ambition of others! She was illuſtrious for her birth, but ſtill more illuſtrious for her virtue, her piety, and the extraordinary endowments of her mind; which made her the object of univerſal admiration, and rendered her the ornament of her age, of her ſex, and of her country (*i*).

The conſideration of the amiable character, and extraordinary endowments, of the Lady JANE GREY, induces us, before we conclude, to add a word or two to our fair readers. At a time of life when the generality of modern Ladies have learned nothing but a few trifling, ſuperficial accompliſhments, with the arts of dreſs, and of figuring away in every ſcene of polite diſſipation, this excellent Lady had acquired ſuch a variety of the moſt valuable knowledge, as not only qualified her for the converſation, and entitled her to the eſteem, of the wiſeſt and moſt learned men of that age, but alſo rendered her an object of their admiration. And theſe extraordinary endowments of her mind

(*i*) On the twenty-firſt of the ſame month in which the Lady Jane was executed, her father, the Duke of Suffolk, alſo loſt his head upon Tower Hill. The Dutcheſs of Suffolk ſurvived the Duke her huſband many years, and accepted for a ſecond huſband, Adrian Stokes, a gentleman in low circumſtances, one of her domeſticks. She died in 1563.

The Lady Katharine Grey, ſiſter to the Lady Jane, being deſerted by him who had been intended for her huſband whilſt her family was in proſperous circumſtances, (who preſently after eſpouſed another Katharine, daughter to the Earl of Shrewſbury), lamented for ſome years her own diſtreſſes, and thoſe of her family. She was ever looked upon with jealouſy in the Court of Elizabeth, more eſpecially after it was diſcovered that the Spaniards, in 1559, had formed a deſign of ſtealing her away. About two years after this, ſhe privately married the Earl of Hertford's eldeſt ſon, by whom proving with child, the Queen treated this as an affair of State, and committed both the parties. A ſuit was alſo commenced, and being brought before a court of Delegates, where the Archbiſhop of Canterbury ſat as Chief, a definitive ſentence was pronounced, that their cohabitation was unlawful, and that for their incontinence, they both deſerved to be puniſhed; but notwithſtanding this, he procuring acceſs to her in the Tower, ſhe became again with child, and brought him another ſon. Upon this he was charged in the Star-Chamber, with having ſeduced a virgin of the Blood Royal in the Queen's palace, with breaking priſon, and with abuſing her a ſecond time; and for theſe crimes he was fined five thouſand pounds, and condemned to nine years impriſonment. Lady Katharine remained in the Tower to the time of her deceaſe, which happened in 1567. But in the following reign, the validity of her marriage was brought to the deciſion of a Jury, who, upon the oath of the Miniſter that married them, and other circumſtances, found it to be good.——Biogr. Brit.

mind were graced by the moſt engaging modeſty, and the utmoſt ſweetneſs of manners; and rendered ſtill more eſtimable by the moſt exemplary piety and virtue. How much is it to be wiſhed, that our fair countrywomen would copy ſo bright, ſo amiable an example! Women are undoubtedly capable of making very conſiderable intellectual acquiſitions: every age has produced inſtances of it: and our own country, and the preſent age, have been adorned by a LENNOX, a CARTER, and a MACAULAY. And though it ſhould be admitted, that the ſtudy of dead languages, and abſtruſe ſciences, is not, in general, a proper part of female education, nor well calculated to fit them for thoſe relations and duties of life to which they are naturally called; there are, however, many branches of knowledge, in which they may certainly be inſtructed with great advantage, both to themſelves, and to thoſe with whom they are connected. Would not our Engliſh Ladies be infinitely better employed in learning Geography and Hiſtory, particularly that of their own country, and in peruſing the beſt Authors in their own language, and thereby cultivating their underſtandings, than in ſpending ſo many hours in that inſipid, though faſhionable amuſement, CARDS? an amuſement which ſo naturally puts a ſtop to all rational converſation, and which is ſo deſtructive of what a reaſonable creature ought to ſet the higheſt value on, TIME. Is it not degrading themſelves below the rank of reaſonable Beings, to pay ſo little attention to the cultivation of their minds, and ſo much to the decoration of their bodies? and to cheriſh ſcarcely any other ideas, but thoſe of dreſs, or of play? Can ſuch of the fair ſex as are of this character, think themſelves qualified for the proper diſcharge of the important duties of daughters, wives, and mothers? can they ever expect to be agreeable companions to men of ſenſe and reflection? can they ever hope to ſecure the eſteem of wiſe and worthy men, whilſt by their own behaviour they ſeem ſcarcely to know what it is to think? they may, perhaps, for a time, be careſſed and flattered by men who are not much wiſer than themſelves; but whilſt their minds are uncultivated and unadorned, and they are deſtitute of internal worth, they will never ſecure the eſteem of perſons of real merit and underſtanding, though they deck themſelves out in all the pride and flutter of gaudy inſignificance.——We would not, however, be too ſevere with our fair countrywomen: we wiſh to promote their honour and their felicity; and would therefore warmly recommend to them, that they would endeavour to add to thoſe charms which nature hath ſo liberally beſtowed on their perſons, the more eſtimable and more laſting beauties of the mind; that they would not waſte too much of their time in frivolous and trifling amuſements; that they would labour to render themſelves really worthy of that reſpect with which they wiſh to be treated; that they would endeavour

deavour to act up to the dignity of rational and immortal Beings; and cultivate and cherish those qualities and dispositions, which will enable them to fill in a becoming and suitable manner their important rank in the Creation, and render them worthy of the approbation, not only of Beings imperfect like themselves, but of the SUPREME CREATOR and PARENT of the whole human race.



THE

THE

INDEX

TO THE

SECOND VOLUME.

A

AMIENS, the meeting of the French king and Cardinal Wolſey between that place and Abbeville, 38.

Anabaptiſts, account of their opinions, 276. they are perſecuted, *ibid.*

Arden, valley of, magnificent interview between Henry VIII. and the French king there, 24.

Aſcham, Roger, curious account of the interview between him and the Lady Jane Grey, 418, 419.

Aſkough, Anne, account of the cruel perſecution of that lady, 219.

Audley, Thomas, Lord, ſome account of him, 311.

B.

Bainbridge, Cardinal, ſome account of him, 101.

Beaton, Cardinal, his life, 293. his birth and education, *ibid.* enters into the ſervice of James Duke of Albany, *ibid.* is made Abbot of Arbroath, 294. promotes the perſecution of the Proteſtants, *ibid.* is made a Cardinal, 295. and Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, *ibid.* oppoſes the alliance with England, 298. cauſes Mr. Wiſhart to be put to death, 303. is aſſaſſinated in the caſtle of St. Andrew's, 305. his character, 306.

BECKET, THOMAS, his ſhrine at Canterbury demoliſhed, 116.

BIBLE, account of the firſt that was printed in Engliſh, 113.

Biographia Britannica, miſtakes in that work corrected, 77, 217. 363. obſervations on paſſages in that work, 217, 233, 234, 235. 246.

Bilney, Thomas, ſome account of him, 142, 155.

Blage, Sir *George*, his narrow eſcape, 219. his ſpeech to King Henry, 220.

Bocher, Joan, put to death, 277. reflexions on that tranſaction, *ibid.*

Boethius, Hector, ſome account of him, 376.

Boleyn, Anne, letter from her to Cardinal Wolſey, with a poſtſcript by King Henry, 44, 45. endeavours to prejudice the King againſt the Cardinal, 46. is married to King Henry VIII. 85. is condemned and beheaded, 112.

Bonner, Biſhop, his life, 307. his birth and education, *ibid.* his firſt preferments, *ib.* employed in ſeveral embaſſies, 308. his behaviour to the French king, *ib.* made Biſhop of London, 309. his ingratitude to Lord Cromwell, 310. his cruelty, 311. is deprived, 314. his inſolent behaviour, *ibid.* reſtored to his Biſhopric, 315. his outrageous behaviour at Hadham, 316. his barbarous and ſavage treatment of the Proteſtants, 318——328. is deprived, and committed to the Marſhalſea, 329. his death, 330. and character, 331.

Bradford, John, ſome account of him, 318.

Bridewell Hoſpital, founded by K. Edw. VI. 383, 384.

Bruges,

INDEX to the SECOND VOLUME.

Bruges, a conceited fellow there made a laughing ſtock by Sir Thomas More, 69.

Bucer, Martin, extract from a dedication of his to Cranmer, 257. his bones dug up and burnt at Cambridge, 359.

Buckingham, Prior, his extraordinary arguments againſt having the ſcriptures publiſhed in Engliſh, 143. expoſed by Latimer, 144.

Bulls, the number of them ſent by Pope Clement, on the nomination of Cranmer to the Archbiſhopric of Canterbury, 254.

Butts, Dr. his advice to Mr. Latimer, 151.

Byfield, Richard, his ſpeech concerning Wolſey's pride, and pompous appearance, 18.

C.

Cabot Sebaſtian, his life, 193. his birth and education, *ibid.* his firſt voyages, *ibid.* ſails from Briſtol in company with his father, and diſcovers Newfoundland, 194. enters into the Spaniſh ſervice, 196. ſails to the river of Plate, 197. and makes diſcoveries, *ibid.* returns to England, 198. and made Grand Pilot, *ibid.* his death, 200.

Calais, that town taken by the French, 327.

Cambridge, remarkable diſputations there, 365, 375.

Cavel, an anecdote of Sir Thomas More related by him, 74. another of Richard Pace, 105.

Campejus, Cardinal, ſent by Pope Leo X. into England, to ſolicit Henry VIII. to enter into a league againſt the Turks, 22. opens a Legantine Court at Black Friars to determine King Henry's divorce, 42. prorogues the court, 43. departs out of England, 46. his baggage is ſearched, *ibid.*

CANON LAW, paſſages extracted from it by Cranmer, 272.

Cardan, his character of K. Edward VI. p. 280.

Caſſis, the Earl of, converted from Popery by Archbiſhop Cranmer, 263.

Catharine of Arragon, Queen, proceedings relative to her divorce from K. Henry VIII. 36, 42, 43, 303, 215, 251, 252, 254. her ſpeech to Cardinal Wolſey, 42. and to K. Henry, *ibid.* account of her death, 111.

Cavendiſh, Sir *William*, Gentleman Uſher to Cardinal Wolſey, an adventure of his, 39, 40. an inſtance of Wolſey's ſuperſtition related by him, 58. his remark at the end of the Cardinal's life, 60.

Cheke, Sir *John*, his method of pronouncing Greek oppoſed by Gardiner, 213, 214.

Chriſtianity, gives no authority to its profeſſors to perſecute others for difference of opinion, 277.

Chancellor, Capt. diſcovers the paſſage to Archangel, 200. his death. *ib.*

Charles V. Emperor of Germany, arrives in England, 23. pays a ſecond viſit to England, 28. careſſes Cardinal Wolſey, and ſettles a penſion on him, *ib.* his ſpeech to Sir Thomas Elliott on hearing of Sir Thomas More's death, 96. the commiſſion granted by him to the Earl of Surrey, 128.

Cibber, Theophilus, a miſtake in his lives of the Poets corrected, 135.

Clement VII. Pope, confined as a priſoner in the caſtle of Angelo, 41.

CLERGY, Popiſh, offer Sir T. More a large ſum of money on account of his having written againſt the Proteſtants, 79. their clamours againſt the publication of the ſcriptures in Engliſh, 147, 214, 215.

COMMISSIONS for raiſing money in the reign of Henry VIII. the univerſal oppoſition made to them by the people, 32.

CONCORDANCE to the Bible, Gardiner's apprehenſion of the ill conſequence of having it in Engliſh, 216.

COVETOUSNESS, the evil of it, 282.

COURTIER, Sir T. More's facetious behaviour to an officious one, 94.

Cranmer, Thomas, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, his life, 249. his birth and education, *ib.* is introduced to K. Henry VIII. 251. is employed in the affair of the divorce, *ib.* goes to Rome, 252. and to the Emperor's Court, *ib.* returns to England, 253. is made Archbiſhop of Canterbury, *ib.* exerts himſelf to promote the Reformation, 255. procures an Engliſh tranſlation of the Bible, 256. oppoſes the act of the Six Articles, 260. his mild and forgiving temper, 268. is committed to the Tower, 281. is attainted of high treaſon, *ib.* is pardoned, 282. diſputes at Oxford, 283. condemned for

for hereſy, 285. is prevailed on to recant, 287. retracts his recantation, 289. is burnt at Oxford, 290. his character, *ib.* account of his works, 291. further particulars concerning him, 118, 159, 190, 205, 206, 208, 212, 213, 217.

Cromwell, Thomas, Earl of Eſſex, his life, 107. his birth and education, *ibid.* his travels, *ib.* takes a journey to Rome *ib.* is preſent at the ſacking of Rome, 108. returns to England, and is taken into the ſervice of Cardinal Wolſey, *ib.* his grateful behaviour to his maſter under his misfortunes, *ib.* obtains a ſeat in Parliament, and defends the Cardinal in the Houſe of Commons, *ib.* is taken into the King's ſervice, 109. is created Lord Cromwell of Okeham, and made Vicar-general, and Vice-gerent over all the Spiritually, 111. exerts himſelf in promoting the Reformation, 112. is created Earl of Eſſex, 117. promotes the King's marriage with Anne of Cleves, *ib.* incurs the diſpleaſure of the King, *ib.* is committed priſoner to the Tower, *ib.* is attainted of high treaſon, 118. and executed, 119. his character, *ib.* further particulars concerning him, 49, 50, 51, 159, 261.

D.

Denny, Mr. his ſpeech to Sir Thomas More, 78. and Sir Thomas's reply, *ib.*

Dudley, Edmund, ſome account of the iniquitous tranſactions of him and Empſon, 397, 398.

Dudley, John, Duke of Northumberland, his life, 307. his birth, *ibid.* & education, 398. his preferments. *ibid.* his exploits in the triumphant tournament at Weſtminſter, 399, appointed Lord High Admiral, *ib.* his ſucceſs againſt the Scots, 400. and the French, *ibid.* eſcapes an imminent danger, 402. his bravery at the battle of Muſſelburgh, 403. promotes the animoſity between the Protector and his brother, 404. ſuppreſſes Ket's rebellion, 406. plots againſt the Protector, 407. he is conſtituted Earl Marſhal of England, 409. created Duke of Northumberland, *ib.* completes the ruin of the Duke of Somerſet, 410. marries his ſon to the Lady Jane Grey, 411. prevails on King Edward to appoint her his ſucceſſor, *ib.* his deſign miſcarries, 412. he is arreſted for high treaſon, 413. condemned *ib.* and executed, 414. his character, *ib.* account of his family, 415.

Dudley, Ambroſe, Earl of Warwick, account of him, 415.

Dudley, Lord *Guildford*, married to Lady Jane Grey, 420 he is beheaded on Tower-hill, 428.

Dudley, John, Baron of, the cruel treatment he received from the D. of Northumberland, 414.

E.

Edward VI. his birth, 114. his extraordinary talents, 198. a remarkable converſation between him and Bp. Ridley, 382, 383. his death, 280. Cardan's character of him, *ibid.*

Elizabeth, Queen, her acceſſion, 329.

England, reconciled to the Holy Catholic Church, by Cardinal Pole, 355, 356. joy at Rome on that account, 357.

Engliſh Bible, the reading of it permitted only to perſons of certain ranks, 215.

Engliſh Yeoman, an entertaining picture of one, 141.

EPIGRAM, one on Sir T. More's chancellorſhip, 79.

Eraſmus, his firſt interview with Sir Thomas More, 69, an epigram ſent by him to More inſtead of an horſe that he had borrowed, 70. his agreeable picture of More's domeſtic life, 71, 72. his character of Lee, Archbiſhop of York, 76. his character of Tonſtal, 185. an obſervation of his concerning the writings of Luther, 185. Gardiner's opinion of his Paraphraſe on the New Teſtament, 226.

European humanity, a ſpecimen of it, 196.

F.

Fagius and *Bucer*, their dead bodies proceeded againſt for hereſy, 359.

FARRAR, Biſhop of St. David's, Gardiner's treatment of him, 243. his death, *ibid.*

FAVOURITES of PRINCES, it is common for them to affect to deſpiſe the complaints of the people, 29.

FIDDES, Dr. a remark on, 11.

Fuckenham, John de, ſome account of him, 423. his conference with Lady Jane Grey, 425.

[illegible], Sir [illegible], ſome account of him, 165.

[illegible], *William*, Earl of Southampton, account of him, 128, 129.

[illegible], *Richard*, Biſhop of Wincheſter, [illegible] him, 213. his remarkable [illegible] Wolſey, 204.

[illegible], *Fulke*, Biſhop of Hereford, [illegible] him, 259.

[illegible], CARDINAL WOLSEY'S, his [illegible] to King's miſtreſs, 50. [illegible], Cromwell's, [illegible] of a [illegible] between [illegible] Wolſey, and of the Cardinal's behaviour thereupon, 381, 382.

[illegible], *Francis*, an Italian merchant, his honeſt hiſtory of his kindneſs to Cromwell in his youth, and of Cromwell's gratitude to him in his proſperity, 113.

G.

Gardiner, German, executed for denying the King's ſupremacy, 215.

Gardiner, Stephen, Biſhop of Wincheſter, his life, 201. his birth and education, *ibid.* taken into the ſervice of Cardinal Wolſey, *ibid.* ſent to Rome to negociate the affair of King Henry's divorce, 203. returns to England, 205. and made Archdeacon of Norfolk, *ibid.* and Secretary of State, *ib.* is made Biſhop of Wincheſter, 207. ſent Ambaſſador to the French King, *ib.* Bonner's character of him, 208. he writes in defence of the King's ſupremacy, 209. oppoſes the Reformation, 210. promotes perſecution, 211. and the act of the ſix articles, 213. forms a deſign to ruin Archbiſhop Cranmer, and other Proteſtants, 217. incurs the diſpleaſure of the King, 218. ſets on foot a proſecution of the Proteſtants, 219. endeavours to ruin Queen Catharine Parr, 220. writes to the Protector Somerſet, 223. is ſent to the Tower, 228. is deprived, 229. ſet at liberty on the acceſſion of Mary, 230. made Lord Chancellor, and becomes Prime Miniſter, 231. his cruel perſecution of the Proteſtants, 240. his death, 244. and character, 245, 246. account of his works, 247. further particulars concerning him, 60, 356, 357, 368.

Grey, Lady *Jane*, account of her life, 417. her birth and education, *ib.* her interview between her and Roger Aſcham, 418. ſhe is married to the Lord Guildford Dudley, 420. appointed ſucceſſor to K. Edward, *ib.* her ſpeech to her father and the Duke of Northumberland on their paying homage to her, *ib.* ſhe is proclaimed Queen, 421. and reigns nine days, *ib.* returns to the condition of a private perſon, 422. her ſpeech to her father thereupon, *ib.* is confined as a priſoner in the Tower, *ib.* condemned for high treaſon, *ib.* her converſation with Dr. Feckenham, 424. writes a letter to her father, 425. and to her ſiſter, 426. ſhe is beheaded in the Tower, 429. her character, 430.

Grey, Lady *Katharine*, account of her misfortunes, 430.

Greve, Mr. a remark on his unjuſt character of Archbiſhop Warham, 30.

H.

Hadham, the outrageous behaviour of Biſhop Bonner there, 316.

Hales, Sir *James*, his cruel treatment in the reign of Q. Mary, 232.

Heath, Nicolas, Archbiſhop of York, ſome account of him, 164.

Henry VIII. his acceſſion, 7. defeats the French at the battle of the Spurs, and takes the town of Terouenne, 10. and Tournay, 11. his tyrannical ſpeech to Edward Montague, 32. part of a remarkable letter of his to Wolſey, 34. begins to ſolicit his divorce from Catharine of Arragon, 36. his declaration concerning her, 43. dialogue between him and Anne Boleyn, 46. his ſpeech to Dr. Butts about Wolſey, 54. Wolſey's character of him, 58. his familiarity with Sir Thomas More, 71. ſhakes of the authority of the Papal ſee, 85. an act paſſed by which he is declared ſupreme head of the church of England, 91. his behaviour when he heard of Sir T. More's death, 97. his ſpeech to a Nobleman who ſought revenge for an affront that had been offered him by Hans Holbein, 83. is married to Anne Boleyn, 82. and to Jane Seymour, 112. a remarkable quotation from one of his manifeſtoes, 114. is married to Anne of Cleves, 117. obſervations concerning his character, 150, 158. his ſpeech to Gardiner when he conferred on him the Biſhopric

Bishopric of Winchester, 207. is married to Queen Catherine Parr, 220. his speech concerning her, *ib.* a curious converſation between them, 221. the reaſons aſſigned by him for leaving Gardiner out of his will, 223. Lord Herbert's obſervation concerning him, *ib.* his behaviour to Cranmer, when a ſcheme was formed by the Archbiſhop's enemies to ruin him, 265, 266. his meſſage to Sir John Goſtwick, 269. his behaviour to Cranmer, and to thoſe of the Council who endeavoured to effectuate the Archbiſhop's ruin, 269, 270, 271. his death, 274.

HOLY WATER, the great utility of it in driving away devils, 224.

Hooper, John, Biſhop of Gloucester, account of the diſpute between him and Ridley on the ſubject of veſtments, 379. further account of him, 378, 380, 381, 241.

Holbein, Hans, introduced to Henry VIII. by Sir T. *More*, 82. a remarkable anecdote concerning him, 83.

Howard, Sir *Edward*, his life, 121. he is ſent againſt Sir Andrew Barton, 121. is made Lord High Admiral, 122. invades France, *ib.* attacks a ſquadron of French gallies, 124. and loſes his life in the action, *ib.* his character, *ib.*

Howard, Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, his life, 126. his early bravery, *ib.* is made Lord High Admiral, *ib.* ſcours the ſeas of French veſſels, *ib.* lands in Brittany, and ravages the country, *ib.* contributes greatly to the victory over the Scots at Flodden field, 127. appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, *ib.* commands both the Engliſh & the Imperial fleets, 128. his ſucceſſes againſt the French, *ib.* made Lord-Treaſurer, 130. commands an army in Scotland, *ib.* conſtituted Earl-Marſhal of England, *ib.* falls into troubles, 131. is committed to the Tower, *ib.* a bill of attainder paſſes againſt him, 132. his death & character, *ib.*

Howard, Henry, Earl of Surrey, his life, 134. his birth and education, *ib.* defends the beauty of his miſtreſs againſt all oppoſers, *ib.* made Field-Marſhal of the Engliſh army in France, *ib.* where he diſtinguiſhes himſelf, *ib.* is repulſed, 135. is deprived of his command, *ib.* and charged with treaſonable deſigns, 136. is tried, *ib.* condemned, *ib.* and executed, 137. his character, *ib.* and account of his works, 138.

Hume, Mr. his unſatisfactory defence of Wolſey, 59. a curious remark of his, 115. remarks on his uncandid account of John Lambert, 213. obſervations on an injurious remark of his reſpecting perſons who have ſuffered for religion, 323. obſervations on a paſſage in his hiſtory, 357. his injurious manner of treating the Reformers animadverted on, 369.

Hunſden, account of Biſhop Ridley's viſit to the princeſs Mary there, and of her behaviour to him, 381.

Hunter, William, Bonner offers him forty pounds to recant, 319. he is burnt at Brentwood, *ib.*

I.

IMAGES, Gardiner's terrible repreſentation of the wickedneſs of deſtroying them, 224.

Jortin, Dr. extracts from, 29. 75. 79. commended, 81. an excellent obſervation of his, *ib.* his character of More, 96. his obſervation concerning Tonſtal, 186.

Ipſwich School, part of a curious letter from Cardinal Wolſey to the maſters of it, 61, 62.

JUDGES, Latimer's remarks on their venality, 180.

Julius II. Pope, ſolicits Henry VIII. to enter into a war with France, 9. his character, *ib.*

Julius III. elected Pope, 351. makes a Cardinal of his monkey-keeper, *ib.*

JUSTICE of the Peace, one reproved in a facetious manner by Sir Thomas More, 68.

K.

Ket, Robert, account of his rebellion, 405. courageous behaviour of his followers, 406. he is executed, 407.

Kingſton, Sir *William*, Cardinal Wolſey's remarkable ſpeech to him juſt before his death, 58.

L.

Ladies, *Engliſh*, an addreſs to them, 430——432.

Lambert, John, ſome account of him, 211. argues againſt the doctrine of the real preſence before King Henry, 212. is put to death, *ibid.* vindicated from the miſrepreſentations of Mr. Hume, *ibid.*

Latimer, Hugh, Biſhop of Worceſter, his life, 141. his birth and education,

tion, *ibid.* his zeal for Popery, *ibid.* is converted to Proteſtantiſm by Thomas Bilney, 142. attacks many of the opinions and uſages of the Romiſh Church, 143. he is ſilenced, 145. examined by Cardinal Wolſey, *ibid.* who grants him a licence to preach throughout England, 147. preſented to a Living by Lord Cromwell, 151. is cited to appear before the Biſhop of London, and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, 152. is ill treated, 154. the King interpoſes in his behalf, 155. is made Chaplain to Anne Boleyn, *ibid.* and Biſhop of Worceſter, *ibid.* his conſcientious diſcharge of the epiſcopal office, 156. labours to promote the Reformation, 157. preaches before the Convocation, 158. is accuſed before the King, 162. vindicates himſelf, *ibid.* reſigns his Biſhopric, 163. committed to the Tower, 164. releaſed, *ibid.* reſides with Cranmer at Lambeth, 165. is ſent again to the Tower, 167. his chearfulneſs under his misfortunes, 168. is examined before Commiſſioners at Oxford, 173. condemned for Hereſy, 177. and burnt at Oxford, 178. his character, *ib.* extracts from his ſermons, 180——183.

LAWYERS, Sir Thomas More's remarkable obſervation concerning them in his Utopia, 68.

Latimer, Mr. *Thomas*, anecdotes of him, 255, 256.

Lee, *Edward*, Archbiſhop of York, his conteſt with Eraſmus, 75. ſome account of him, 76.

Leyton, Mr. ſerious letters from Bonner to him, 314, 315.

LETTERS, part of a remarkable one of ſome extraordinary ſubtilties in the reign of Henry VIII. 31. a remarkable one written by Latimer, 255. part of a curious one written by Bonner to Cromwell, 308.

Leland, *John*, his life, 392. his birth and education, *ibid.* his travels throughout England, 393. his extreme aſſiduity in ſearching after Antiquities, *ibid.* his care to prevent the deſtruction of antient manuſcripts, 394. his preferments, *ib.* loſes his ſenſes, *ibid.* his death, *ib.* account of his works, 395.

London, Dr. an Agent of Gardiner's, his infamous character, 217.

LOLLARD'S TOWER, the cruel treatment of the Proteſtants there, 322.

Longolius, his character, 333.

LOVER, the reſtleſs condition of one deſcribed by the Earl of Surrey, 138.

Lupſet, *Thomas*, ſome account of him, 103.

M.

Mary, Queen, her acceſſion, 230. her ungenerous and perfidious treatment of the inhabitants of Suffolk, 231. re-eſtabliſhes Popery, 233. is married to the Emperor's ſon Philip, 239. her ingratitude to Cranmer, 281. her ſpeech concerning him, 287. writes to Bonner to be more active in the burning of Heretics, 319, 320. her death, 328. the great number of perſons put to death in her reign, *ibid.* rejoicings at the report of her pregnancy, 355.

Maximilian, Emperor of Germany, ſerves under Henry VIII. and receives pay from him, 10.

MEN, their diſcontent in every age and condition of life poetically deſcribed, 139.

MIRACLES, two remarkable ones recorded by Mr. Philips, 354.

MONASTERIES, an act paſſed for their diſſolution, 114.

Morrice, Secretary to Archbiſhop Cranmer, a remarkable ſtory of him, 261.

More, Sir *John*, his facetious obſervation concerning the danger there is in chuſing a wife, 62. his death, 84. his ſon's reſpectful behaviour to him, *ib.*

More, Lady, her ſpeech to her huſband on his reſigning the Great Seal, 84. and when he was in the Tower, 90.

More, Sir *Thomas*, his life, 63. his education, 64. applies himſelf to the ſtudy of the law, 65. the auſterities practiſed by him, *ib.* elected a Member of Parliament, 66. his ſpirited and upright behaviour in this capacity, *ibid.* his integrity in the exerciſe of the profeſſion of the law, 67. his firſt meeting with Eraſmus, 69. he is knighted, made maſter of the requeſts, treaſurer of the exchequer, & a member of the Privy Council, 71. an account of his domeſtic life, 72. his piety, *ib.* choſen

chosen speaker of the House of Commons, *ib.* incurs Cardinal Wolsey's displeasure, 74. the King's familiarity with him, 75. his many learned friends, *ib.* made Ld. Chancellor, 77. his upright and disinterested discharge of that office, *ib.* is concerned in the persecution of the Protestants, 79. resigns the great seal, 83. refuses to concur in the affair of the divorce, 86. accusations brought against him by his enemies, 88, which only tend to demonstrate his integrity, 89. is committed to the Tower for refusing the oath required by the act of succession, 90. his unconcerned behaviour under his misfortunes, *ib.* his trial, 92. and condemnation, 93. his execution, 95. his character, 96. account of his family, 97. and of his works, *ib.* instances of his wit and pleasantry, 99.

Morton, Cardinal, Sir Thomas More's character of him, 63. further account of him, 64. Lord Bacon's character of him, *ib.*

Musselburgh, (or Pinkey) battle of, described, 403. the great slaughter of the Scots there, 404.

N.

Norfolk, *Thomas*, Duke of, account of him, 130.

Northumberland, Dutchess of, account of her, 414.

O.

Oxford, Ridley's account of the tumultuous and disorderly behaviour of the Papists at the disputation there, 386.

P.

Pace, *Richard*, his life, 101. his birth and education, *ib.* his preferments, *ib.* employed in sundry embassies, 102. his reputation among the Venetians, 103. is ill treated by Wolsey, 104. loses his senses, *ibid.* and dies, 105. his character, *ibid.* and account of his works, *ibid.*

Padua, the reputation of the Professors there, 333.

Parr, Queen Catharine, Gardiner endeavours to ruin her, 220. a curious conversation between her and King Henry, 221.

Paul III. Pope, excommunicates Henry VIII. 116. and endeavours to excite the Princes of Europe against him, 340, 342.

PERSECUTION for Opinions, inconsistent with the genius of Christianity, 277.

Philips, *Thomas*, censured for his gross and injurious abuse of Archbishop Cranmer, 290. his unjust censures of Burnet, 337. remarks on passages in his Life of Pole, 341, 342. his ridiculous panegyric on the decrees of the Council of Trent, 348. instances of his ingenuity at miracle-making, 354. farther strictures on his work, 361, 362.

Philpot, *John*, some account of him, 322. his reply to Bonner, *ib.* his death, 323.

Pope, Sir *Thomas*, some account of him, 95. acquaints Sir T. More that he must prepare for death, 94. Sir Thomas's behaviour thereupon, *ibid.*

Popish Impostures, some remarkable ones discovered, 115.

Pole, Cardinal, his life, 332. his birth and education, *ib.* his preferments, *ib.* travels into Italy, *ib.* resides at Padua, 332. returns to England, 334. refuses the Archbishopric of York, 336. and incurs the displeasure of the King, *ib.* leaves England, *ib.* writes against the King's proceedings, 337. repairs to Rome, 339. is created a Cardinal, 340. endeavours to excite the Princes of Europe against Henry, 341. is attainted of high treason, 343. is very near obtaining the Papacy, 350. arrives in England, and reconciles the kingdom to the Papal see, 353. 355. made Archbishop of Canterbury, 358. his death and character, 361.

PREFACE, extract from that written by Bonner to Gardiner's treatise De vera Obedientia, 309.

Prelates, unpreaching ones, Latimer's remarks on, 180, 181.

PRESENTMENTS, extraordinary ones made in one of Archbishop Cranmer's visitations, 263, 264.

PRIESTHOOD, part of a curious oration made in honour of it by Bonner, 315, 316.

Protestants, the cruel treatment they received from the Papists, 242, 243, 322.

R.

REFORMERS, vindicated from the misrepresentations of Mr. Hume, 369, 370, 371.

REFORMATION, proceedings relating

lative to it, 109, 110, 112. 114, 115, 116, 160, 255, 256, 257, 258, 274, 275, 366.
Rich, Solicitor general, his infamous behaviour to Sir Thomas More, 91, 92.
Ridley, Nicholas, Biſhop of London, his life, 365. his birth & education, *ib.* patronized by Archbiſhop Cranmer, 366. who gives him the vicarage of Herne, *ib.* is appointed one of the King's Chaplains, 368. becomes convinced of the error of Tranſubſtantiation, 372. made Biſhop of Rocheſter, 373. raiſed to the See of London, 376. the exemplarineſs of his life, 377. engaged in a diſpute with Hooper on the ſubject of Veſtments, 378. viſits the Princeſs Mary at Hundſdon, 381. her behaviour to him, *ibid.* a remarkable converſation between him and King Edward, 282, 383. engages in the deſign in favour of Lady Jane Grey, 384. is committed to the Tower, *ib.* holds a diſputation at Oxford, 385, 386. is condemned and degraded, 387. and burnt at Oxford, 388. his character, 390. account of his works, *ib.*
ROBERTSON, Dr. his Hiſtory of Scotland commended, 299.
Rogers, John, account of his ſufferings and martyrdom, 240.
Rough, John, account of Bonner's treatment of him, 327.
ROBBERY, obſervations on the injuſtice of putting men to death for it, 80.
Rome, that city beſieged by the Duke of Bourbon, 41. and taken, *ib.*
Roper, Mr. Sir T. More's ſpeech to him concerning the King's familiarity with him, 75. a remarkable converſation between him and Sir Thomas, 81.
Roper, Margaret, daughter to Sir T. More, her tender interview with her father, 93. her excellent character, 97, 98.
Ruthal, Biſhop of Durham, a fatal miſtake of his, 29. Dr. Jortin's remark upon it, *ib.*

S.

Sadolet, Cardinal, Dr. Neve's character of him, 343.
Saliſbury, Margaret, Counteſs of, account of her tragical death, 344.
SAVAGES, account of two brought to England by Cabot, 194.
Scotland, devaſtation made there by the Earl of Surrey, 130. Proteſtants perſecuted there, 295, 299, 303.
SCRIPTURES, account of the firſt tranſlations of them that were printed in Engliſh, 112, 113.
SERMONS, Mr. Gilpin's character of Latimer's, 179. extracts from them, 158, 159, 180, 181, 182, 183.
Seton, Mr. Gardiner's ſpeech to him, 216.
Sharton, Nicholas, Biſhop of Saliſbury, ſome account of him, 171.
Simpſon, Cuthbert, his cruel treatment, 328. his courage and conſtancy, *ib.* Bonner's teſtimony in his favour, *ib.*
SIX ARTICLES, account of the ſtatute of, 162.
Smithfield, an extraordinary execution there, 214.
Smollet, Dr. a miſtake of his corrected, 231. the injurious manner in which he ſpeaks of the Reformers, 369.
Somerſet, Duke of, Gardiner's letter to him, 223, 224. his ſucceſs againſt the Scots, 404. quarrel between him and his brother the Lord Admiral, *ib.* deprived of the Protectorſhip, 408. he is condemned for high treaſon, 410. and beheaded, *ib.* the concern expreſſed by the people at his death, *ib.*
Somerſet, Dutcheſs of, Sir John Hayward's character of her, 405.
Stafford, Edward, Duke of Buckingham, an enemy to Wolſey, 25. by whom he is ruined, 26. the ſpeech of the Emperor Charles V. on hearing of this Nobleman's death, *ib.*
Starkey, Thomas, extract of a letter from him to Pole, 538.
Stokeſley, Biſhop of London, an anecdote of him, 255.
STEEL YARD, merchants of, ſome account of them, 199.
Suffolk, Charles Brandon, Duke of, marries Mary, Queen Dowager of France, ſiſter to Henry VIII. p. 12. account of that Nobleman, *ib.* he exclaims againſt Cardinals, 43.
Supplication of the Beggars, account of the book ſo called, 147.
SWEATING SICKNESS, great numbers die of it in London, 380, 381.

T.

Taylor, Dr. *Rowland*, account of his ſufferings and death, 241.

Thuanus, his account of the aſſaſſination of Cardinal Beaton, 305.
Tomkins, Thomas, Bonner's cruel treatment of him, 318.
Tonſtal, Cuthbert, Biſhop of Durham, his life, 184. his birth and education, *ib.* his preferments and embaſſies, 185. made Biſhop of London *ib.* tranſlated to Durham, 189. committed to the Tower, *ib.* is deprived of his Biſhopric, 190. reinſtated in it, *ib.* deprived a ſecond time, 191. his death and character, *ib.* account of his works, 192.
Tooley, the ridiculous proceſs on his dead body, 320.
TRANSUBSTANTIATION, Dr. Ridley becomes convinced of the erroneouſneſs of that doctrine, 372. and brings Cranmer over to his own ſentiments on that ſubject, *ib.*
Trent, ſome account of the Council held there, 345, 346, 347.
Treſham, Dr. an anecdote of him, 171.
Tyndal, William, ſome account of him, 186. Biſhop Tonſtal buys up the copies of his tranſlation of the New Teſtament, in order to burn them, 187.

V.

Virgil, Polydore, is impriſoned by Wolſey, 14. further account of him, *ib.* his character, 15.
VESTMENTS, account of a diſpute concerning them, 378, 379.
Walpole, Mr. *Horace*, quotations from him, 135, 136.
Warner, Dr. his obſervations on putting robbers to death, 80.
Weſt, Biſhop of Ely, goes from Ely to Cambridge, on purpoſe to hear Latimer preach, 145. the converſation that paſſed between them afterwards, *ib.* he ſilences Latimer, 146.
Wharton, Lady *Anne*, Lady Jane Grey's ſpeech to her concerning the hoſt, 479.
Wiſhart, George, Buchanan's account of his execution, 303.
Willoughby, Sir *Hugh*, account of his voyage and death, 199, 200.
Wolſey Cardinal, his life, 3. his birth and education, *ib.* elected Fellow of his College, 4. appointed tutor to the children of the Marquis of Dorſet, *ib.* who gives him the rectorſhip of Lymington, *ib.* he is ſet in the ſtocks by Sir Amias Pawlet, 5. enters into the ſervice of Sir John Nephant, *ib.* made Chaplain to K. Henry VII. *ib.* ſent on an embaſſy to the Emperor Maximilian, 6. his extraordinary expedition, *ib.* made Dean of Lincoln, 7. appointed Almoner to Henry VIII. *ib.* his methods of ingratiating himſelf with that Prince, 8. made Biſhop of Lincoln, 11. and Archbiſhop of York, *ib.* created a Cardinal, 15. engroſſes the ſole adminiſtration of public affairs, 16. his pride and oſtentation, 17. the number of his ſervants, *ib.* erects a Legantine Court, 19. founds public lectures at Oxford, 21. careſſed by the Emperor and King of France, 23. intrigues for the Papacy, 28. his inſolent behaviour to the citizens of London, 32. lays the foundation of his College at Oxford, 34. makes the King a preſent of his palace at Hampton Court, 35. ſets out on an embaſſy to France, 37. his pompous manner of travelling, *ib.* concludes three treaties with the French King, 40. returns to England, 41. made Biſhop of Wincheſter, *ib.* ſits as Legate with Campejus, in order to determine the King's divorce, 42. incurs the diſpleaſure of the King, 44. the great ſeal is taken from him, 47. the meanneſs of his behaviour under his misfortunes, 48. removes to Eſher, *ib.* diſcharges many of his ſervants, 51. a bill of indictment preferred againſt him, to which he pleads guilty, *ib.* his ſpeech to the Duke of Norfolk, 53. the King grants him a full pardon, 54. ſets out for his dioceſe of York, 55. a remarkable change in his conduct, 56. is arreſted for high treaſon, 57. his death, 58. and character, 59. further particulars concerning him, 204, 205, 206.
Wyat, Sir *Thomas*, ſome account of him, 137.

Directions to the BOOKBINDER.

PLACE the Table of Contents immediately after the Title.
The Alphabetical Index at the End of the Volume.
Let the Head of Cardinal Wolſey face the Title.
Place the Head of Sir Thomas More facing Page 63.

----------Cromwell, Earl of Eſſex, - - - 107
----------Biſhop Latimer, - - - - 141
----------Tonſtal, Biſhop of Durham, - - 184
----------Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, 202
----------Archbiſhop Cranmer, - - - 249
----------Cardinal Pole, - - - - - - 332
----------Biſhop Ridley, - - - - - 364
----------Lady Jane Grey, - - - - 417

ERRATA.

Page 8, l. 36, for NATURE OF CASE, read NATURE OF THE CASE. P. 68, l. 30, for CESURE, read CENSURE. P. 98, l. 2, for OF MUCH, read SO MUCH; l. 3, for AT HER DECLARED, read FATHER DECLARED. P. 256, l. 23, for LAUCH, read LAUNCH. P. 280, in the note, l. 3, for CARDEN, read CARDAN. P. 313, l. 25, dele the word THE before Biſhop. P. 314, l. 33, for CHRISTRIAN, read CHRISTIAN. P. 333, note (*r*) for PHILPOT, read PHILIPS. P. 364, l. 23, for INGENIOUS, read INGENUOUS. P. 382, l. 1, after the word IF, add HE. P. 383, l. 11, for ASHONISHED, read ASTONISHED. P. 386, l. 4, after the word PEN, add READY. P. 390, l. 5, for MOULDERING, read SMOULDERING. P. 407, note (*x*) for EDWARD IV. read EDWARD VI. P. 429, l. 5, for DEADILY, read STEADILY; and l. 47, for SAND, read STAND. P. 431, l. 39, for PRIDE, read PARADE.

